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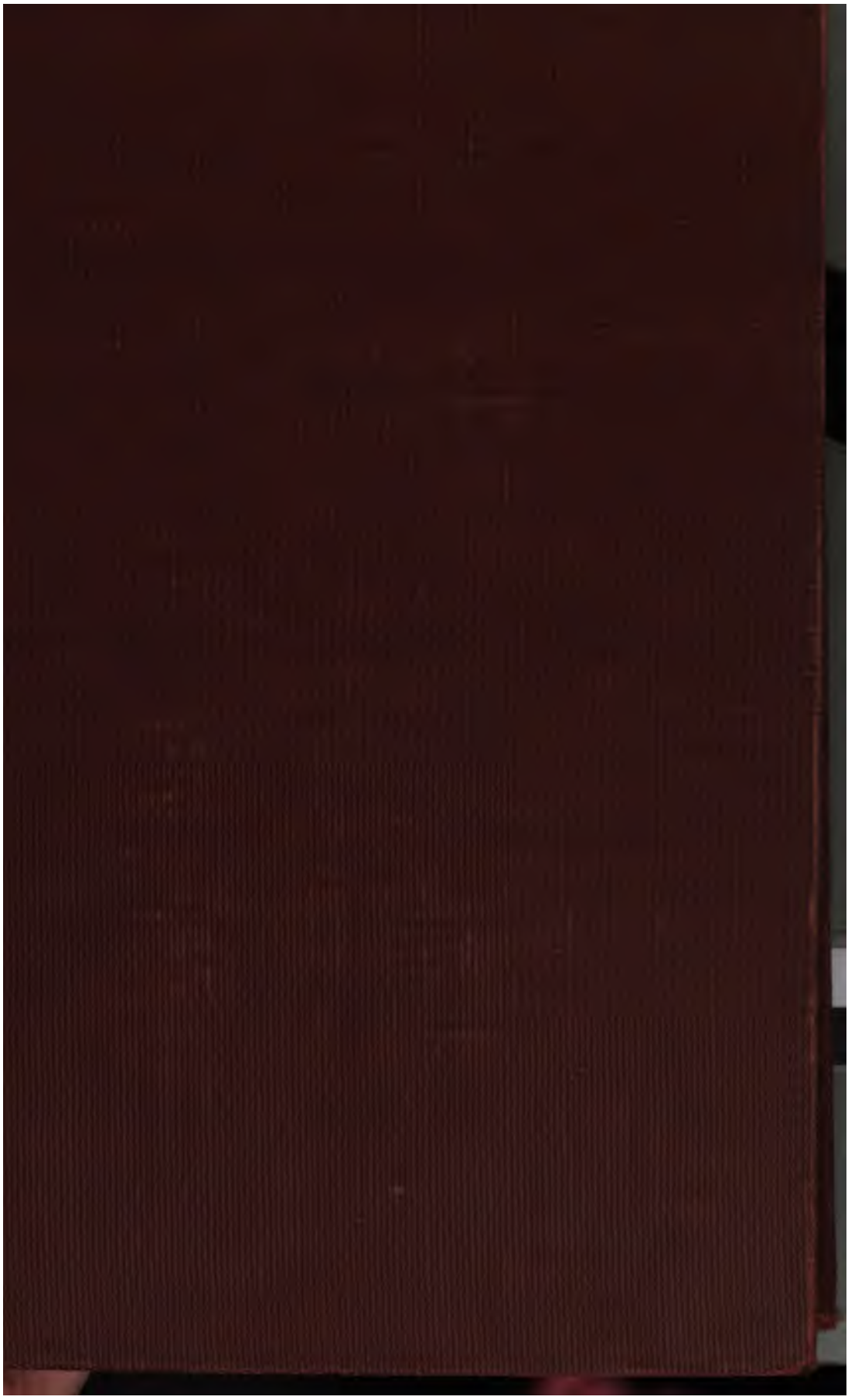

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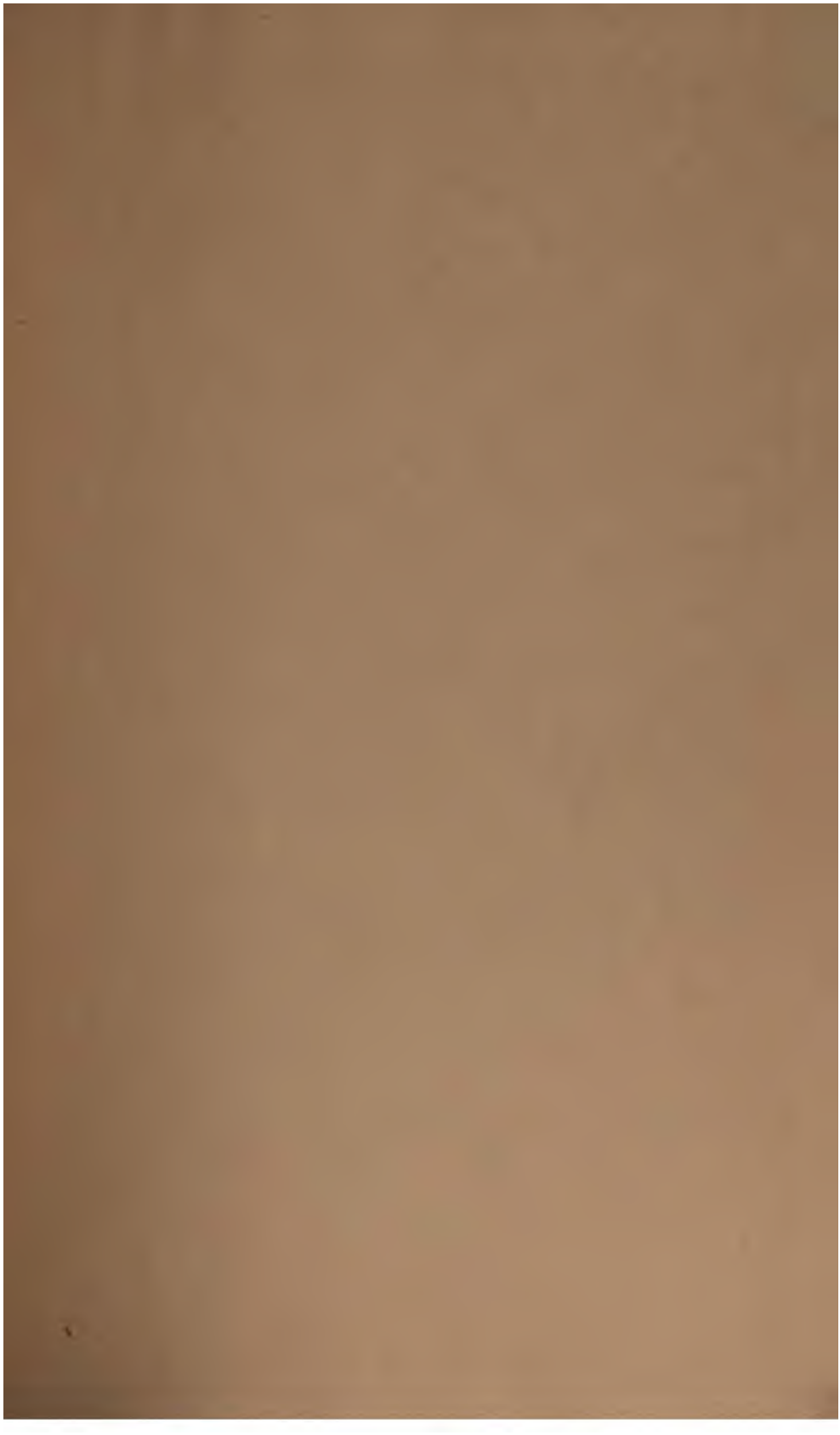

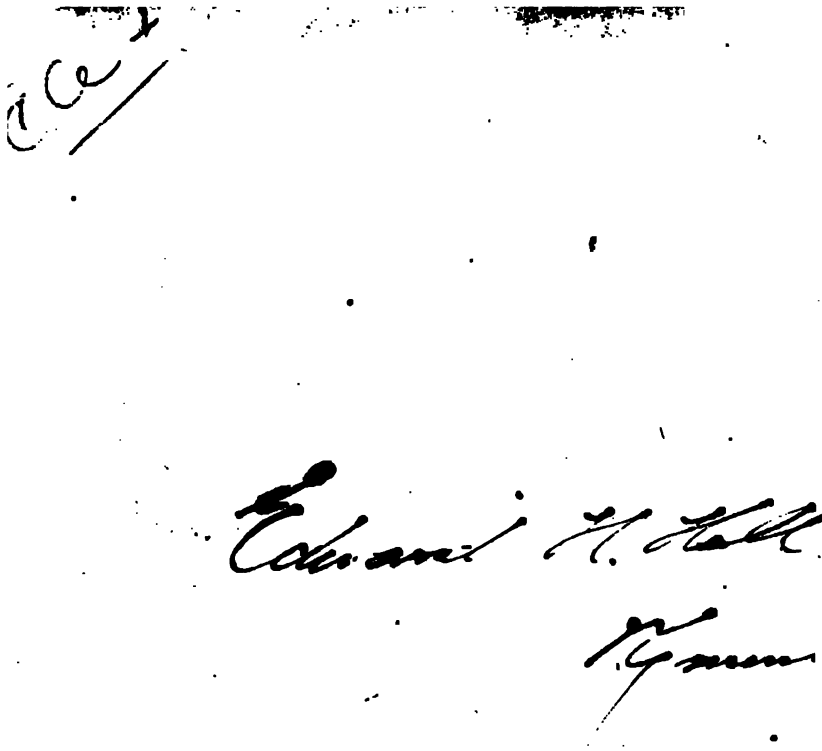

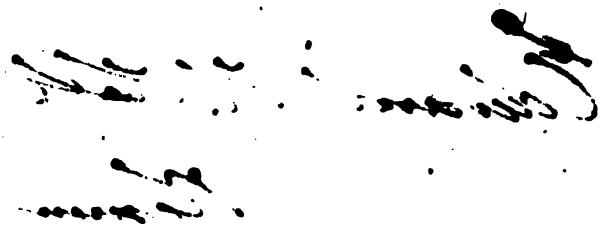

THE

WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

THREE DISSERTATIONS,

CONCERNING

JESUS CHRIST, JOHN THE BAPTIST, JAMES THE JUST, GOD'S COMMAND TO ABRAHAM, ETC.

WITH

AN INDEX TO THE WHOLE

JOSEPHUS

THE

WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,

THE LEARNED AND AUTHENTIC JEWISH HISTORIAN, AND CELEBRATED WARRIOR,

CONTAINING

TWENTY BOOKS OF THE JEWISH ANTIQUITIES,
SEVEN BOOKS OF THE JEWISH WAR,

AND

THE LIFE OF JOSEPHUS,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK, ACCORDING TO HAVERCAMP'S ACCURATE EDITION

TOGETHER WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

EMBELLISHED WITH ELEGANT ENGRAVINGS.

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM WHISTON, A.M.

PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

Family Edition.

COMPLETE TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
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PREFACE.*

§ 1. Those who undertake to write histories, do not, I perceive, take that trouble on one and the same account, but for many reasons, and those such as are very different one from another. For some of them apply themselves to this part of learning, to show their great skill in composition, and that they may therein acquire a reputation for speaking finely. Others of them there are who write histories in order to gratify those that happen to be concerned in them; and on that account have spared no pains, but rather gone beyond their own abilities in the performance. But others there are who, of necessity and by force, are driven to write history, because they were concerned in the facts, and so cannot excuse themselves from committing them to writing, for the advantage of posterity. Nay, there are not a few who are induced to draw their historical facts out of darkness into light, and to produce them for the benefit of the public, on account of the great importance of the facts themselves with which they have been concerned. Now of these several reasons for writing history, I must profess the two last were my own reasons also: for since I was myself interested in that war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew myself its particular actions, and what conclusion it had, I was forced to give the history of it, because I saw that others perverted the truth of those actions in their writings.

2. Now I have undertaken the present work, as thinking it will appear to all the Greeks† worthy of their study; for it will

* This preface of Josephus is excellent in its kind, and highly worthy the repeated perusal of the reader, before he set about the perusal of the work itself.

† That is, all the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans.

contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of our government, as interpreted out of the Hebrew Scriptures. And, indeed, I did formerly intend, when I wrote of the war,* to explain who the Jews originally were, what fortunes they had been subject to, and by what legislator they had been instructed in piety, and the exercise of other virtues; what wars, also, they had made in remote ages, till they were unwillingly engaged in this last with the Romans; but because this work would take up a great compass, I separated it into a set treatise by itself, with a beginning of its own, and its own conclusion; but in process of time, as usually happens to such as undertake great things, I grew weary, and went on slowly, it being a large subject, and a difficult thing to translate our history into a foreign and to us unaccustomed language. However, some persons there were who desired to know our history, and so exhorted me to go on with it; and, above all the rest, Epaphroditus,† a man who is a lover of all kind of learning, but is principally delighted with the knowledge of history; and this on account of his having been himself concerned in great affairs, and many turns of fortune, and having shown a wonderful vigour of an excellent nature, and an immovable virtuous resolution in them all. I yielded to this man's persuasions, who always excites such as have abilities in what is useful and acceptable to join their endeavours with his. I was also ashamed myself to permit any laziness of disposition to have a greater influence upon me than the delight of taking pains in such studies as were very useful: I thereupon stirred up myself, and went on with my work more cheerfully. Besides the foregoing motives, I had others which I greatly reflected on; and these were, that our forefathers were willing to communicate such things to others; and that some of the Greeks took considerable pains to know the affairs of our nation.

* We may seasonably note here, that Josephus wrote his seven books of the Jewish War long before he wrote those his Antiquities. Those books of the war were published about A. D. 75, and these Antiquities, A. D. 93, about eighteen years later.

† This Epaphroditus was certainly alive in the third year of Trajan, A. D. 100. See the note on Antiq. b. i. against Apion, sect. 1, vol. ii. Who he was we do not know; for as to Epaphroditus, the freedman of Nero, and afterwards Domitian's secretary, who was put to death by Domitian in the 14th or 15th year of his reign, he could not be alive in the third of Trajan.

3. I found, therefore, that the second of the Ptolemies was a king, who was extraordinary diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our government therein contained, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazer the high priest, one not inferior to any other of that dignity among us, did not envy the aforenamed king the participation of that advantage, which otherwise he would for certain have denied him; but that he knew the custom of our nation was, to hinder nothing of what we esteemed ourselves from being communicated to others. Accordingly I thought it became me, both to imitate the generosity of our high priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the king; for he did not obtain all our writings at that time; but those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters gave him only the books of the law, while there was a vast number of other matters in our sacred books. They indeed contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many chances of war, and great actions of the commanders, and mutations of the form of our government. Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history may principally learn from it, that all events succeed well, even to an incredible degree, and the reward of felicity is proposed by God; but then it is to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws; and that so far as men any way apostatize from the accurate observation of them,* what was practicable before becomes impracticable; and whatsoever they set about as a good thing is converted into an incurable calamity. And now I exhort all those that peruse these books, to apply their minds to God; and to examine the mind of our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him; and hath not ever ascribed to him such operations as become his power, and hath not preserved his writings from those indecent fables which others have framed; although, by the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged such lies: for he lived two thousand years ago: at which vast distance of ages the poets themselves have not been so hardy as to fix even the genera-

* *Josephus* here plainly alludes to the famous Greek proverb, *If God be with us, every thing that is impossible* becomes *possible.*

tions of their gods, much less the actions of their men, or their own laws. As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have already promised so to do throughout this undertaking; and this, without adding any thing to what is therein contained, or taking away any thing therefrom.

4. But because almost all our constitution depends on the wisdom of Moses our legislator, I cannot avoid saying somewhat concerning him beforehand, though I shall do it briefly; I mean, because otherwise, those that read my books may wonder how it comes to pass that my discourse, which promises an account of laws and historical facts, contains so much of philosophy. The reader is therefore to know, that Moses deemed it exceeding necessary that he who would conduct his own life well, and give laws to others, in the first place should consider the divine nature; and, upon the contemplation of God's operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, so far as it is possible for human nature to do, and to endeavour to follow after it; neither could the legislator himself have a right mind without such a contemplation; nor would any thing he should write tend to the promotion of virtue in his readers: I mean, unless they be taught first of all that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things; and that thence he bestows a happy life upon those that follow him, but plunges such as do not walk in the paths of virtue into inevitable miseries. Now when Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin the establishment of his laws after the same manner that other legislators did; I mean, upon contracts and other rights between one man and another; but by raising their minds upwards to regard God, and his creation of the world; and by persuading them, that we men are the most excellent of the creatures of God upon earth. Now when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things; for as to other legislators. they followed fables, and by their discourses transferred the most reproachful of human vices unto the gods, and so afforded wicked men the most plausible excuses for their crimes; but as for our legislator, when he had once demonstrated that God was possessed of perfect virtue, he supposed that men also ought to strive after the participation of it; and on

those who did not so think, and so believe, he inflicted the severest punishments. I exhort, therefore, my readers to examine this whole undertaking in that view; for thereby it will appear to them, that there is nothing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe; while our legislator speaks some things wisely but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but still explains such things as required a direct explication, plainly and expressly. However, those that have a mind to know the reasons of every thing, may find here a very curious philosophical theory, which I now indeed shall wave the explication of; but if God afford me time for it,* I will set about writing it after I have finished the present work. I shall now betake myself to the history before me, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I find described in the sacred books after the manner following.

* As to this intended work of Josephus concerning the reasons of many of the Jewish laws, and what philosophical or allegorical sense they would bear, the loss of which work is by some of the learned not much regreted, I am inclinable, in part, to Fabricius's opinion, *ap.* Havercamp. p. 63, 64: That "we need not doubt but, among some vain and frigid conjectures derived from Jewish imaginations, Josephus would have taught us a great number of excellent and useful things, which perhaps nobody, neither among the Jews nor among the Christians, can now inform us of; so that I would give a great deal to find it still extant."

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF
THREE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THREE YEARS.

FROM THE CREATION TO THE DEATH OF ISAAC.

CHAP. I.

The Constitution of the World, and the Disposition of the Elements.

§ 1. In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. But when the earth did not come into sight, but was covered with thick darkness, and a wind moved upon its surface, God commanded that there should be light. And when that was made, he considered the whole mass, and separated the light and the darkness; and the name he gave to one was *Night*, and the other he called *Day;* and he named the beginning of light, and the time of rest, the *Evening* and the *Morning*. And this was indeed the *first* day. But Moses said it was *one* day; the cause of which I am able to give even now; but because I have promised to give such reasons for all things in a treatise by itself, I shall put off its exposition till that time. After this, on the second day, he placed the heaven over the whole world, and separated it from the other parts, and he determined it should stand by itself. He also placed a crystalline [firmament] round it, and put it together in a manner agreeable to the earth, and fitted it for giving moisture and rain, and for affording the advantage of dews. On the third day he appointed the dry land to appear, with the sea itself round about it; and on the very same day he made the plants and the seeds to spring out of the earth. On the fourth day he adorned the heaven with the sun, the moon, and the other stars; and appointed them their motions and courses, that the vicissitudes of the seasons might be clearly signified. And on the fifth day he produced the living creatures, both those that swim and those that fly; the former in the sea, the latter in the air. He also sorted them as to society and mixture for procreation, and that their kinds might increase and multiply. On the sixth day he created the four-footed beasts, and made them male and female. On the same day he also formed man. Accordingly Moses says, that in just six days, the world, and all that is therein, was made; and that the seventh day was a rest, and a release from the labour of such operations; whence it is that we celebrate a *rest* from our labours on that day, and call it the *Sabbath:* which word denotes *rest* in the Hebrew tongue.

2. Moreover Moses, after the seventh day was over,* begins to talk philoso-

* Since Josephus, in his preface, sect. 4, says, That Moses wrote some things *enigmatically*, some *allegorically*, and the rest in *plain words;* since, in his account of the first chapter of Genesis, and the three first verses of the second, he gives us no hints of any mystery at all: but when he here comes to verse 4, &c. he says, that Moses, after the seventh day was over, began to talk *philosophically;* it is [illegible]

phically, and concerning the formation of man says thus, That God took dust from the ground, and formed* man, and inserted in him a spirit and a soul. This man was called Adam, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that is *red*, because he was formed out of *red earth* compounded together; for of that kind is virgin and true earth. God also presented the living creatures, when he had made them according to their kinds, both male and female, to Adam; and he gave them those names by which they are still called. But when he saw that Adam had no female companion, no society (for there was no such created), and that he wondered at the other animals which were male and female, he laid him asleep, and took away one of his ribs, and out of it formed the woman; whereupon Adam knew her when she was brought to him, and acknowledged that she was made out of himself. Now a woman is called in the Hebrew tongue *Issa*; but the name of this woman was *Eve*, which signifies *the Mother of all living*.

3. Moses says farther, that God planted a paradise in the East, flourishing with all sorts of trees; and that among them was the *Tree of Life*, and another of *Knowledge*, whereby was to be known what was *Good* and *Evil*. And that when he had brought Adam and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to take care of the plants. Now the garden was watered by one river,† which ran round about the whole earth, and was parted into four parts. And Phison, which denotes a *Multitude*, running into India, makes its exit into the sea, and is by the Greeks called *Ganges*. Euphrates also, as well as Tigris, goes down into the Red Sea.‡ Now the name Euphrates, or Phrath, denotes either a *Dispersion* or a *Flower*; by Tigris or Diglath, is signified *what is swift with narrowness*; and Geon runs through Egypt, and denotes what *arises from the East*, which the Greeks call *Nile*.

4. God therefore commanded that Adam and his wife should eat of all the rest of the plants, but to abstain from the *Tree of Knowledge*; and foretold to them that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction. But while all the living creatures§ had one language at that time, the Serpent, which then lived together with Adam and his wife, showed an envious disposition, at his supposal of their living happily and in obedience to the commands of God; and imagining that when they disobeyed them, they would fall into calamities, he persuaded the

probable that he understood the rest of the second and the third chapters in some *enigmatical* or *allegorical* or *philosophical* sense. The change of the name of God just at this place, from *Elohim* to *Jehovah Elohim*; from *God* to *Lord God*, in the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Septuagint, does also not a little favour some such change in the narration or construction.

* We may observe here, that Josephus supposed man to be compounded of spirit, soul, and body, with St. Paul, 1 Thess. v. 23, and the rest of the ancients. He elsewhere says also, That the blood of animals was forbidden to be eaten, as having in it soul and spirit. Antiq. B. iii. chap. xi. sect. 2.

† Whence this strange notion came, which yet is not peculiar to Josephus, but, as Dr. Hudson says here, is derived from elder authors, as if four of the greatest rivers in the world, running two of them at vast distances from the other two, by some means or other watered Paradise, is hard to say. Only since Josephus has already appeared to *allegorize* this history, and takes notice that these four names had a particular signification: Phison for Ganges, a *Multitude*: Phrath for Euphrates, either a *Dispersion*, or a *Flower*; Diglath for Tigris, *what is swift with narrowness*; and Geon for Nile, *which arises from the East*; we perhaps mistake him when we suppose he literally means those four rivers, especially as to Geon or Nile, *which arises from the East*, while he very well knew the literal Nile *arises from the South*; though what farther allegorical sense he had in view is now, I fear, impossible to be determined.

‡ By the Red Sea is not here meant the Arabian Gulf, which alone we now call by that name; but all that South Sea, which included the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, as far as the East Indies, as Reland and Hudson here truly note, from the old geographers.

§ Hence it appears, that Josephus thought several at least of the brute animals, particularly the serpent, could speak before the fall. And I think few of the more perfect kinds of those animals want the organs of speech at this day. Many inducements there are also to a notion, that the present state they are in is not their original state; and that their capacities have been once much greater than we now see them, and are capable of being restored to their former condition. But as to this most ancient and authentic and probably allegorical account of that grand affair of the fall of our first parents, I have somewhat more to say in way of conjecture; but being only a conjecture, I omit it. Only thus far, that the imputation of the sin of our first parents to their posterity, any farther than as some way the cause or occasion of man's mortality, seems almost entirely groundless; and that both man and the other subordinate creatures are hereafter to be delivered from the curse then brought upon them, and at last to be *delivered from that bondage of corruption*, Rom. viii. 19—22.

woman, out of a malicious intention, to taste of the *Tree of Knowledge;* telling them, that in that tree was the *Knowledge of good and evil;* which knowledge when they should obtain, they would lead a happy life! nay, a life not inferior to that of a god; by which means he overcame the woman, and persuaded her to despise the command of God. Now, when she had tasted of that tree, and was pleased with its fruit, she persuaded Adam to make use of it also. Upon this they perceived that they were become naked to one another; and being ashamed thus to appear abroad, they invented somewhat to cover them; for the tree sharpened their understanding: and they covered themselves with fig leaves; and tying these before them, out of modesty, they thought they were happier than they were before, as they had discovered what they were in want of. But when God came into the garden, Adam, who was wont before to come and converse with him, being conscious of his wicked behaviour, went out of the way. This behaviour surprised God; and he asked what was the cause of this his procedure? And why he, that before delighted in that conversation, did now fly from it, and avoid it? When he made no reply, as conscious to himself that he had transgressed the command of God; God said, "I had before determined about you both, how you might lead a happy life, without any affliction, and care, and vexation of soul; and that all things which might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up by my providence, of their own accord, without your own labour and pains-taking; which state of labour and pains-taking would soon bring on old age, and death would not be at any remote distance; but now thou hast abused this my good-will, and hast disobeyed my commands; for thy silence is not the sign of thy virtue, but of thy evil conscience." However Adam excused his sin, and entreated God not to be angry at him, and laid the blame of what was done upon his wife; and said that he was deceived by her, and thence became an offender; while she again accused the Serpent. But God allotted him punishment, because he weakly submitted to the counsel of his wife; and said, the ground should not henceforth yield its fruits of its own accord, but that when it should be harassed by their labour, it should bring forth some of its fruits, and refuse to bring forth others. He also made Eve liable to the inconveniency of breeding, and the sharp pains of bringing forth children; and this because she persuaded Adam with the same arguments wherewith the Serpent had persuaded her, and had thereby brought him into a calamitous condition. He also deprived the Serpent of speech, out of indignation at his malicious disposition towards Adam. Besides this, he inserted poison under his tongue, and made him an enemy to men; and suggested to them, that they should direct their strokes against his head, that being the place wherein lay his mischievous design towards men, and it being easiest to take vengeance on him that way. And when he had deprived him of the use of his feet, he made him to go rolling all along, and dragging himself upon the ground. And when God had appointed these penalties for them, he removed Adam and Eve out of the garden into another place.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Posterity of Adam, and the Ten Generations from him to the Deluge.

§ 1. Adam and Eve had two sons; the elder of them was named *Cain;* which name, when it is interpreted, signifies *a Possession;* the younger was *Abel*, which signifies *Sorrow.* They had also daughters. Now the two brethren were pleased with different courses of life; for Abel the younger was a lover of righteousness, and, believing that God was present at all his actions, he excelled in virtue: and his employment was that of a shepherd. But Cain was not only very

wicked in other respects, but was wholly intent upon getting: and he first contrived to plough the ground. He slew his brother on the occasion following They had resolved to sacrifice to God. Now Cain brought the fruits of the earth, and of his husbandry; but Abel brought milk, and the first fruits of his flock: but God was more delighted with the latter oblation,* when he was honoured with what grew naturally of its own accord, than he was with the invention of a covetous man, and gotten by forcing the ground; whence it was, that Cain was very angry that Abel was preferred by God before him; and he slew his brother, and hid his dead body, thinking to escape discovery. But God, knowing what had been done, came to Cain, and asked him, What was become of his brother? because he had not seen him of many days; whereas he used to see them conversing together at other times. But Cain was in doubt with himself, and knew not what answer to give to God. At first he said, That he himself was at a loss about his brother's disappearing; but when he was provoked by God, who pressed him vehemently, as resolving to know what the matter was, he replied, He was not his brother's guardian or keeper, nor was he an observer of what he did. But, in return, God convicted Cain, as having been the murderer of his brother, and said, "I wonder at thee, that thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed." God therefore did not inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making supplication to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him; but he made him accursed, and threatened his posterity in the seventh generation. He also cast him, together with his wife, out of that land. And when he was afraid, that in wandering about he should fall among the wild beasts, and by that means perish, God bid him not to entertain such a melancholy suspicion, and to go over all the earth without fear of what mischief he might suffer from wild beasts; and, setting a mark upon him, that he might be known, he commanded him to depart.

2. And when Cain had travelled over many countries, he, with his wife, built a city named *Nod*, which is a place so called, and there he settled his abode; where also he had children. However he did not accept of his punishment in order to amendment, but to increase his wickedness; for he only aimed to procure every thing that was for his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbours. He augmented his household substance with much wealth, by rapine and violence; he excited his acquaintance to procure pleasure and spoils by robbery, and became a great leader of men into wicked courses. He also introduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived before; and was the author of measures and weights; and whereas they lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about lands; he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and he compelled his family to come together to it, and called that city *Enoch*, after the name of his eldest son Enoch. Now Jared was the son of Enoch, whose son was Malaleel, whose son was Methusela, whose son was Lamech, who had seventy-seven children by two wives, Silla and Ada. Of those children by Ada, one was Jabel; he erected tents, and loved the life of a shepherd. But Jubal, who was born of the same mother with him, exercised himself in music,† and invented the psaltery and the harp. But Tubal, one of his children by the other wife, exceeded all men in strength, and was very expert and famous in martial performances. He procured what tended to pleasures of the body by that method; and first of all invented the art of making brass. Lamech was also the father of a daughter,

* St. John's account of the reason why God accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and rejected that of Cain, as also why Cain slew Abel, on account of that his acceptance with God, is much better than this of Josephus. I mean, because *Cain was of the evil one, and slew his brother.* And, *wherefore slew he him? Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous.* 1 John, iii. 12. Josephus's reason seems to be no better than a Pharisaical notion or tradition.

† From this Jubal, not improbably, came *Jobel*, the trumpet of *Jobel* or *Jubiles*, that large and loud musical instrument, used in proclaiming the liberty at the *year of Jubiles.*

whose name was Naamah; and because he was so skilful in matters of divine revelation, that he knew he was to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made that known to his wives. Nay, even while Adam was alive, it came to pass, that the posterity of Cain became exceeding wicked, every one successively dying one after another, more wicked than the former. They were intolerable in war, and vehement in robberies: and if any one were slow to murder people, yet was he bold in his profligate behaviour, in acting unjustly, and doing injuries for gain.

3. Now Adam, who was the first man, and made out of the earth (for our discourse must now be about him), after Abel was slain, and Cain fled away on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire of children, he being two hundred and thirty years old; after which time he lived other seven hundred, and then died. He had indeed many other children,* but Seth in particular. As for the rest, it would be tedious to name them: I will therefore only endeavour to give an account of those that proceed from Seth. Now this Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, he became a virtuous man; and, as he was himself of an excellent character, so did he leave children† behind him, who imitated his virtues. All these proved to be of good dispositions. They also inhabited the same country without dissensions, and in a happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them, till they died. They also were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies and their order. And, that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of *fire*, and at another time by the violence and quantity of *water*, they made two pillars;‡ the one of brick, the other of stone; they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind; and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Siriad to this day.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Flood; and after what manner Noah was saved in an Ark, with his Kindred; and afterwards dwelt in the Plain of Shinar.

§ 1. Now this posterity of Seth continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe, and to have an entire regard to virtue for seven generations; but in process of time they were perverted, and forsook the practices of their forefathers; and did neither pay those honours to God which were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men; but for what degree of zeal they had formerly shown for virtue, they now showed by their actions a double degree of wickedness, whereby they made God to be their enemy. For

* The number of Adam's children, as says the old tradition, was thirty-three sons, and twenty-three daughters.

† What is here said of Seth and his posterity, that they were very good and virtuous, and at the same time very happy, without any considerable misfortunes, for seven generations [see chap. ii. sect. 1, before, and chap. iii. sect. 1, hereafter], is exactly agreeable to the state of the world, and the conduct of Providence in all the first ages.

‡ Of Josephus's mistake here, when he took Seth the son of Adam for Seth or Sesostris, king of Egypt, the erector of these pillars in the land of Siriad, see Essay on the Old Testament, Appendix, p. 159, 160. Although the main of this relation might be true; and Adam might foretell a *Conflagration* and a *Deluge*, which all antiquity witnesses to be an ancient tradition; nay, Seth's posterity might engrave their inventions in astronomy on two such pillars; yet, it is no way credible that they could survive the deluge, which has buried all such pillars and edifices far under ground, in the sediment of its waters, especially since the like pillars of the Egyptian Seth or Sesostris were extant after the flood, in the land of Siriad, and perhaps in the days of Josephus also, as is shown in the place here referred to.

many angels* of God accompanied with women, and begat sons that proved unjust, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their own strength; for the tradition is, that these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Grecians call *Giants*. But Noah was very uneasy at what they did; and, being displeased at their conduct, persuaded them to change their dispositions and their actions for the better; but seeing they did not yield to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him together with his wife and children, and those they had married, so he departed out of that land.

2. Now God loved this man for his righteousness. Yet he not only condemned those other men for their wickedness, but determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make another race that should be pure from wickedness, and cutting short their lives, and making their years not so many as they formerly lived, but one hundred and twenty only,† he turned the dry land into sea; and thus were all these men destroyed; but Noah alone was saved; for God suggested to him the following contrivance and way of escape: That he should make an ark of four stories high, three hundred cubits long,‡ fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high. Accordingly he entered into that ark, and his wife, and sons, and their wives, and put into it not only other provisions to support their wants there, but also sent in with the rest all sorts of living creatures, the male and his female, for the preservation of their kinds, and others of them by sevens. Now this ark had firm walls, and a roof, and was braced with cross beams, so that it could not be any way drowned, or overborn by the violence of the water. And thus was Noah, with his family, preserved. Now he was the tenth from Adam, as being the son of Lamech, whose father was Methusela; he was the son of Enoch, the son of Jared; and Jared was the son of Malaleel, who, with many of his sisters, were the children of Cain, the son of Enos. Now Enos was the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

3. This calamity happened in the six hundredth year of Noah's government [age], in the second month,§ called by the Macedonians *Dius*, but by the Hebrews *Marhesvan*; for so did they order their year in Egypt. But Moses appointed that *Nisan*, which is the same with *Xanthicus*, should be the first month of their festivals, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month. So that this month began the year as to all the solemnities they observed to the honour of God, although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying, and other ordinary affairs. Now he says, that this flood began on the twenty-seventh [seventeenth] day of the foremention month; and this was two thousand six hundred and fifty-six [one thousand five hundred and fifty-six] years from Adam the first man; and the time is written down in our sacred books,‖ those who then lived having noted down with great accuracy both the births and the deaths of illustrious men.

* This notion, that the fallen angels were in some sense the fathers of the old giants, was the constant opinion of antiquity.

† Josephus here supposes, that the life of these giants (for of them only do I understand him) was now reduced to 120 years; which is confirmed by the fragment of Enoch, sect. 10, in Authent. Rec. part 1, p. 268. For as to the rest of mankind, Josephus himself confesses their lives were much longer than 120 years, for many generations after the flood, as we shall see presently; and he says, they were gradually shortened till the days of Moses, and then fixed [for some time] at 120, chap. vi. sect. 5. Nor indeed need we suppose that either Enoch or Josephus meant to interpret these 120 years for the life of men before the flood, to be different from the 120 years of God's patience [perhaps while the ark was preparing] till the deluge; which I take to be the meaning of God when he threatened this wicked world, that if they so long continued impenitent, *their days should be* no more than 120 *years*.

‡ A cubit is about 21 English inches.

§ Josephus here truly determines, that the year at the flood began about the autumnal equinox; as to what day of the month the flood began, our Hebrew and Samaritan, and perhaps Josephus's own copy, more rightly placed it on the 17th day instead of the 27th, as here; for Josephus agrees with them as to the distance of 150 days to the 17th day of the 7th month, as Gen. vii. ult. with viii. 3.

‖ Josephus here takes notice, that these ancient genealogies were first set down by those that then lived, and from them were transmitted down to posterity; which I suppose to be the true account of that matter. For there is no reason to imagine that men were not taught to *read* and *write* soon after they were taught to *speak*: and perhaps all by the Messiah himself, who, under the Father, was the Creator or Governor of mankind, and who frequently in those early days appeared to them.

4. For indeed Seth was born when Adam was in his two hundred and thirtieth year, who lived nine hundred and thirty years. Seth begat Enoch in his two hundred and fifth year; who, when he had lived nine hundred and twelve years, delivered the government to Cainan his son, whom he had at his hundred and ninetieth year. He lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan, when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, had his son Malaleel, who was born in his hundred and seventieth year. This Malaleel, having lived eight hundred and ninety-five years, died, leaving his son Jared, whom he begat when he was at his hundred and sixty-fifth year. He lived nine hundred and sixty-two years; and then his son Enoch succeeded him, who was born when his father was one hundred and sixty-two years old. Now he, when he had lived three hundred and sixty-five years, departed, and went to God; whence it is that they have not written down his death. Now Methusela, the son of Enoch, who was born to him when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old, had Lamech for his son, when he was one hundred and eighty-seven years of age; to whom he deliver ed the government, when he had retained it nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Now Lamech, when he had governed seven hundred and seventy-seven years, appointed Noah his son to be ruler of the people, who was born to Lamech when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and retained the govern. ment nine hundred and fifty years. These years collected together make up the sum before set down. But let no one inquire into the deaths of these men; for they extended their lives all along, together with their children and grand. children; but let him have regard to their births only.

5. When God gave the signal, and it began to rain, the water poured down forty entire days, till it became fifteen cubits higher than the earth; which was the reason why there were no greater number preserved, since they had no place to fly to. When the rain ceased, the water did but just begin to abate after one hundred and fifty days; that is, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, it then ceasing to subside for a little while. After this, the ark rested on the top of a certain mountain in Armenia; which, when Noah understood, he opened it, and seeing a small piece of land about it, he continued quiet, and conceived some cheerful hopes of deliverance. But a few days afterward, when the water was decreased to a greater degree, he sent out a raven, as desirous to learn whether any other part of the earth were left dry by the water, and whether he might go out of the ark with safety; but the raven returned not. And after seven days, he sent out a dove, to know the state of the ground, which came back to him covered with mud, and bringing an olive branch. Hereby Noah learned that the earth was become clear of the flood. So after he had stayed seven more days, he sent the living creatures out of the ark, and both he and his family went out, when he also sacrificed to God, and feasted with his companions. However, the Armenians call this place* Αποβατηριον, *the Place of Descent;* for the ark being saved in that place, its remains are showed there by the inhabi. tants to this day.

6. Now all the writers of the barbarian histories make mention of this flood, and of this ark; among whom is Berossus the Chaldean. For when he was describing the circumstances of the flood, he goes on thus: "It is said, there is still some part of this ship in Armenia, at the mountain of the Cordyæans; and that some people carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they take away, and use

* This αποβατηριον, or *place of descent*, is the proper rendering of the Armenian name of this very city. It is called in Ptolemy, *Naxuana*, and by Moses Chorenensis, the Armenian historian, *Idsheuan*, but at the place itself, *Nachidsheuan*, which signifies *the first place of descent;* and is a lasting monument of the preservation of Noah in the ark, upon the top of that mountain, at whose foot it was built, as the first city or town after the flood. See Antiq. B. xx. chap. ii. sect. 3, and Moses Chorenensis, p 71, 72; who also says, p. 19, that another town was related by tradition to have been called *Seron*, or *the place of dispersion*, on account of the dispersion of Xisuthrus, or Noah's sons, from thence first made. Whether any remains of this ark be still preserved, as the people of the country suppose, I cannot certainly tell. Mons. Tournefort had not very long since a mind to see the place himself, but saw with too great dangers and difficulties to venture through them.

chiefly as amulets, for the averting of mischiefs."—Hieronymus the Egyptian also, who wrote the Phenician antiquities, and Manases, and a great many more, make mention of the same. Nay, Nicholas of Damascus, in his ninety-sixth book, hath a particular relation about them; where he speaks thus: "There is a great mountain in Armenia, over Minyas, called *Baris*, upon which it is reported, that many who fled at the time of the deluge were saved; and that one who was carried in an ark, came on shore upon the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved. This might be the man about whom Moses the legislator of the Jews wrote."

7. But as for Noah, he was afraid, since God had determined to destroy mankind, lest he should drown the earth every year; so he offered burnt offerings and besought God that nature might hereafter go on in its former orderly course; and that he would not bring on so great a judgment any more, by which the whole race of creatures might be in danger of destruction; but that, having now punished the wicked, he would of his goodness spare the remainder, and such as he had hitherto judged fit to be delivered from so severe a calamity; for that otherwise these last must be more miserable than the first, and that they must be condemned to a worse condition than the others, unless they be suffered to escape entirely; that is, if they be reserved for another deluge, while they must be afflicted with the terror and sight of the first deluge, and must also be destroyed by a second. He also entreated God to accept of his sacrifice, and to grant, that the earth might never again undergo the like effects of his wrath; that men might be permitted to go on cheerfully in cultivating the same; to build cities, and live happily in them; and that they might not be deprived of any of those good things which they enjoyed before the flood; but might attain to the like length of days, and old age, which the ancient people had arrived at before.

8. When Noah had made these supplications, God, who loved the man for his righteousness, granted entire success to his prayers; and said, That it was not he who brought the destruction on a polluted world, but that they underwent that vengeance on account of their own wickedness; and that he had not brought men into the world, if he had himself determined to destroy them, it being an instance of greater wisdom not to have granted them life at all, than, after it was granted, to procure their destruction; but the injuries, said he, they offered to my holiness and virtue forced me to bring this punishment upon them. But I will leave off for the time to come to require such punishments, the effects of so great wrath, for their future wicked actions, and especially on account of thy prayers. But if I shall, at any time, send tempests of rain, in an extraordinary manner, be not affrighted at the largeness of the showers; for the water shall no more overspread the earth. However, I require you to abstain from shedding the blood of men, and to keep yourselves pure from murder; and to punish those that commit any such thing. I permit you to make use of all the other living creatures at your pleasure, and as your appetites lead you; for I have made you lords of them all, both of those that walk on the land, and of those that swim in the waters, and of those that fly in the regions of the air on high, excepting their blood, for therein is the life. But I will give you a sign that I have left off my anger, by my *bow* (whereby is meant the rainbow, for they determined that the *rainbow* was the *bow* of God). And, when God had said and promised thus, he went away.

9. Now when Noah had lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood, and that all that time happily, he died, having lived the number of nine hundred and fifty years. But let no one upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our lives, and with the few years which we now live, think, that what we have said of them is false; or make the shortness of our lives at present an argument, that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life, for those ancients were beloved of God, and [lately] made by God himself; and because their food was then fitter for the prolongation of life, might well live so great a number of

years; and besides, God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time for foretelling [the periods of the stars], unless they had lived six hundred years; for the great year is completed in that interval. Now I have for witnesses to what I have said, all those that have written antiquities, both among the Greeks and Barbarians: for even Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian history, and Berossus, who collected the Chaldean monuments, and Mochus and Hestiæus, and besides these Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those that composed the Phenician history, agree to what I here say. Hesiod also, and Hecatæus, and Hellanicus, and Acusilaus; and, besides these, Ephorus and Nicolaus relate, that the ancients lived a thousand years. But as to these matters, let every one look upon them as they think fit.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Tower of Babylon and the Confusion of Tongues.

§ 1. Now the sons of Noah were three, Shem, and Japhet, and Ham, born one hundred years before the deluge. These first of all descended from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitation there; and persuaded others who were greatly afraid of the lower grounds on account of the flood, and so were very loath to come down from the higher places to venture to follow their examples. Now the plain in which they first dwelt, was called *Shinar*. God also commanded them to send colonies abroad, for the thorough peopling of the earth, that they might not raise seditions among themselves, but might cultivate a great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits after a plentiful manner. But they were so ill instructed that they did not obey God; for which reason they fell into calamities, and were made sensible, by experience, of what sin they had been guilty. For when they flourished with a numerous youth, God admonished them again to send out colonies; but they, imagining that the prosperity they enjoyed was not derived from the favour of God, but supposing that their own power was the proper cause of the plentiful condition they were in, did not obey him. Nay, they added to this their disobedience to the Divine will, the suspicion that they were therefore ordered to send out separate colonies, that being divided asunder, they might the more easily be oppressed.

2. Now it was Nimrod who excited them to such an affront and contempt of God. He was the grandson of Ham, the son of Noah, a bold man, and of great strength of hand. He persuaded them not to ascribe it to God, as if it was through his means they were happy, but to believe that it was their own courage which procured that happiness. He also gradually changed the government into tyranny, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but to bring them into a constant dependence on his own power. He also said, "He would be revenged on God, if he should have a mind to drown the world again; for that he would build a tower too high for the waters to be able to reach; and that he would avenge himself on God for destroying their forefathers."

3. Now the multitude were very ready to follow the determination of Nimrod, and to esteem it a piece of cowardice to submit to God; and they built a tower neither sparing any pains, nor being in any degree negligent about the work. And, by reason of the multitude of hands employed in it, it grew very high, sooner than any one could expect; but the thickness of it was so great, and it was so strongly built, that thereby its great height seemed, upon the view, to be less than it really was. It was built of burned brick, cemented together with mortar made of *bitumen*, that it might not be liable to admit water. When God saw that they acted so madly, he did not resolve to destroy them utterly, since

they were not grown wiser by the destruction of the former sinners, but he caused a tumult among them, by producing in them divers languages, and causing, that through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another. The place wherein they built the tower is now called *Babylon*, because of the confusion of that language which they readily understood before; for the Hebrews mean by the word Babel *confusion*. The Sibyl also makes mention of this tower, and of the confusion of the language, when she says thus: "When all men were of one language, some of them built a high tower, as if they would thereby ascend up to heaven, but the gods sent storms of wind and overthrew the tower, and gave every one his peculiar language; and for this reason it was that the city was called *Babylon*." But as to the plain of Shinar, in the country of Babylonia, Hestiæus mentions it, when he says thus: "Such of the priests as were saved took the sacred vessels of Jupiter Enyalius, and came to Shinar of Babylonia."

CHAP. V.

After what Manner the Posterity of Noah sent out Colonies, and inhabited the whole Earth.

§ 1. After this they were dispersed abroad, on account of their languages, and went out by colonies every where; and each colony took possession of that land which they lighted upon, and unto which God led them, so that the whole continent was filled with them, both the inland and the maritime countries. There were some also who passed over the sea in ships, and inhabited the islands, and some of those nations do still retain the denominations which were given them by their first founders; but some have lost them also, and some have only admitted certain changes in them, that they might be the more intelligible to the inhabitants. And they were the Greeks who became the authors of such mutations; for when in after ages they grew potent, they claimed to themselves the glory of antiquity; giving names to the nations that sounded well [in Greek], that they might be better understood among themselves; and setting agreeable forms of government over them, as if they were a people derived from themselves.

CHAP. VI.

ow every Nation was denominated from their first Inhabitants.

§ 1. Now they were the grandchildren of Noah, in honour of whom names were imposed on the nations by those that first seized upon them. Japhet the son of Noah had seven sons. They inhabited so, that beginning at the mountains Taurus and Amanus, they proceeded along Asia, as far as the river Tanais, and along Europe to Cadiz; and settling themselves on the lands they lighted upon, which none had inhabited before, they called the nations by their own names. For Gomer founded those whom the Greeks now call *Galatians* [Galls], but were then called *Gomerites*. Magog founded those that from him were named *Magogites*, but who are by the Greeks called *Scythians*. Now as to Javan and Madai, the sons of Japhet; from Madai came the Medeans, which are called *Medes* by the Greeks; but from Javan, Jonia and all the Grecians are derived. Thobel founded the Thobelites, which are now called *Iberes* and the Mosocheni were founded by Mosoch; now they are Cappadocians. There is

also a mark of their ancient denominations still to be showed; for there is even now among them a city called Mazaca, which may inform those that are able to understand, that so was the entire nation once called. Thiras also called those whom he ruled over *Thirasian;* but the Greeks changed the name into *Thracians.* And so many were the countries that had the children of Japhet for their inhabitants. Of the three sons of Gomer, Aschanaz founded the Aschanasians, who are now called by the Greeks *Rheginians.* So did Riphath found the Ripheans, now called *Paphlagonians;* and Thrugramma the Thrugrammeans, who, as the Greeks resolved, were named *Phrygians.* Of the three sons of Javan also, the son of Japhet, Elisa gave name to the Elisians, who were his subjects; they are now the Æolians. Tharsus to the Tharsians, for so was Cilicia of old called; the sign of which is this, that the noblest city they have, and a metropolis also, is Tarsus, the *Tau* being by change put for the *Theta.* Cethimus possessed the island Cethima; it is now called *Cyprus;* and from that it is, that all islands, and the greatest part of the sea-coasts, are named Cethium by the Hebrews; and one city there is in Cyprus that has been able to preserve its denomination; it is called *Citius* by those who use the language of the Greeks, and has not, by the use of that dialect, escaped the name of Cethium. And so many nations have the children and grandchildren of Japhet possessed. Now when I have premised somewhat, which perhaps the Greeks do not know, I will return and explain what I have omitted; for such names are pronounced here after the manner of the Greeks, to please my readers; for our own country language does not so pronounce them. But the names in all *cases* are of one and the same ending; for the name we here pronounce *Noeas,* is there *Noah;* and in every *case* retains the same termination.

2. The children of Ham possessed the land from Syria and Amanus, and the mountains of Libanus; seizing upon all that was on its sea-coasts, and as far as the ocean, and keeping it as their own. Some, indeed, of its names are utterly vanished away; others of them being changed, and another sound given them, are hardly to be discovered, yet a few there are, which have kept their denominations entire. For of the four sons of Ham, time has not at all hurt the name of *Chus;* for the Ethiopians, over whom he reigned, are even at this day, both by themselves and by all men in Asia, called *Chusites.* The memory also of the Mesraites is preserved in their name; for all we who inhabit this country [of Judea] call Egypt *Mestre,* and the Egyptians *Mestreans.* Phut also was the founder of Libya, and called the inhabitants *Phutites,* from himself; there is also a river in the country of the Moors, which bears that name; whence it is that we may see the greatest part of the Grecian historiographers mention that river, and the adjoining country, by the appellation of *Phut;* but the name it has now has been by change given it from one of the sons of Mestraim, who was called *Lybyos.* We will inform you presently what has been the occasion why it has been called *Africa* also. Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, inhabited the country now called *Judea,* and called from his own name *Canaan.* The children of these [four] were these: Sabas, who founded the Sabeans; Evilas, who founded the Evileans, who are called *Getuli,* Sabathes founded the Sabathens; they are now called by the Greeks *Astaboranes;* Sabactas settled the Sabactens; and Ragmus the Ragmeans; and he had two sons, the one of which, Judadas, settled the Judadeans, a nation of the western Ethiopians, and left them his name; as did Sabas, to the Sabeans. But Nimrod, the son of Chus, stayed and tyrannized at Babylon, as we have already informed you. Now all the children of Mesraim, being eight in number, possessed the country from Gaza to Egypt, though it retained the name of one only, the *Philestim,* for the Greeks called part of that country *Palestine.* As for the rest, Ludiem, and Enemim, and Labim, who alone inhabited in Libya, and called the country from himself; Nedim and Pethrosim, and Chesloim, and Cephthorim, we know nothing of them

besides their names; for the Ethiopic war,* which we shall describe hereafter, was the cause that those cities were overthrown. The sons of Canaan were these: Sidonius, who also built a city of the same name; it is called by the Greeks *Sidon*; Amathus inhabited in Amathine, which is even now called *Amathe* by the inhabitants, although the Macedonians named it *Epiphania*, from one of his posterity; Arudeus possessed the island Aradus; Arucas possessed Acre which is in Libanus. But for the seven others [Eueus], Chetteus, Jebuseus Amorreus, Gergeseus, Eudeus, Sineus, Samareus, we have nothing in the sacred books but their names, for the Hebrews overthrew their cities; and their calamities came upon them on the occasion following.

3. Noah, when after the deluge the earth was resettled in its former condition, set about its cultivation; and when he had planted it with vines, and when the fruit was ripe, and he had gathered the grapes in their season, and the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feasted, and being drunk, he fell asleep, and lay naked in an unseemly manner. When his youngest son saw this, he came laughing, and showed him to his brethren; but they covered their father's nakedness. And when Noah was made sensible of what had been done, he prayed for posterity to his other sons; but for Ham, he did not curse him, by reason of his nearness in blood, but cursed his posterity. And when the rest of them escaped that curse, God inflicted it on the children of Canaan. But as to these matters, we shall speak more hereafter.

4. Shem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who inhabited the land that began at Euphrates, and reached to the Indian Ocean. For Elam left behind him the Elamites, the ancestors of the Persians. Ashur lived at the city Nineve; and named his subjects *Assyrians*, who became the most fortunate nation beyond others. Arphaxad named the *Arphaxadites*, who are now called *Chaldeans*. Aram had the Aramites, which the Greeks call *Syrians*; as Laud founded the Laudites, which are now called *Lydians*. Of the four sons of Aram, Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus; this country lies between Palestine and Celosyria. Ul founded Armenia; and Gather the Bactrians; and Mesa the Mesaneans; it is now called *Charax Spasini*. Sala was the son of Arphaxad; and his son was Heber, from whom they originally called the Jews† *Hebrews*. Heber begat Joctan and Phaleg; he was called Phaleg because he was born at the dispersion of the nations to their several countries; for Phaleg among the Hebrews signifies *division*. Now Joctan, one of the sons of Heber, had these sons, Elmodad, Saleph, Asermoth, Jera, Adoram, Aizel, Decla, Ebal, Abimael, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilat, and Jobab. These inhabited from Cophen, an Indian river, and in part of Aria adjoining to it. And this shall suffice concerning the sons of Shem.

5. I will now treat of the Hebrews. The son of Phaleg, whose father was Heber, was Ragau; whose son was Serug, to whom was born Nahor; his son was Terah, who was the father of Abram, who accordingly was the tenth from Noah, and was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the deluge; for Terah begat Abram in his seventieth year. Nahor begat Haran, when he was one hundred and twenty years old; Nahor was born to Serug at his hundred and thirty-second year; Ragau had Serug at one hundred and

* One observation ought not to be here neglected, with regard to that Ethiopic war, which Moses, as general of the Egyptians, put an end to, Antiq. B. ii. ch. x. and about which our late writers seem very unconcerned: viz. that it was a war of that consequence, as to occasion the removal or destruction of six or seven nations of the posterity of Mitzraim, with their cities; which Josephus would not have said, if he had not had ancient records to justify those assertions, though those records be all now lost.

† That the Jews were called *Hebrews* from this their progenitor *Heber*, our author Josephus here rightly affirms: and not from Abram the Hebrew, or *Passenger* over Euphrates, as many of the moderns suppose. Shem is also called the *Father of all the children of Heber*, or of *all the Hebrews*, in a history long before Abram passed over Euphrates, Gen. x. 21, though it must be confessed, that, Gen. xiv. 13, where the original says, they told Abram the Hebrew, the Septuagint renders it the *Passenger*, περατὴν but this is spoken only of Abram himself, who had then lately passed over Euphrates, and is another signification of the Hebrew word, taken as an appellative and not as a proper name.

thirty; at the same time also Phaleg had Regau; Heber begat Phaleg in his hundred and thirty-fourth year; he himself being begotten by Sala, when he was a hundred and thirty years old, whom Arphaxad had for his son at the hundred and thirty-fifth year of his age. Arphaxad was the son of Shem; and born twelve years after the deluge. Now Abram had two brethren, Nahor and Haran; of these Haran left a son, Lot; as also Sarai and Milcha his daughters; and died among the Chaldeans, in a city of the Chaldeans called *Ur;* and his monument is showed to this day. These married their nieces. Nahor married Milcha, and Abraham married Sarai. Now Terah hating Chaldea, on account of his mourning for Haran, they all removed to Haran of Mesopotamia, where Teran died, and was buried, when he had lived to be two hundred and five years old; for the life of man was already by degrees diminished, and became shorter than before, till the birth of Moses; after whom the term of human life was one hundred and twenty years, God determining it to the length that Moses happened to live. Now Nahor had eight sons by Milcha; Uz, and Buz, Kemuel, Chesed, Azau, Pheldas, Jadelp, and Bethuel. These were all the genuine sons of Nahor; for Teba, and Gaam, and Tachas, and Macha, were born of Reuma his concubine; but Bethuel had a daughter Rebecca, and a son Laban.

CHAP. VII.

How Abram our Forefather went out of the Land of the Chaldeans, and lived in the Land then called Canaan, but now Judea.

§ 1. Now Abram, having no son of his own, adopted Lot, his brother Haran's son, and his wife Sarai's brother; and he left the land of Chaldea when he was seventy-five years old, and at the command of God went into Canaan, and therein he dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity. He was a person of great sagacity, both for understanding all things, and persuading his hearers, and not mistaken in his opinions; for which reason he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and he determined to renew and to change the opinion all men happened then to have concerning God; for he was the first that ventured to publish this notion, that there was but One God, the Creator of the Universe; and that as to other [gods], if they contributed any thing to the happiness of men, that each of them afforded it only according to his appointment, and not by their own power. This his opinion was derived from the irregular phenomena that were visible both at land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun, and moon, and all the heavenly bodies; thus, "if [said he] these bodies had power of their own, they would certainly take care of their own regular motions; but since they do not preserve such regularity, they make it plain that so far as they co-operate to our advantage, they do it not of their own abilities, but as they are subservient to him that commands them, to whom alone we ought justly to offer our honour and thanksgiving." For which doctrines, when the Chaldeans, and other people of Mesopotamia, raised a tumult against him, he thought fit to leave that country; and at the command, and by the assistance of God, he came and lived in the land of Canaan. And when he was there settled, he built an altar, and performed a sacrifice to God.

2. Berossus mentions our father Abram without naming him, when he says thus: "In the tenth generation after the flood, there was among the Chaldeans a man, righteous and great and skilful in the celestial science." But Hecateus does more than barely mention him; for he composed, and left behind him, a book concerning him. And Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his history, says thus; "Abram reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came

with an army out of the land above Babylon, called the land of the *Chaldeans*: but, after a long time, he got him up, and removed from that country also, with his people, and went into the land then called the land of *Canaan*, but now the land of *Judea*, and this when his posterity were become a multitude; as to which posterity of his, we relate their history in another work. Now the name of Abram is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and there is showed a village named from him, *The Habitation of Abram.*"

CHAP. VIII.

That when there was a Famine in Canaan, Abram went thence into Egypt; and after he had continued there a while, he returned back again.

§ 1. Now after this, when a famine had invaded the land of Canaan, and Abram had discovered that the Egyptians were in a flourishing condition, he was disposed to go down to them, both to partake of the plenty they enjoyed, and to become an auditor of their priests, and to know what they said concerning the gods; designing either to follow them, if they had better notions than he, or to convert them into a better way, if his own notions proved the truest. Now seeing he was to take Sarai with him, and was afraid of the madness of the Egyptians with regard to women, lest the king should kill him on occasion of his wife's great beauty, he contrived this device;—He pretended to be her brother, and directed her in a dissembling way to pretend the same; for he said it would be for their benefit. Now as soon as they came into Egypt, it happened to Abram as he supposed it would, for the fame of his wife's beauty was greatly talked of; for which reason Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, would not be satisfied with what was reported of her, but would needs see her himself, and was preparing to enjoy her; but God put a stop to his unjust inclinations, by sending upon him a distemper, and a sedition against his government. And when he inquired of the priests, how he might be freed from those calamities, they told him that his miserable condition was derived from the wrath of God, upon account of his inclinations to abuse the stranger's wife. He then, out of fear, asked Sarai, who she was? and who it was that she brought along with her? And when he had found out the truth, he excused himself to Abram, that supposing the woman to be his sister, and not his wife, he set his affections on her, as desiring an affinity with him by marrying her; but not as incited by lust to abuse her. He also made him a large present in money; and gave him leave to enter into conversation with the most learned among the Egyptians; from which conversation, his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before.

2. For whereas the Egyptians were formerly addicted to different customs, and despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abram conferred with each of them, and confuting the reasonings they made use of, every one for their own practices, he demonstrated that such reasonings were vain, and void of truth; whereupon he was admired by them, in those conferences, as a very wise man, and one of great sagacity when he discoursed on any subject he undertook; and this not only in understanding it, but in persuading other men also to assent to him. He communicated to them arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy; for, before Abram came into Egypt, they were unacquainted with those parts of learning; for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

3. As soon as Abram was come back into Canaan, he parted the land between him and Lot upon account of the tumultuous behaviour of their shepherds,

concerning the pastures wherein they should feed their flocks. However, he gave Lot his option, or leave to choose which lands he would take: and he took himself what the other left, which were the lower grounds at the foot of the mountains; and he himself dwelt in Hebron, which is a city seven years ancienter than Tanis of Egypt. But Lot possessed the land of the plain, and the river Jordan, not far from the city Sodom, which was then a fine city, but is now destroyed by the will and the wrath of God; the cause of which I shall show in its proper place hereafter

CHAP. IX.

The Destruction of the Sodomites by the Assyrian War.

§ 1. At this time, when the Assyrians had the dominion over Asia, the people of Sodom were in a flourishing condition, both as to riches and number of their youth. There were five kings that managed the affairs of this country, Ballas, Barsas, Senabar, and Sumobor, with the king of Bela, and each king led on his own troops. And the Assyrians made war upon them, and dividing their army into four parts, fought against them. Now every part of the army had its own commander; and when the battle was joined, the Assyrians were conquerors, and imposed a tribute upon the kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery twelve years, and so long they continued to pay their tribute; but on the thirteenth year they rebelled, and then the army of the Assyrians came upon them, under their commanders, Amrephel, Arioch, Chodorlaomor, and Tidal. These kings had laid waste all Syria, and overthrown the offspring of the giants. And when they were come over against Sodom, they pitched their camp at the vale called the *Slimepits*, for at that time there were pits in that place; but now, upon the destruction of the city of Sodom, that vale became the *Lake Asphaltites*, as it is called; however, concerning this lake we shall speak more presently. Now when the Sodomites joined battle with the Assyrians, and the fight was very obstinate, many of them were killed, and the rest were carried captive; among which captives was Lot, who had come to assist the Sodomites

CHAP. X

How Abram fought with the Assyrians, and overcame them, and saved the Sodomite Prisoners, and took from the Assyrians the Prey they had gotten.

§ 1. When Abram heard of their calamity, he was at once afraid for Lot his kinsman, and pitied the Sodomites, his friends and neighbours; and thinking it proper to afford them assistance, he did not delay it, but marched hastily, and the fifth night fell upon the Assyrians, near Dan, for that is the name of the other spring of Jordon; and, before they could arm themselves, he slew some as they were in their beds, before they could suspect any harm; and others who were not yet gone to sleep, but were so drunk that they could not fight, ran away. Abram pursued after them, till, on the second day, he drove them in a body unto Hoba, a place belonging to Damascus; and thereby demonstrated, that victory does not depend on multitude, and the number of hands, but the alacrity and courage of soldiers overcome the most numerous bodies of men, while he got the victory over so great an army with no more than three hundred and eighteen of his servants, and three of his friends; but all those that fled returned home ingloriously.

2. So Abram, when he had saved the captive Sodomites, who had been taken by the Assyrians, and Lot also, his kinsman, returned home in peace. Now the king of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they called, *The King's Dale*, where Melchisedec, king of the city Salem, received him. That name signifies, *The righteous King:* and such he was, without dispute, insomuch that, on this account, he was made the priest of God; however, they afterward called it *Salem Jerusalem*. Now this Melchisedec supplied Abram's army in an hospitable manner, and gave them provisions in abundance; and as they were feasting, he began to praise him, and to bless God for subduing his enemies under him. And when Abram gave him the tenth part of his prey, he accepted of the gift. But the King of Sodom desired Abram to take the prey; but entreated that he might have those men restored to him whom Abram had saved from the Assyrians, because they belonged unto him. But Abram would not do so; nor would make any other advantage of that prey, than what his servants had eaten; but still insisted that he should afford a part to his friends that had assisted him in the battle. The first of them was called *Eschol* and then *Enner*, and *Mambre*.

3. And God commended his virtue, and said, Thou shalt not however lose the rewards thou hast deserved to receive by such thy glorious actions. He answered, And what advantage will it be to me to have such rewards, when I have none to enjoy them after me? for he was hitherto childless. And God promised that he should have a son, and that his posterity should be very numerous; insomuch that their number should be like the stars. When he heard that, he offered a sacrifice to God, as he commanded him. The manner of the sacrifice was this:* He took an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram in like manner of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon; and, as he was enjoined, he divided the three former, but the birds he did not divide. After which, before he built his altar, where the birds of prey flew about as desirous of blood, a divine voice came to him, declaring that their neighbours would be grievous to his posterity, when they should be in Egypt, for four hundred years;† during which time they should be afflicted, but afterwards should overcome their enemies, should conquer the Canaanites in war, and possess themselves of their land and of their cities.

4. Now Abram dwelt near the oak called *Ogyges;* the place belongs to Canaan, not far from the city of Hebron. But being uneasy at his wife's barrenness, he entreated God to grant that he might have male issue; and God required of him to be of good courage; and said, that he would add to all the rest of the benefits that he had bestowed upon him, ever since he led him out of Mesopotamia, the gift of children. Accordingly Sarai, at God's command, brought to his bed one of her handmaidens, a woman of Egyptian descent, in order to obtain children by her; and when this handmaid was with child, she triumphed and ventured to affront Sarai, as if the dominion were to come to a son to be born of her. But when Abram resigned her into the hands of Sarai, to punish her, she contrived to fly away, as not able to bear the instances of Sarai's severity to her; and she entreated God to have compassion on her. Now a *divine Angel* met her, as she was going forward in the wilderness, and bid her return to her master and mistress, for if she would submit to that wise advice, she would live better hereafter; for that the reason of her being in such a miserable case was this, that she had been ungrateful and arrogant towards her mistress. He also told her, that if she disobeyed God, and went on still in her way, she should perish; but if she would return back, she should become the mother of a son, who should reign over that country. These admonitions she obeyed, and returned to her master and mistress, and obtained forgiveness. A little

* It is worth noting here, that God required no other sacrifices under the law of Moses than what were taken from these five kinds of animals which he here required of Abram. Nor did the Jews feed upon any other domestic animals than the three here named, as Reland observes on Antiq. B. iv. ch. iv. sect. 4

† As to this affliction of Abraham's posterity for 400 years, see Antiq. B. ii. ch. xv. sect. 1.

while afterwards she bare Ismael, which may be interpreted, *Heard of God*, because God had *heard* his mother's prayer.

5. The fore-mentioned son was born to Abram, when he was eighty-six years old; but when he was ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and promised him, that he should have a son by Sarai, and commanded that his name should be *Isaac;* and showed him, that from this son should spring great nations and kings and that they should obtain all the land of Canaan by war, from Sidon to Egypt. But he charged him in order to keep his posterity unmixed with others, that they should be circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin, and that this should be done on the eighth day after they were born; the reason of which circumcision, I will explain in another place. And Abram inquiring also concerning Ismael, whether he should live or not, God signified to him, that he should live to be very old, and should be the father of great nations. Abram therefore gave thanks to God for these blessings; and then he, and all his family, and his son Ismael, were circumcised immediately; the son being that day thirteen years of age, and he ninety-nine.

CHAP. XI.

How God overthrew the Nation of the Sodomites, out of his Wrath against them for their Sins.

§ 1. About this time the Sodomites grew proud, on account of their riches and great wealth; they became unjust towards men, and impious towards God, insomuch that they did not call to mind the advantages they received from him; they hated strangers, and abused themselves with sodomitical practices. God was therefore much displeased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and to overthrow their city, and to lay waste their country, until there should neither plant nor fruit grow out of it.

2. When God had thus resolved concerning the Sodomites, Abraham, as he sat by the oak of Mambre, at the door of his tent, saw three angels; and thinking them to be strangers, he rose up, and saluted them, and desired they would accept of an entertainment, and abide with him; to which, when they agreed, he ordered cakes of meal to be made presently; and when he had slain a calf, he roasted it, and brought it to them, as they sat under the oak. Now they made a show of eating; and besides, they asked him about his wife Sarah, where she was? and when he said, she was within, they said, they should come again hereafter, and find her become a mother. Upon which the woman laughed, and said, that it was impossible she should bear children, since she was ninety years of age, and her husband was a hundred. They then concealed themselves no longer, but declared that they were angels of God: and that one of them was sent to inform them about the child, and two of the overthrow of Sodom.

3. When Abraham heard this, he was grieved for the Sodomites; and he rose up, and besought God for them, and entreated him that he would not destroy the righteous with the wicked. And when God had replied, That there was no good man among the Sodomites; for if there were but ten such men among them, he would not punish any of them for their sins, Abraham held his peace. And the angels came to the city of the Sodomites; and Lot entreated them to accept of a lodging with him; for he was a very generous and hospitable man, and one that had learned to imitate the goodness of Abraham. Now when the Sodomites saw the young men to be of beautiful countenances, and this to an extraordinary degree, and that they took up their lodgings with Lot, they resolved themselves to enjoy these beautiful boys by force and violence; and when Lot exhorted them to sobriety, and not to offer any thing immodest to the strangers, but to have re-

gard to their lodging in his house; and promised, that if their inclinations could not be governed, he would expose his daughters to their lust, instead of these strangers: neither thus were they made ashamed.

4. But God was much displeased at their impudent behaviour, so that he both smote those men with blindness, and condemned the Sodomites to universal destruction. But Lot, upon God's informing him of the future destruction of the Sodomites, went away, taking with him his wife and daughters, who were two, and still virgins; for those that were betrothed* to them were above the thoughts of going, and deemed that Lot's words were trifling. God then cast a thunderbolt upon the city, and set it on fire, with its inhabitants; and laid waste the country with the like burning, as I formerly said when I wrote the Jewish War.† But Lot's wife continually turning back to view the city, as she went from it, and being too nicely inquisitive what would become of it, although God had forbidden her so to do, was changed into a pillar of salt;‡ for I have seen it, and it remains at this day. Now he and his daughters fled to a certain small place, encompassed with the fire, and settled in it: It is to this day called *Zoar;* for that is the word which the Hebrews use for a *small thing*. There it was that he lived a miserable life, on account of his having no company, and his want of provisions.

5. But his daughters, thinking that all mankind were destroyed, approached to their father,§ though taking care not to be perceived. This they did, that mankind might not utterly fail: and they bare sons; the son of the elder was named *Moab*, which denotes one derived *from his father;* the younger bare *Ammon* which name denotes one derived *from a kinsman*. The former of whom was the father of the Moabites, which is even still a great nation; the latter was the father of the Ammonites; and both of them are inhabitants of Celosyria. And such was the departure of Lot from among the Sodomites.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Abimelech; and concerning Ismael the Son of Abraham, and concerning the Arabians, which were his Posterity.

§ 1. Abraham now removed to Gerar of Palestine, leading Sarah along with him, under the notion of his sister, using the like dissimulation that he had used before, and this out of fear; for he was afraid of Abimelech, the king of that country, who did also himself fall in love with Sarah, and was disposed to corrupt

* These *sons-in-law* to Lot, as they are called, Gen. xix. 12—14. might be so styled because they were betrothed to Lot's daughter's, though not yet married to them. See the note on Antiq. B. xiv. ch. xiii. sect. 1.

† Of the War, B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 4.

‡ This *pillar of salt* was, we see here, standing in the days of Josephus, and he had seen it. That it was standing then is also attested by Clement of Rome, contemporary with Josephus; as also that it was so in the next century, is attested by Irenæus, with the addition of an hypothesis how it came to last so long, with all its members entire.—Whether the account that some modern travellers give be true, that it is still standing, I do not know. Its remote situation, at the utmost southern point of the sea of Sodom, in the wild and dangerous deserts of Arabia, makes it exceeding difficult for inquisitive travellers to examine the place; and for common reports of country people, at a distance, they are not very satisfactory. In the meantime, I have no opinion of Le Clerc's dissertation or hypothesis about this question, which can only be determined by eye witnesses. When Christian princes, so called, lay aside their foolish and unchristian wars and quarrels, and send a body of fit persons to travel over the East, and bring us faithful accounts of all ancient monuments, and procure us copies of all ancient records, at present lost among us, we may hope for full satisfaction in such inquiries, but hardly before.

§ I see no proper wicked intention in these daughters of Lot, when in a case which appeared to them of unavoidable necessity, they procured themselves to be with child by their father. Without such an unavoidable necessity, incest is a horrid crime; but whether, in such a case of necessity, as they apprehended this to be, according to Josephus, it was any such crime, I am not satisfied. In the mean time, they making their father drunk, and their solicitous concealment of what they did from him, shows and they despaired of persuading him to an action, which, at the best, could not but be very suspicious that shocking to so good a man.

her; but he was restrained from satisfying his lust by a dangerous distemper which befell him from God. Now when his physicians despaired of curing him, he fell asleep, and saw a dream warning him not to abuse the stranger's wife; and when he recovered, he told his friends that God had inflicted that disease upon him, by way of punishment for his injury to the stranger, and in order to preserve the chastity of his wife; for that she did not accompany him as his sister, but as his legitimate wife; and that God had promised to be gracious to him for the time to come, if this person be once secure of his wife's chastity. When he had said this, by the advice of his friends, he sent for Abraham, and bid him not be concerned about his wife, or fear the corruption of her chastity; for that God took care of him, and that it was by his providence that he received his wife again, without her suffering any abuse. And he appealed to God, and to his wife's conscience; and said, that he had not any inclination at first to enjoy her, if he had known she was his wife; but since, said he, thou ledst her about as thy sister, I was guilty of no offence. He also entreated him to be at peace with him; and to make God propitious to him; and that if he thought fit to continue with him, he should have what he wanted in abundance; but that if he designed to go away, he should be honourably conducted, and have whatsoever supply he wanted when he came thither. Upon his saying this, Abraham told him, that his pretence of kindred to his wife was no lie, because she was his brother's daughter; and that he did not think himself safe in his travels abroad without this sort of dissimulation; and that he was not the cause of his distemper, but was only solicitous for his own safety; he said also, that he was ready to stay with him. Whereupon Abimelech assigned him land and money; and they covenanted to live together without guile, and took an oath at a certain well, called *Beersheba*, which may be interpreted, *The well of the oath;* and so it is named by the people of the country unto this day.

2. Now in a little time Abraham had a son by Sarah as God had foretold to him, whom he named *Isaac*, which signifies *laughter*. And indeed they so called him, because Sarah *laughed* when God* said she should bear a son, she not expecting such a thing, as being past the age of childbearing, for she was ninety years old, and Abraham a hundred; so that this son was born to them both in the last year of each of those decimal numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day; and from that time the Jews continue the custom of circumcising their sons within that number of days. But as for the Arabians, they circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ismael, the founder of their nation, who was born to Abraham of the concubine, was circumcised at that age; concerning whom I will presently give a particular account with great exactness.

3. As for Sarah, she at first loved Ismael, who was born of her own handmaid Hagar, with an affection not inferior to that of her own son, for he was brought up in order to succeed in the government; but when she herself had borne Isaac, she was not willing that Ismael should be brought up with him, as being too old for him, and able to do him injuries, when their father should be dead; she therefore persuaded Abraham to send him and his mother to some distant country. Now, at the first, he did not agree to what Sarah was so zealous for, and thought it an instance of the greatest barbarity to send away a young child† and a woman, un-

* It is well worth observation, that Josephus here calls that principal angel who appeared to Abraham, and foretold the birth of Isaac, directly *God;* which language of Josephus's here prepares us to believe those other expressions of his, that *Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man:* Antiq. B. xviii. chap. iii. sect. 3, and of God *the Word*, in his homily concerning Hades, may be both genuine. Nor is the other expression of *divine angel*, used presently, and before also, of any other signification.

† Josephus here calls Ismael *a young child or infant*, though he was above thirteen years of age: as Judas calls himself and his brethren *young men*, when they were 47, and he had two children, Antiq. b. ii. chap. vi. sect. 8, and they were of much the same age as is a damsel of 12 years old called a *little child*, Mark, v. 39—42, five several times. Herod also is said by Josephus to be a *very young man* at 25. See the note on Antiq. b. xiv. chap. ix. sect. 2; and Of the War, b. i. chap. x. And Aristobulus is styled a *very little child* at 16 years of age, Antiq. b. xv. chap. ii. sect. 6, 7 Domitian is also called by

provided of necessaries: but at length he agreed to it, because God was pleased with what Sarah had determined; so he delivered Ismael to his mother, as not yet able to go by himself; and commanded her to take a bottle of water and a loaf of bread, and so to depart, and to take necessity for her guide. But as soon as her necessary provisions failed, she found herself in an evil case; and when the water was almost spent, she laid the young child, who was ready to expire, under a fir tree, and went on farther, that so he might die while she was absent. But a *divine angel* came to her, and told her of a fountain hard by, and bid her take care, and bring up the child, because she should be very happy by the preservation of Ismael. She then took courage, upon the prospect of what was promised her, and meeting with some shepherds, by their care she got clear of the distresses she had been in.

4. When the lad was grown up, he married a wife, by birth an Egyptian, from whence the mother was herself derived originally. Of this wife were born to Ismael twelve sons, Nabaioth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mabsam, Idumas, Masmaos, Masaos, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphesus, Kadmas. These inhabited all the country from Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it *Nabatene* They are an Arabian nation, and name their tribes from these, both because of their own virtue—and because of the dignity of Abraham their father.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Isaac, the legitimate Son of Abraham.

§ 1. Now Abraham greatly loved Isaac, as being his *only begotten*,* and given to him at the borders of old age, by the favour of God. The child also endeared himself to his parents still more by the exercise of every virtue, and adhering to his duty to his parents, and being zealous in the worship of God. Abraham also placed his own happiness in this prospect, than when he should die, he should leave this his son in a safe and secure condition; which accordingly he obtained by the will of God; who being desirous to make an experiment of Abraham's religious disposition towards himself, appeared to him, and enumerated all the blessings he had bestowed on him; how he had made him superior to his enemies, and that his son Isaac, who was the principal part of his present happiness, was derived from him; and he said, that he required this son of his as a sacrifice and holy oblation. Accordingly he commanded him to carry him to the mountain Moriah, and to build an altar, and offer him for a burnt-offering upon it; for that this would best manifest his religious disposition towards him, if he preferred what was pleasing to God before the preservation of his own son.

2. Now Abraham thought that it was not right to disobey God in any thing, but that he was obliged to serve him in every circumstance of life, since all creatures that live enjoy their life by his providence and the kindness he bestows on them. Accordingly he concealed this command of God, and his own intentions about the slaughter of his son, from his wife, as also from every one of his servants, otherwise he should have been hindered from his obedience to God; and he took Isaac, together with two of his servants, and laying what things were necessary for a sacrifice upon an ass, he went away to the mountain. Now the two servants went along with him two days; but on the third day, as soon as he saw the mountain, he left those servants that were with him till then, in the plain, and having his

him a *very young child*, when he went on his Germen expedition, at about 18 years of age, Of the War, b. vii. chap. iv. sect. 2. Samson's wife, and Ruth, when they were widows, are called *children*, Ant. b. v. ch. viii. sect. 6, and ch. ix. sect. 2, 3.

* Note, that both here, and Heb. xi. 17, Isaac is called Abraham's *only begotten son*, though he at the same time had another son, Ismael. The Septuagint expresses the true meaning, by rendering the text *the beloved son*.

son alone with him, he came to the mountain. It was that mountain upon which King David afterwards built the temple.* Now they had brought with them every thing necessary for a sacrifice, excepting the animal that was to be offered only. Now Isaac was twenty-five years old. And as he was building the altar, he asked his father, "What he was about to offer, since there was no animal there for an oblation?" To which it was answered, "That God would provide himself an oblation, he being able to make a plentiful provision for men out of what they have not, and to deprive others of what they already have, when they put too much trust therein; that, therefore, if God pleased to be present and propitious at this sacrifice, he would provide himself an oblation."

3. As soon as the altar was prepared, and Abraham had laid on the wood, and all things were entirely ready, he said to his son, "O son, I poured out a vast number of prayers that I might have thee for my son; when thou wast come into the world, there was nothing that could contribute to thy support, for which I was not greatly solicitous, nor any thing wherein I thought myself happier than to see thee grown up to man's estate, and that I might leave thee at my death the successor to my dominion; but since it was by God's will that I became thy father, and it is now his will that I relinquish thee, bear this consecration to God with a generous mind; for I resign thee up to God, who thought fit now to require this testimony of honour to himself on account of the favours he hath conferred on me, in being to me a supporter and defender. Accordingly thou, my son, wilt now die, not in any common way of going out of the world, but sent to God the Father of all men beforehand, by thy own father, in the nature of a sacrifice. I suppose he thinks thee worthy to get clear of this world, neither by a disease, neither by war, nor by any other severe way, by which death usually comes upon men, but so that he will receive thy soul with prayers and holy offices of religion, and will place thee near to himself, and thou wilt there be to me a succourer, a supporter in my old age; on which account I principally brought thee up, and thou wilt thereby procure me God for my comforter instead of thyself."

4. Now Isaac was of such a generous disposition as became the son of such a father, and was pleased with his discourse; and said; "That he was not worthy to be born at first, if he should reject the determination of God and of his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both their pleasures; since it would have been unjust if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had so resolved." So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed had been done if God had not opposed it; for he called loudly to Abraham by his name, and forbade him to slay his son, and said, "It was not out of a desire of human blood that he was commanded to slay his son, nor was he willing that he should be taken away from him whom he had made his father, but to try the temper of his mind, whether he would be obedient to such a command. Since, therefore, he now was satisfied as to that his alacrity, and the surprising readiness he showed in this his piety, he was delighted in having bestowed such blessings upon him; and that he would not be wanting in all sort of concern about him, and in bestowing other children upon him; and that his son should live to a very great age; that he should live a happy life, and bequeath a large principality to his children, who should be good and legitimate." He foretold also, that his family should increase into many nations; and that those† patriarchs should leave behind them an everlasting name,

* Here is a plain error in the copies, which say, that King David afterwards built the temple on the mount Moriah, while it was certainly no other than King Solomon who built that temple, as indeed Procopius cites it from Josephus. For it was for certain David, and not Solomon, who built the *first altar* there, as we learn, 2 Sam. xxiv. 18, &c.; 1 Chron. xxi. 22, &c.; and Antiq. b. vii. chap. xiii. sect. 4.

† It seems, both here and in God's parallel blessing to Jacob, ch. xix. sect. 1, that Josephus had yet no notion of the hidden meaning of that most important and most eminent promise, "In thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. He saith not of seeds, as of many, but as of one; and to thy seed, which is Christ." Gal. iii. 16. Nor is it any wonder, he being, I think, as yet, not a Christian. And had he been a Christian, yet since he was, to be sure, till the latter part of his life, no more than an Ebionite Christian, who, above all the apostles, rejected and despised St Paul, it would be no great

that they should obtain the possession of the land of Canaan, and be envied by all men. When God had said this, he produced to them a ram, which did not appear before, for the sacrifice. So Abraham and Isaac, receiving each other unexpectedly, and having obtained the promises of such great blessings, embraced one another; and when they had sacrificed, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily together, God affording them his assistance in all things they desired

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning Sarah, Abraham's Wife, and how she ended her Days.

§ 1. Now Sarah died a little while after, having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron; the Canaanites publicly allowing them a burying-place: which piece of ground Abraham bought for four hundred shekels, of Ephron, an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendants built themselves sepulchres in that place.

CHAP. XV.

How the Nation of the Troglodytes were derived from Abraham by Keturah.

§ 1. ABRAHAM, after this, married Keturah, by whom six sons were born to him, men of courage and of sagacious minds: Zambran, and Jazar, and Madan, and Madian, and Josabak, and Sous. Now the sons of Sous were, Sabathan, and Dadan. The sons of Dadan were, Latusim, and Assur, and Luom. The sons of Madian were, Ephas, and Ophren, and Anoch, and Ebidas, and Eldas. Now for all these sons and grandsons Abraham contrived to settle them in colonies; and they took possession of Troglodytes, and the country of Arabia *the Happy*, as far as it reaches to the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren that he made war against Libya, and took it, and that his grandchildren, when they inhabited it, called it from his name *Africa*. And indeed Alexander Polyhistor gives his attestation to what I hear say, who speaks thus: "Cleodemus the prophet, who was also called *Malchus*, who wrote a history of the Jews, in agreement with the history of Moses, their legislator, relates, that there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah: nay, he names three of them, Apher and Surim, and Japhran. That from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated; and that from the other two, Apher and Japhran, the country of Africa took its name, because these men were auxiliaries to Hercules, when he fought against Libya and Antæus: and that Hercules married Aphra's daughter, and of her he begat a son, Didorus, and that Sophon was his son, from whom that barbarous people called the *Sophacians* were denominated."

wonder if he did not now follow his interpretation. In the mean time, we have in effect St. Paul's exposition in the testament of Reuben, sect. 6, in Authent. Rec. part i. p 302, who charges his sons "To worship the seed of Judah, who should die for them in visible and invisible wars; and should be among them an eternal King." Nor is that observation of a learned foreigner of my acquaintance to be despised, who takes notice, that as *seeds* in the plural must signify *posterity*, so *seed*, in the singular, may signify either *posterity* or a *single person*; and that in this promise of all nations being happy in the *seed* of Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob, &c. it is *always* used in the singular. To which I shall add, that it is sometimes, as it were, paraphrased by the *son* of Abraham, the *son* of David, &c. which is capable of no such ambiguity.

CHAP. XVI.

How Isaac took Rebeka to wife.

§ 1. Now when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had resolved to take Rebeka, who was granddaughter to his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, who was then about forty years old, he sent the ancientest of his servants to betroth her, after he had obliged him to give him the strongest assurances of his fidelity. Which assurances were given after the manner following: They put each other's hands under each other's thighs, then they called upon God as the witness of what was to be done. He also sent such presents to those that were there, as were in esteem, on account that they either rarely or never were seen in that country. This servant got thither not under a considerable time; for it requires much time to pass through Mesopotamia, in which it is tedious travelling, both in winter for the depth of the clay, and in summer for want of water; and besides this, for the robberies there committed, which are not to be avoided by travellers but by caution beforehand. However, the servant came to Haran. And when he was in the suburbs, he met a considerable number of maidens going to the water; he therefore prayed to God, that Rebeka might be found among them, or her whom Abraham sent him as his servant to espouse to his son, in case his will were that this marriage should be consummated; and that she might be made known to him by this sign, that while others denied him water to drink, she might give it him.

2. With this intention he went to the well, and desired the maidens to give him some water to drink; but while the others refused, on pretence that they wanted it all home, and could spare none for him, one only of the company rebuked them for their peevish behaviour towards the stranger; and said, What is there that you will ever communicate to any body, who have not so much as given the man some water? She then offered him water in an obliging manner. And now he began to hope that his grand affair would succeed; but desiring still to know the truth, he commended her for her generosity and good nature, that she did not scruple to afford a sufficiency of water to those that wanted it, though it cost her some pains to draw it; and asked who were her parents, and wished them joy of such a daughter; and mayest thou be espoused, said he, to their satisfaction, into the family of an agreeable husband, and bring him legitimate children. Nor did she disdain to satisfy his inquiries, but told him her family. They, says she, called me *Rebeka;* my father was Bethuel, but he is dead; and Laban is my brother, and, together with my mother, takes care of all our family affairs, and is the guardian of my virginity. When the servant heard this, he was very glad at what had happened, and at what was told him, as perceiving that God had thus plainly directed his journey; and producing his bracelets and some other ornaments, which it was esteemed decent for virgins to wear, he gave them to the damsel, by way of acknowledgment, and as a reward for her kindness in giving him water to drink; saying, it was but just that she should have them, because she was so much more obliging than any of the rest. She desired also that he would come and lodge with them, since the approach of the night gave him not time to proceed farther. And producing his precious ornaments for women, he said, he desired to trust them to none more safely than to such as she had showed herself to be; and that he believed he might guess at the humanity of her mother and brother, that they would not be displeased, from the virtue he found in her, for he would not be burdensome, but would pay the hire for his entertainment, and spend his own money. To which she replied, that he guessed right as to the humanity of her parents; but complained, that he should think them so parsimonious as to take money; for that he should have all on free cost. But she said, she would first inform her brother Laban, and, if he gave her leave, she would conduct him in.

3. As soon then as this was over, she introduced the stranger; and for the camels, the servants of Laban brought them in, and took care of them, and he was himself brought into supper by Laban. And after supper, he says to him, and to the mother of the damsel, addressing himself to her, "Abraham is the son of Terah, and a kinsman of yours, for Nahor, the grandfather of these children, was the brother of Abraham, by both father and mother; upon which account he hath sent me to you, being desirous to take this damsel for his son to wife. He is his legitimate son; and is brought up as his only heir. He could indeed have had the most happy of all the women in that country for him, but he would not have his son marry any of them; but out of regard to his own relations he desired him to match here, whose affection and inclination I would not have you despise; for it was by the good pleasure of God, that other accidents fell out in my journey, and that thereby I lighted upon your daughter, and your house; for when I was near to the city I saw a great many maidens coming to a well, and I prayed that I might meet with this damsel, which has come to pass accordingly. Do you therefore confirm that marriage, whose espousals have been already made by a divine appearance; and show the respect you have for Abraham, who hath sent me with so much solicitude, in giving your consent to the marriage of this damsel." Upon this they understood it to be the will of God, and greatly approved of the offer, and sent their daughter, as was desired. Accordingly Isaac married her, the inheritance being now come to him; for the children by Keturah were gone to their own remote habitations.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Death of Abraham.

§ 1. A LITTLE while after this Abraham died. He was a man of incomparable virtue, and honoured by God in a manner agreeable to his piety towards him. The whole time of his life was one hundred seventy and five years; and he was buried in Hebron, with his wife Sarah, by their sons Isaac and Ismael.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the Sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob. Of their Nativity and Education.

§ 1. Now Isaac's wife proved with child,* after the death of Abraham; and when her belly was greatly burdened, Isaac was very anxious, and inquired of God, who answered, That Rebeka should bear twins; and that two nations should take the names of those sons; and that he who appeared the second should excel the elder. Accordingly she, in a little time, as God had foretold, bare twins; the elder of whom, from his head to his feet, was very rough and hairy; but the younger took hold of his heel as they were in the birth. Now the father loved the elder, who was called *Esau*, a name agreeable to his *roughness*, for the Hebrews call such a *hairy roughness*† (Esau, or) Seir; but Jacob, the younger, was best beloved by his mother.

2. When there was a famine in the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, the

* The birth of Jacob and Esau is here said to be *after Abraham's death*; it should have been *after Sarah's death*. The order of the narration in Genesis, not always exactly according to the order of time seems to have led Josephus into it, as Dr. Bernard observes here.

† For Seir in Josephus, the coherence requires that we read *Esau* or *Seir*, which signify the same thing.

land there being good; but he went to Gerar, as God commanded him. Here Abimelech the king received him, because Abraham had formerly lived with him, and had been his friend. And as in the beginning he treated him exceeding kindly, so he was hindered from continuing in the same disposition to the end, by his envy at him; for when he saw that God was with Isaac, and took such great care of him, he drove him away from him. But Isaac, when he saw how envy had changed the temper of Abimelech, retired to a place called *The Valley*, not far from Gerar; and as he was digging a well, the shepherds fell upon him and began to fight, in order to hinder the work, and because he did not desire to contend, the shepherds seemed to get the better of him, so he still retired, and dug another well; and when certain other shepherds of Abimelech's began to offer him violence, he left that also, and still retired, thus purchasing security to himself by a rational and prudent conduct. At length the king gave him leave to dig a well without disturbance. He named this well *Rehoboth*, which denotes *a large space;* but of the former wells, one was called *Escon*, which denotes *strife*, the other *Sitenna*, which name signifies *enmity.*

3. It was now that Isaac's affairs increased, and his power was in a flourishing condition; and this from his great riches. But Abimelech thinking Isaac throve in opposition to him, while their living together made them suspicious of each other, and Isaac's retiring showing a secret enmity also, he was afraid that his former friendship with Isaac did not secure him, if Isaac should endeavour to revenge the injuries he had formerly offered him; he therefore renewed his friendship with him, and brought with him Philoc, one of his generals. And when he had obtained every thing he desired, by reason of Isaac's good nature, who preferred the earlier friendship Abimelech had showed to himself and his father to his latter wrath against him, he returned home.

4. Now, when Esau, one of the sons of Isaac, whom the father principally loved, was now come to the age of forty years, he married Adah, the daughter of Helon and Aholibamah, the daughter of Esebeon; which Helon and Esebeon were great lords among the Canaanites, thereby taking upon himself the authority, and pretending to have dominion over his own marriages, without so much as asking the advice of his father; for had Isaac been the arbitrator, he had not given him leave to marry thus, for he was not pleased with contracting any alliance with the people of that country; but not caring to be uneasy to his son, by commanding him to put away these wives, he resolved to be silent.

5. But when he was old, and could not see at all, he called Esau to him, and told him, that besides blindness, and the disorder of his eyes, his very old age hindered him from his worship of God [by sacrifice]; he bid him therefore to go out a hunting, and when he had caught as much venison as he could, to prepare him a supper,* that after this he might make supplication to God to be to him a supporter and an assister during the whole time of his life; saying, that it was uncertain when he should die, and that he was desirous, by prayers for him, to procure beforehand God to be merciful to him.

6. Accordingly Esau went out a hunting. But Rebeka† thinking it proper to

* This supper of *savoury meat*, as we call it, Gen. xxvii. 4, to be caught by hunting, was intended plainly for a festival or a sacrifice, and upon the prayers that were frequent at sacrifices, Isaac expecting, as was then usual in such eminent cases, that a divine impulse would come upon him, in order to the solemn blessing of his son there present, and his foretelling his future behaviour and fortune. Whence it must be, that when Isaac had unwittingly blessed Jacob, and was afterward made sensible of his mistake, yet did he not attempt to alter it, how earnestly soever his affection for Esau might incline him to wish it might be altered, because he knew that this blessing came not from himself but from God, and that an alteration was out of his power. A second afflatus then came upon him, and enabled him to foretell Esau's future behaviour and fortune also.

† Whether Jacob or his mother Rebeka were most blamable in this imposition upon Isaac in his old age, I cannot determine. However, the blessing being delivered as a prediction of future events, by a divine impulse, and foretelling things to befall to the posterity of Jacob and Esau, in future ages, was for certain providential; and according to what Rebeka knew to be the purpose of God, when he answered her inquiry, "before the children were born," Gen. xxv. 23, "*that* one people should be stronger than the other people; and that the elder, *Esau*, should serve the younger, *Jacob.*" Whether Isaac

have the supplication made for obtaining the favour of God to Jacob, and that without the consent of Isaac, bid him kill kids of the goats, and prepare a supper. So Jacob obeyed his mother, according to all her instructions. Now when supper was got ready, he took a goat's skin, and put it about his arm, that by reason of its hairy roughness he might, by his father, be believed to be Esau; for they being twins, and in all things else alike, differed only in this thing. This was done out of his fear, that before his father had made his supplications, he should be caught in his evil practice, and lest he should, on the contrary, provoke his father to curse him. So he brought in the supper to his father. Isaac perceiving by the peculiarity of his voice who he was, called his son to him, who gave him his hand, which was covered with the goat's skin. When Isaac felt that, he said, "Thy voice is like the voice of Jacob, yet because of the thickness of thy hair, thou seemest to be Esau." So suspecting no deceit, he eat the supper, and betook himself to his prayers and intercessions with God; and said, "O Lord of all ages, and Creator of all substance; for it was thou that didst propose to my father great plenty of good things, and hast vouchsafed to bestow on me what I have; and hast promised to my posterity to be their kind supporter, and to bestow on them still greater blessings; do thou therefore confirm these thy promises, and do not overlook me because of my present weak condition, on account of which I most earnestly pray to thee. Be gracious to this my son; and preserve and keep him from every thing that is evil. Give him a happy life, and the possession of as many good things as thy power is able to bestow. Make him terrible to his enemies, and honourable and beloved among his friends."

7. Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau. He had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting. And when Isaac perceived his mistake, he was silent; but Esau required that he might be made partaker of the like blessing from his father that his brother had partook of; but his father refused it, because all his prayers had been spent upon Jacob: so Esau lamented the mistake. However, his father, being grieved at his weeping, said, That "he should excel in hunting, and strength of body; in arms and all such sorts of work; and should obtain glory for ever on those accounts, he and his posterity after him; but still should serve his brother."

8. Now the mother delivered Jacob, when he was afraid that his brother would inflict some punishment upon him, because of the mistake about the prayers of Isaac; for she persuaded her husband to take a wife for Jacob out of Mesopotamia, of her own kindred. Esau having married already Basemmath, the daughter of Ismael, without his father's consent, for Isaac did not like the Canaanites, so that he disapproved of Esau's former marriages, which made him take Basemmath to wife, in order to please him; and indeed he had a great affection for her.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Jacob's Flight into Mesopotamia, by Reason of the Fear he was in of his Brother.

§ 1. Now Jacob was sent by his mother to Mesopotamia in order to marry La-

knew or remembered this old oracle, delivered in our copies only to Rebeka; or whether, if he knew and remembered it, he did not endeavour to alter the Divine determination, out of his fondness for his elder and worser son Esau, to the damage of his younger and better son Jacob; as Josephus elsewhere supposes, Antiq. b. ii. chap. vii. sect. 3, I cannot certainly say. If so, this might tempt Rebeka to contrive, and Jacob to put this imposition upon him. However, Josephus says here, that it was Isaac, and not Rebeka, who inquired of God at first, and received the forementioned oracle, sect. 1, which, if it be the true reading, renders Isaac's procedure more inexcusable. Nor was it probably any thing else that so much encouraged Esau formerly to marry two Canaanitish wives, without his parents' consent, as Isaac's unhappy fondness for him.

ban's her brother's daughter (which marriage was permitted by Isaac on account of his obsequiousness to the desires of his wife); and he accordingly journeyed through the land of Canaan; and because he hated the people of that country, he would not lodge with any of them, but took up his lodging in the open air, and laid his head on a heap of stones that he had gathered together. At which time he saw in his sleep such a vision standing by him; he seemed to see a ladder that reached from the earth unto heaven, and persons descending down the ladder, that seemed more excellent than human; and at last God himself stood above it, and was plainly visible to him, who, calling him by his name, spake to him these words:

2. "O Jacob, it is not fit for thee, who art the son of a good father, and grandson of one who had obtained a great reputation for his eminent virtue, to be dejected at thy present circumstances, but to hope for better times, for thou shalt have great abundance of all good things, by my assistance: for I brought Abraham hither, out of Mesopotamia, when he was driven away by his kinsmen; and I made thy father a happy man; nor will I bestow a lesser degree of happiness on thyself. Be of good courage therefore, and under my conduct proceed on this thy journey, for the marriage thou goest so zealously about shall be consummated. And thou shalt have children of good characters, but their multitude shall be innumerable; and they shall leave what they have to a still more numerous posterity, to whom, and to whose posterity, I give the dominion of all the land, and their posterity shall fill the entire earth and sea, so far as the sun beholds them; but do not thou fear any danger, nor be afraid of the many labours thou must undergo, for by my providence I will direct thee what thou art to do in the time present, and still much more in the time to come."

3. Such were the predictions which God made to Jacob. Whereupon he became very joyful at what he had seen and heard, and he poured oil on the stones, because on them the prediction of such great benefits was made. He also vowed a vow that he would offer sacrifices upon them, if he lived and returned safe; and if he came again in such a condition, he would give the tithe of what he had gotten to God. He also judged the place to be honourable, and gave it the name of Bethel, which, in the Greek, is interpreted, *The house of God.*

4. So he proceeded on his journey to Mesopotamia, and at length came to Haran; and meeting with shepherds in the suburbs, with boys grown up, and maidens sitting about a certain well, he stayed with them, as wanting water to drink; and beginning to discourse with them, he asked them whether they knew such a one as Laban? and whether he was still alive? Now they all said they knew him, for he was not so inconsiderable a person as to be unknown to any of them; and that his daughter fed her father's flock together with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not yet come; for by her means thou mightest learn more exactly whatever thou desirest to know about that family. While they were saying this the damsel came, and the other shepherds that came down along with her. Then they showed her Jacob, and told her that he was a stranger, who came to inquire about her father's affairs. But she, as pleased, after the custom of children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was? and whence he came to them? and what it was he lacked that he came thither? She also wished it might be in their power to supply the wants he came about.

5. But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their kindred, nor by that affection which might arise thence, as by his love to the damsel, and his surprise at her beauty, which was so flourishing as few of the women of that age could vie with. He said then, "There is a relation between thee and me, elder than either thy or my birth, if thou be the daughter of Laban; for Abraham was the son of Terah, as well as Haran and Nahor. Of the last of whom, Nahor, Bethuel thy grandfather was the son. Isaac my father was the son of Abraham, and of Sarah, who was the daughter of Haran. But there is a nearer and la-

ter cement of mutual kindred which we bear to one another, for my mother Rebeka was sister to Laban thy father, both by the same father and mother; I therefore and thou are cousin germans. And I am now come to salute you, and to renew that affinity which is proper between us." Upon this the damsel, at the mention of Rebeka, as usually happens to young persons, wept, and that out of the kindness she had for her father, and embraced Jacob, she having learned an account of Rebeka from her father, and knew that her parents loved to hear her named; and when she had saluted him, she said, that "He brought the most desirable and greatest pleasure to her father, with all their family, who was always mentioning his mother, and always thinking of her, and her alone; and that this will make thee equal in his eyes to any advantageous circumstances whatsoever." Then she bid him go to her father, and follow her while she conducted him to him, and not to deprive him of such a pleasure by staying any longer away from him.

6. When she had said thus, she brought him to Laban; and being owned by his uncle, he was secure himself, as being among his friends; and he brought a great deal of pleasure to them by his unexpected coming. But a little while afterward Laban told him, that he could not express in words the joy he had at his coming; but still he inquired of him the occasion of his coming, and why he left his aged mother and father, when they wanted to be taken care of by him; and that he would afford him all the assistance he wanted. Then Jacob gave him an account of the whole occasion of his journey, and told him, "That Isaac had two sons that were twins, himself and Esau; who, because he failed of his father's prayers, which by his mother's wisdom were put up for him, sought to kill him, as deprived of the kingdom* which was to be given him of God, and of the blessings for which their father prayed; and that this was the occasion of his coming hither, as his mother had commanded him to do; for we are all (says he) brethren one to another; but our mother esteems an alliance with your family more than she does one with the families of the country; so I look upon yourself and God to be the supporters of my travels, and think myself safe in my present circumstances."

7. Now Laban promised to treat him with great humanity, both on account of his ancestors, and particularly for the sake of his mother, towards whom he said, he would show his kindness, even though she were absent, by taking care of him; for he assured him he would make him the head shepherd of his flock, and gave him authority sufficient for that purpose; and when he should have a mind to return to his parents, he would send him back with presents, and this in as honourable a manner as the nearness of their relation should require. This Jacob heard gladly; and said he would willingly, and with pleasure, undergo any sort of pains while he tarried with him, but desired Rachel to wife, as the reward of those pains, who was not only on other accounts esteemed by him, but also because she was the means of his coming to him; for he said he was forced by the love of the damsel to make this proposal. Laban was well pleased with this agreement, and consented to give the damsel to him as not desirous to meet with any better son-in-law; and said he would do this, if he would stay with him some time, for he was not willing to send his daughter to be among the Canaanites, for he repented of the alliance he had made already by marrying his sister there. And when Jacob had given his consent to this, he agreed to stay seven years; for so many years he had resolved to serve his father-in-law, that having given a specimen of his virtue, it might be better known what sort of a man he was. And Jacob accepting of his terms, after the

* By this "deprivation of the kingdom that was to be given Esau of God," as the firstborn, it appears that Josephus thought, that a "kingdom to be derived from God" was due to him whom Isaac should bless as his firstborn, which I take to be that *kingdom* which was expected *under the Messiah*, who therefore was to be born of his posterity whom Isaac should so bless. Jacob therefore, by obtaining this blessing of the firstborn, became the genuine heir of that kingdom, in opposition to Esau

time was over, he made the wedding feast; and when it was night, without Jacob's perceiving it, he put his other daughter into bed to him, who was both elder than Rachel, and of no comely countenance. Jacob lay with her that night, as being both in drink and in the dark. However, when it was day, he knew what had been done to him; and he reproached Laban for his unfair proceeding with him; who asked pardon for that necessity which forced him to do what he did; for he did not give him Lea out of any ill design, but as overcome by another greater necessity; that notwithstanding this, nothing should hinder him from marrying Rachel; but that when he had served another seven years, he would give him her whom he loved. Jacob submitted to this condition, for his love to the damsel did not permit him to do otherwise; and when another seven years were gone, he took Rachel to wife.

8. Now each of these had handmaids, by their father's donation. Zilpha was handmaid to Lea, and Bilha to Rachel, by no means slaves,* but however subject to their mistresses. Now Lea was sorely troubled at her husband's love to her sister, and she expected she should be better esteemed if she bare him children. So she entreated God perpetually; and when she had borne a son, and her husband was on that account better reconciled to her, she named her son Reubel, because God had had *mercy* upon her in giving her a son, for that is the signification of this name. After some time she bare three more sons; Simeon, which name signifies that God had *hearkened* to her prayer. Then she bare Levi, the *confirmer* of their friendship. After him was born Judah, which denotes *thanksgiving*. But Rachel, fearing lest the fruitfulness of her sister should make herself enjoy a lesser share of Jacob's affections, put to bed to him her handmaid Bilha, by whom Jacob had Dan. One may interpret that name into the Greek tongue, *a divine judgment*. And after him Nepthalim, as it were *unconquerable in stratagem*, since Rachel tried to *conquer* the fruitfulness of her sister by this *stratagem*. Accordingly Lea took the same method, and under a counter-stratagem to that of her sister's; for she put to bed to him her own handmaid. Jacob therefore had by Zilpha a son, whose name was Gad, which may be interpreted *fortune;* and after him Asher, which may be called a *happy man*, because he added glory to Lea. Now Reubel, the eldest son of Lea, brought apples of mandrakes† to his mother. When Rachel saw them, she desired that she would give her the apples, for she longed to eat them; but when she refused, and bid her be content that she had deprived her of the benevolence she ought to have had from her husband; Rachel, in order to mitigate her sister's anger, said, she would yield her husband to her; and he should lie with her that evening. She accepted of the favour, and Jacob slept with Lea by the favour of Rachel. She bare then these sons, Issachar, denoting one born by *hire;* and Zabulon, one born as a *pledge* of benevolence towards her; and a daughter Dina. After some time Rachel had a son named Joseph, which signified there should be another *added* to him.

9. Now Jacob fed the flocks of Laban his father-in-law, all this time, being twenty years, after which he desired leave of his father-in-law to take his wives and go home; but when his father-in-law would not give him leave, he contri

* Here we have the difference between slaves for life and servants, such as we now hire for a time agreed upon on both sides, and dismiss again after the time contracted for is over, which are *no slaves*, but *free men* and *free women*. Accordingly, when the Apostolical Constitutions forbid a clergyman to marry *perpetual servants* or *slaves*, B. vi. ch. xvii. it is meant only of the former sorts, as we learn elsewhere from the same Constitutions, ch. xlvii. cap. lxxxii. But concerning these twelve sons of Jacob, the reasons of their several names, and the times of their several births in the intervals here assigned; their several excellent characters; their several faults and repentance; the several accidents of their lives, with their several prophecies at their deaths, see the testaments of these twelve patriarchs, still preserved at large in the Authent. Rec. part. i. p. 294—443.

† I formerly explained these *mandrakes*, as we with the Septuagint and Josephus render the Hebrew word *Dudaim*, of the Syrian *Maux*, with Ludolphus, Authent. Rec. part. i. p. 420. But have since seen such a very probable account in Ms. of my learned friend Mr. Samuel Barker's of what we still call mandrakes, and their description by the ancient naturalists and physicians, as inclines me to think those here mentioned were really mandrakes, and no other.

ved to do it secretly. He made trial therefore of the disposition of his wives what they thought of this journey. When they appeared glad and approved of it, Rachel took along with her the images of the gods, which, according to their laws, they used to worship in their own country, and ran away together with her sister. The children also of them both, and the handmaids, and what possessions they had, went along with them. Jacob also drove away half the cattle, without letting Laban know of it beforehand. But the reason why Rachel took the images of the gods, although Jacob had taught her to despise such worship of those gods, was this, that in case they were pursued, and taken by her father, she might have recourse to these images, in order to obtain his pardon.

10. But Laban, after one day's time, being acquainted with Jacob's and his daughters' departure, was much troubled, and pursued after them, leading a band of men with him; and on the seventh day overtook them, and found them resting on a certain hill; and then, indeed, he did not meddle with them, for it was eventide; but God stood by him in a dream, and warned him to receive his son in-law and his daughters in a peaceable manner; and not to venture upon any thing rashly, or in wrath to them, but to make a league with Jacob. And he told him, that if he despised their small number, and attacked them in an hostile manner, he would himself assist them. When Laban had been thus forewarned by God, he called Jacob to him the next day, in order to treat with him, and showed him, what dream he had; in dependence whereon he came confidently to him, and began to accuse him, alleging that he had entertained him when he was poor and in want of all things, and had given him plenty of all things which he had: "For," said he, "I have joined my daughters to thee in marriage, and supposed that thy kindness to me would be greater than before; but thou hast had no regard to either thy own mother's relation to me, nor to the affinity now newly contracted between us; nor to those wives whom thou hast married; nor to those children, of whom I am the grandfather. Thou hast treated me as an enemy, by driving away my cattle; and by persuading my daughters to run away from their father; and by carrying home those sacred paternal images which were worshipped by my forefathers, and have been honoured with the like worship which they paid them, by myself. In short, thou hast done this whilst thou wert my kinsman, and my sister's son, and the husband of my daughters, and was hospitably treated by me, and didst eat at my table." When Laban had said this, Jacob made his defence: "That he was not the only person in whom God had implanted the love of his native country, but that he had made it natural to all men; and that therefore it was but reasonable that, after so long a time, he should go back to it. But as to the prey, of whose driving away thou accusest me, if any other person were the arbitrator, thou wouldst be found in the wrong; for instead of those thanks I ought to have had from thee, for both keeping thy cattle, and increasing them, how is it that thou art unjustly angry at me because I have taken, and have with me, a small portion of them? But then, as to thy daughters, take notice, that it is not through any evil practices of mine that they follow me in my return home, but from that just affection which wives naturally have to their husbands. They follow therefore not so properly myself as their own children." And thus far of his apology was made, in order to clear himself of having acted unjustly. To which he added his own complaint and accusation of Laban; saying, "While I was thy sister's son, and thou hadst given me thy daughters in marriage, thou hast worn me out with thy harsh commands, and detained me twenty years under them. That indeed which was required in order to my marrying thy daughters, hard as it was, I own to have been tolerable; but as to those that were put upon me after those marriages, they were worse, and such indeed as an enemy would have avoided." For certainly Laban had used Jacob very ill; for when he saw that God was assisting to Jacob in all that he desired, he promised him, that of the young cattle which should be born, he should have sometimes what was of a white colour, and some-

times what should be of a black colour; but when those that came to Jacob's share proved numerous, he did not keep his faith with him: but said he would give them to him next year; because of his envying him the multitude of his possessions. He promised him as before, because he thought such an increase was not to be expected; but when it appeared to be fact, he deceived him.

11. But then, as to the sacred images, he bid them search for them; and when Laban accepted of the offer, Rachel being informed of it, put those images into that camel's saddle on which she rode, and sat upon it; and said, that her natural purgation hindered her rising up; so Laban left off searching any farther, not supposing that his daughter in such circumstances would approach those images. So he made a league with Jacob, and bound it by oaths, that he would not bear him any malice on account of what had happened; and Jacob made the like league, and promised to love Laban's daughters. And these leagues they confirmed with oaths also, which they made upon certain mountains, whereon they erected a pillar, in the form of an altar; whence that hill is called *Gilead;* and from thence they call that land *the land of Gilead* at this day. Now when they had feasted after the making of the league, Laban returned home.

CHAP. XX.

Concerning the Meeting of Jacob and Esau.

§ 1. Now as Jacob was proceeding on his journey to the land of Canaan, angels appeared to him, and suggested to him good hope of his future condition; and that place he named *The camp of God.* And being desirous of knowing what his brother's intentions were to him, he sent messengers to give him an exact account of every thing, as being afraid, on account of the enmities between them. He charged those that were sent to say to Esau, that, "Jacob had thought it wrong to live together with him while he was in anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that he now, he thinking the length of time of his absence must have made up their differences, was returning; that he brought with him his wives and his children, with what possessions he had gotten; and delivered himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands; and should think it his greatest happiness to partake, together with his brother, of what God had bestowed on him." So these messengers told him this message. Upon which Esau was very glad, and met his brother with four hundred men. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet him with such a number of men, was greatly afraid; however, he committed his hope of deliverance to God; and considered how, in his present circumstances, he might preserve himself and those that were with him, and overcome his enemies if they attacked him injuriously. He therefore distributed his company into parts; some he sent before the rest, and the others he ordered to come close behind, that so if the first were overpowered, when his brother attacked them, they might have those that followed as a refuge to fly unto. And, when he had put his company into this ordor, he sent some of them to carry presents to his brother. The presents were made up of cattle, and a great number of four-footed beasts, of many kinds, such as would be very acceptable to those that received them on account of their rarity. Those who were sent went at certain intervals of space asunder, that by following thick one after another, they might appear to be more numerous, that Esau might remit of his anger, on account of these presents, if he were still in a passion. Instructions were also given to those that were sent to speak gently to him.

2. When Jacob had made these appointments all the day, and night came on, he moved on with his company; and as they were gone over a certain river

called *Jabboc*, Jacob was left behind; and meeting with an angel, he wrestled with him, the angel beginning the struggle; but he prevailed over the angel, who used a voice and spake to him in words, exhorting him to be pleased with what had happened to him, and not to suppose that his victory was a small one, but that he had overcome *a divine angel*, and to esteem the victory as a sign of great blessings that should come to him; and that his offspring should never fail; and that no man should be too hard for his power. He also commanded him to be called *Israel*,* which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that *struggled with a divine angel*. These promises were made at the prayer of Jacob; for when he perceived him to be the angel of God, he desired he would signify to him what should befall him hereafter. And when the angel had said what is before related, he disappeared, but Jacob was pleased with these things, and named the place *Phanuel*, which signifies, *The face of God*. Now when he felt pain by this struggling, upon his broad sinew, he abstained from eating that sinew himself afterward; and for his sake it is still not eaten by us.

3. When Jacob understood that his brother was near, he ordered his wives to go before, each by herself, with the handmaids, that they might see the actions of the men, as they were fighting, if Esau were so disposed. He then went up to his brother Esau, and bowed down to him, who had no evil design upon him, but saluted him; and asked him about the company of the children and of the women; and desired, when he had understood all he wanted to know about them, that he would go along with him to their father; but Jacob pretending that the cattle were weary, Esau returned to Seir, for there was his place of habitation, he having named the place *roughness*, from his own *hairy roughness*.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning the Violation of Dina's Chastity

§ 1. Hereupon Jacob came to the place, till this day called *Tents* [Succoth], from whence he went to Shechem, which is a city of the Canaanites. Now as the Shechemites were keeping a festival, Dina, who was the only daughter of Jacob, went into the city to see the finery of the women of that country. But when Shechem, the son of Hamor the king, saw her, he defiled her by violence; and being greatly in love with her, he desired of his father that he would procure the damsel to him for a wife. To which desire he condescended, and came to Jacob, desiring him to give leave that his son Shechem might, according to law, marry Dina. But Jacob, not knowing how to deny the desire of one of such great dignity, and yet not thinking it lawful to marry his daughter to a stranger, entreated him to give him leave to have a consultation about what he desired him to do. So the king went away, in hopes that Jacob would grant him this marriage. But Jacob informed his sons of the defilement of their sister, and of the address of Hamor; and desired them to give him their advice, what they should do. Upon this, the greatest part said nothing, not knowing what advice to give. But Simeon and Levi, the brethren of the damsel, by the same mother, agreed between themselves upon the action following; it being now the time of a festival, when the Shechemites were employed in ease and feasting, they fell upon the watch, when they were asleep, and coming into the city, slew all the males†; as also the king, and his son, with them; but spared the women. And

* Perhaps this may be the proper meaning of the word *Israel* by the present and the old Jerusalem analogy of the Hebrew tongue. In the meantime, it is certain that the Hellenists of the first century in Egypt and elsewhere interpreted *Is-ra-el*, to be a *man seeing God*, as is evident from the fragment before cited.

† Of this slaughter of the Shechemites by Simeon and Levi, see Authent. Rec. part. i. p. 309. 418

when they had done this without their father's consent, they brought away their sister.

2. Now while Jacob was astonished at the greatness of this act, and was severely blaming his sons for it, God stood by him and bid him be of good courage; but to purify his tents, and to offer those sacrifices which he had vowed to offer when he went first into Mesopotamia, and saw his vision. As he was therefore purifying his followers, he lighted upon the gods of Laban (for he did not before know they were stolen by Rachel,) and he hid them in the earth, under an oak in Shechem. And departing thence, he offered sacrifice at Bethel, the place where he saw his dream, when he first went into Mesopotamia.

3. And when he was gone thence, and was come over against Ephrata, he there buried Rachel, who died in childbed. She was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honour of burial at Hebron. And when he had mourned for her a great while, he called the son that was born of her *Benjamin*,* because of the *sorrow* the mother had with him. These are all the children of Jacob, twelve males, and one female. Of them eight were legitimate, viz. six of Lea, and two of Rachel, and four were of the handmaids, two of each; all whose names have been set down already.

CHAP. XXII

How Isaac died, and was buried in Hebron.

From thence Jacob came to Hebron, a city situate among the Canaanites; and there it was that Isaac lived; and so they lived together for a little while; for as to Rebeka, Jacob did not find her alive. Isaac also died not long after the coming of his son; and was buried by his sons, with his wife, in Hebron, where they had a monument belonging to them from their forefathers. Now Isaac was a man who was beloved of God, and was vouchsafed great instances of providence by God, after Abraham his father had lived to be exceeding old; for when he had lived virtuously one hundred and eighty-five years, he then died.

432—439. But why Josephus has omitted the circumcision of these Shechemites, as the occasion of their death; and of Jacob's great grief, as in the testament of Levi, sect. 5, I cannot tell.

* Since Benoni signifies the *son of my sorrow*, and Benjamin the *son of days*, or one born in the father's *old age*, Gen. xliv. 20, I suspect Josephus's present copies to be here imperfect; and suppose, that in correspondence to other copies, he wrote, that Rachel called her son's name *Benoni*, but his father called him *Benjamin*, Gen. xxxv. 18. As for Benjamin, as commonly explained, *the son of the right hand*, it makes no sense at all, and seems to be a gross modern error only. The Samaritan always writes this name truly *Benjamin*, which probably is here of the same signification, only with the Chaldee termination *in*, instead of *im*, in the Hebrew, as we pronounce Cherubin or Cherubim indifferently. Accordingly both the testament of Benjamin, sect. 2, p. 401. and *Philo de nominum mutatione*, p. 1059, write the name *Benjamin*, but explain it not *the son of his right hand*, but the *son of days*.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING
THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF ISAAC, TO THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT.

CHAP. I.

How Esau and Jacob, the Sons of Isaac, divided their Habitation; and Esau possessed Idumea, and Jacob Canaan.

§ 1. After the death of Isaac, his sons divided their habitations respectively. Nor did they retain what they had before; but Esau departed from the city of Hebron, and left it to his brother, and dwelt in Seir, and ruled over Idumea. He called the country by that name from himself, for he was named *Adom;* which appellation he got on the following occasion: One day returning from the toil of hunting very hungry (it was when he was a child in age,) he lighted on his brother when he was getting ready lentile-pottage for his dinner, which was of a very *red* colour; on which account he the more earnestly longed for it, and desired him to give him some of it to eat. But he made advantage of his brother's hunger, and forced him to resign up to him his birthright, and he, being pinched with famine, resigned it up to him, under an oath. Whence it came, that on account of the *redness* of this pottage, he was, in way of jest, by his contemporaries called *Adom*, for the Hebrews call what is red *Adom;* and this was the name given to this country; but the Greeks gave it a more agreeable pronunciation, and named it Idumea.

2. He became the father of five sons; of whom Jaus, and Jalomus, and Coreus, were by one wife, whose name was Alibama; but of the rest, Aliphaz was born to him by Ada, and Raguel by Basemath; and these were the sons of Esau. Aliphaz had five legitimate sons, Theman, Omer, Saphus, Gotham, and Kanaz; for Amalek was not legitimate, but by a concubine, whose name was Thamna. These dwelt in that part of Idumea which was called *Gebalitis*, and that denominated from Amalek, *Amelekitis:* for Idumea was a large country, and did then preserve the name of the whole, while in its several parts it kept the names of its peculiar inhabitants.

CHAP. II.

How Joseph, the youngest of Jacob's Sons, was envied by his Brethren, when certain Dreams had foreshowed his future Happiness.

§ 1. It happened that Jacob came to so great happiness as rarely any other person had arrived at. He was richer than the rest of the inhabitants of that

country; and was at once envied and admired for such virtuous sons: for they were deficient in nothing, but were of great souls, both for labouring with their hands and enduring of toil; and shrewd also in understanding. And God exercised such a providence over him, and such a care of his happiness, as to bring him the greatest blessings, even out of what appeared to be the most sorrowful condition; and to make him the cause of our forefathers' departure out of Egypt, him and his posterity. The occasion was this: When Jacob had this son Joseph born to him by Rachel, his father loved him above the rest of his sons, both because of the beauty of his body and the virtues of his mind, for he excelled the rest in prudence. This affection of his father excited the envy and the hatred of his brethren; as did also his dreams which he saw, and related to his father and to them, which foretold his future happiness, it being usual with mankind to envy their very nearest relations such their prosperity. Now the visions which Joseph saw in his sleep were these:

2. When they were in the middle of harvest, and Joseph was sent by his father with his brethren to gather the fruits of the earth, he saw a vision in a dream, but greatly exceeding the accustomary appearances that come when we are asleep; which, when he was got up, he told his brethren, that they might judge what it portended. He said, "He saw the last night, that his wheat sheaf stood still in the place where he set it, but that their sheaves ran to bow down to it, as servants bow down to their masters." But as soon as they perceived the vision foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and that his power should be in opposition to them, they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph, as if the dream were not by them understood: but they prayed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass; and they bare a still greater hatred to him on that account.

3. But God, in opposition to their envy, sent a second vision to Joseph, which was much more wonderful than the former; for it seemed to him that the sun took with him the moon, and the rest of the stars, and came down to the earth, and bowed down to him. He told this vision to his father, and that, as suspecting nothing of ill will from his brethren, when they were there also, and desired him to interpret what it should signify. Now Jacob was pleased with the dream; for considering the prediction in his mind, and shrewdly and wisely guessing at its meaning, he rejoiced at the great things thereby signified, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time should come when he should be honoured, and thought worthy of worship by his parents and brethren, as guessing that the moon and sun were like his mother and father; the former as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things, and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, as were the stars that receive their power from the sun and moon.

4. And thus did Jacob make a judgment of this vision, and that a shrewd one also. But these interpretations caused very great grief to Joseph's brethren; and they were affected to him hereupon as if he were a certain stranger, that was to have those good things which were signified by the dreams, and not as one that was a brother, with whom it was probable they should be joint-partakers; and as they had been partners in the same parentage, so should they be of the same happiness. They also resolved to kill the lad; and having fully ratified that intention of theirs, as soon as their collection of fruits was over, they went to Shechem, which is a country good for feeding of cattle, and for pasturage; there they fed their flocks, without acquainting their father with their removal thither: whereupon he had melancholy suspicions about them, as being ignorant of his sons' condition, and receiving no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state they were in; so because he was in great fear about them, he sent Joseph to the flocks, to learn the circumstances his brethren were in. and to bring him word how they did.

CHAP. III.

How Joseph was thus sold by his Brethren into Egypt, by Reason of their hatred to him; and how he there grew famous and illustrious, and had his Brethren under his Power.

§ 1. Now these brethren rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed as at the presence of a near relation, or as at the presence of one sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that by Divine Providence was delivered into their hands; and they already resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them. But when Reubel the eldest of them saw them thus disposed, and that they had agreed together to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, showing them the heinous enterprise they were going about, and the horrid nature of it; that this action would appear wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even though they should kill one not related to them, much more flagitious and detestable to appear to have slain their own brother; by which act the father must be treated unjustly in the son's slaughter, and the mother* also be in perplexity while she laments that her son is taken away from her, and this not in a natural way neither. So he entreated them to have a regard to their own consciences, and wisely to consider what mischief would betide them upon the death of so good a child, and their youngest brother; that they would also fear God, who was already both a spectator and a witness of the designs they had against their brother; that he would love them if they abstained from this act, and yielded to repentance and amendment; but in case they proceeded to do the fact, all sorts of punishments would overtake them from God for this murder of their brother, since they polluted his providence, which was every where present, and which did not overlook what was done, either in deserts or in cities; for wheresoever a man is, there ought he to suppose that God is also. He told them farther, that their consciences would be their enemies, if they attempted to go through so wicked an enterprise, which they can never avoid, whether it be a good conscience or whether it be such a one as they will have within them when once they have killed their brother. He also added this besides to what he had before said, that it was not a righteous thing to kill a brother, though he had injured them; that it is a good thing to forget the actions of such near friends, even in things wherein they might seem to have offended; but that they were going to kill Joseph, who had been guilty of nothing that was ill towards them, in whose case the infirmity of his small age should rather procure him mercy and move them to unite together in the care of his preservation. That the cause of killing him made the act itself much worse, while they determined to take him off out of envy at his future prosperity; an equal share of which they would naturally partake while he enjoyed it, since they were to him not strangers but the nearest relations, for they might reckon upon what God bestowed upon Joseph as their own; and that it was fit for them to believe that the anger of God would for this cause be more severe upon them, if they slew him who was judged by God to be worthy of that prosperity which was to be hoped for; and while by murdering him, they made it impossible for God to bestow it upon him.

2. Reubel said these, and many other things, and used entreaties to them, and thereby endeavoured to divert them from the murder of their brother. But when he saw that his discourse had not mollified them at all, and that they made haste to do the fact, he advised them to alleviate the wickedness they were go-

* We may here observe, that in correspondence to Joseph's second dream, which implied that his *mother*, who was then alive, as well as his father, should come and bow down to him, Josephus represents her here as still alive after she was dead, for the decorum of the dream that foretold it, as the interpretation of that dream does also in all our copies, Gen. xxxvii. 10.

ing about in the manner of taking Joseph off; for as he had exhorted them first, when they were going to revenge themselves, to be dissuaded from doing it; so since the sentence for killing their brother had prevailed, he said that they would not however be so grossly guilty, if they would be persuaded to follow his present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so very bad, but in the distress they were in, of a lighter nature. He begged of them therefore not to kill their brother with their own hands, but to cast him into the pit that was hard by, and so to let him die: by which they would gain so much, that they would not defile their own hands with his blood. To this the young men readily agreed; so Reubel took the lad and tied him to a cord, and let him down gently into the pit, for it had no water at all in it; who, when he had done this, went his way to seek for such pasturage as was fit for feeding their flocks.

3. But Judas, being one of Jacob's sons also, seeing some Arabians, of the posterity of Ismael, carrying spices and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead to the Egyptians, after Reubel was gone, advised his brethren to draw Joseph out of the pit, and sell him to the Arabians; for if he should die among strangers a great way off, they should be freed from this barbarous action. This, therefore, was resolved on; so they drew Joseph up out of the pit, and sold him to the merchants for twenty pounds.* He was now seventeen years old. But Reubel, coming in the night time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph, without the privity of his brethren; and when upon his calling to him he made no answer, he was afraid that they had destroyed him after he was gone; of which he complained to his brethren; but when they had told him what they had done, Reubel left off his mourning.

4. When Joseph's brethren had done this to him, they considered what they should do to escape the suspicions of their father. Now they had taken away from Joseph the coat which he had on when he came to them, at the time they let him down into the pit; so they thought proper to tear that coat to pieces, and to dip it into goat's blood, and then to carry it and show it to their father, that he might believe he was destroyed by wild beasts. And when they had so done, they came to the old man, but this not till what had happened to his son had already come to his knowledge. Then they said that they had not seen Joseph, nor knew what mishap had befallen him, but that they had found his coat bloody and torn to pieces, whence they had a suspicion that he had fallen among wild beasts, and so perished, if that was the coat he had on when he came from home. Now Jacob had before some better hopes that his son was only made a captive; but now he laid aside that notion, and supposed that this coat was an evident argument that he was dead, for he well remembered that this was the coat he had on when he sent him to his brethren; so he hereafter lamented the lad as now dead, and as if he had been the father of no more than one, without taking any comfort in the rest; and so he was also affected with his misfortune before he met with Joseph's brethren, when he also conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down also clothed in sackcloth, and in heavy affliction, insomuch that he found no ease when his sons comforted him, neither did his pains remit by length of time.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the signal Chastity of Joseph.

§ 1. Now Potiphar, an Egyptian, who was chief cook to king Pharaoh, bough

* The Septuagint have twenty pieces of gold; the Testament of Gad, 30; the Hebrew and the Samaritan, 20, of silver; and the vulgar Latin, 30. What was the true number, and true sum, cannot therefore now be known

Joseph of the merchants, who sold him to him. He had him in the greatest honour, and taught him the learning that became a free man, and gave him leave to make use of a diet better than was allotted to slaves. He entrusted also the care of his house to him. So he enjoyed these advantages; yet did not he leave that virtue which he had before, upon such a change of his condition, but he demonstrated that wisdom was able to govern the uneasy passions of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only put it on for a show, under a present state of prosperity.

2. For when his master's wife was fallen in love with him, both on account of his beauty of body and his dexterous management of affairs, and supposed, that if she should make it known to him, she should easily persuade him to come and lie with her, and that he would look on it as a piece of happy fortune that his mistress should entreat him, as regarding that state of slavery he was in, and not his moral character, which continued after his condition was changed. So she made known her naughty inclinations, and spake to him about lying with her. However, he rejected her entreaties, not thinking it agreeable to religion to yield so far to her as to what would tend to the affront and injury of him that purchased him, and had vouchsafed him so great honours. He, on the contrary, exhorted her to govern that passion; and laid before her the impossibility of her obtaining her desires, which he thought might be conquered, if she had no hope of succeeding; and he said that, as to himself, he would endure any thing whatever before he would be persuaded to it; for although it was fit for a slave, as he was, to do nothing contrary to his mistress, he might well be excused in a case where the contradiction was to such sort of commands only. But this opposition of Joseph's, when she did not expect it, made her still more violent in her love to him; and as she was sorely beset with this naughty passion, so she resolved to compass her design by a second attempt.

3. When therefore there was public festival coming on, in which it was the custom for women to come to the public solemnity, she pretended to her husband that she was sick, as contriving an opportunity for solitude and leisure, that she might entreat Joseph again. Which opportunity being obtained, she used more kind words to him than before; and said, that it had been good for him to have yielded to her first solicitation, and to have given her no repulse, both because of the reverence he ought to bear to her dignity who solicited him, and because of the vehemency of her passion, by which she was forced, though she were his mistress, to condescend beneath her dignity; but that he may now, by taking more prudent advice, wipe off the imputation of his former folly; for whether it were, that he expected the repetition of her solicitations she had now made, and that with greater earnestness than before, for that she had pretended sickness on this very account, and had preferred his conversation before the festival and its solemnity; or whether he opposed her former discourses, as not believing she could be in earnest, she now gave him sufficient security, by thus repeating her application, that she meant not in the least by fraud to impose upon him; and assured him, that if he complied with her affections, he might expect the enjoyment of the advantages he already had; and if he were submissive to her, he should have still greater advantages; but that he must look for revenge and hatred from her, in case he rejected her desires, and preferred the reputation of chastity before his mistress; for that he would gain nothing by such procedure, because then she would become his accuser, and would falsely pretend to her husband that he attempted her chastity; and that Potiphar would hearken to her words rather than to his, let his be ever so agreeable to the truth.

4. When the woman had said thus, and even with tears in her eyes, neither did pity dissuade Joseph from his chastity, nor did fear compel him to a compliance with her; but he opposed her solicitations, and did not yield to her threatenings, and was afraid to do an ill thing; and chose to undergo the sharpest punishment,

rather than to enjoy his present advantages, by doing what his own conscience knew would justly deserve that he should die for it. He also put her in mind that she was a married woman, and that she ought to cohabit with her husband only; and desired her to suffer these considerations to have more weight with her than the short pleasure of lustful dalliance, which would bring her to repentance afterwards; would cause trouble to her, and yet would not amend what had been done amiss. He also suggested to her the fear she would be in, lest they should be caught; and that the advantage of concealment was uncertain, and that only while the wickedness was not known [would there be any quiet for them]; but that she might have the enjoyment of her husband's company without any danger: And he told her, that in the company of her husband she might have great boldness, from a good conscience, both before God and before men. Nay, that she would act better like his mistress, and make use of her authority over him better, while she persisted in her chastity, than when they were both ashamed for what wickedness they had been guilty of; and that it is much better to depend on a good life, well acted, and known to have been so, than upon the hopes of the concealment of evil practices.

5. Joseph, by this, and more, tried to restrain the violent passion of the woman, and to reduce her affection within the rules of reason; but she grew more ungovernable and earnest in the matter, and since she despaired of persuading him, she laid her hands upon him, and had a mind to force him. But as soon as Joseph had got away from her anger, leaving also his garment with her, for he left that to her, and leaped out of her chamber, she was greatly afraid lest he should discover her lewdness to her husband, and greatly troubled at the affront he had offered her, so she resolved to be beforehand with him, and to accuse Joseph falsely to Potiphar, and by that means to revenge herself on him for his pride and contempt of her; and she thought it a wise thing in itself, and also becoming a woman, thus to prevent his accusation. Accordingly she sat sorrowful and in confusion, framing herself so hypocritically and angrily that the sorrow, which was really for her being disappointed of her lust, might appear to be for the attempt upon her chastity; so that when her husband came home, and was disturbed at the sight of her, and inquired what was the cause of the disorder she was in, she began to accuse Joseph: and, "O husband" said she, "mayst thou not live a day longer, if thou dost not punish the wicked slave who has desired to defile thy bed; who has neither minded who he was when he came to our house, so as to behave himself with modesty; nor has he been mindful of what favours he had received from thy bounty (as he must be an ungrateful man indeed, unless he in every respect carry himself in a manner agreeable to us); this man, I say, laid a private design to abuse thy wife, and this at the time of a festival, observing when thou wouldst be absent. So that it now is clear, that his modesty, as it appeared to be formerly, was only because of the restraint he was in out of fear of thee, but that he was not really of a good disposition. This has been occasioned by his being advanced to honour beyond what he deserved, and what he hoped for, insomuch that he concluded, that he who was deemed fit to be trusted with thy estate, and the government of thy family, and was preferred above thy eldest servants, might be allowed to touch thy wife also." Thus when she had ended her discourse, she showed him his garment, as if he then left it with her when he attempted to force her. But Potiphar, not being able to disbelieve what his wife's tears showed, and what his wife said, and what he saw himself, and being seduced by his love to his wife, did not set himself about the examination of the truth, but taking it for granted that his wife was a modest woman, and condemning Joseph as a wicked man, he threw him into the malefactor's prison; and had a still higher opinion of his wife, and bare her witness, that she was a woman of a becoming modesty and chastity.

CHAP. V.

What Things befell Joseph in Prison.

§ 1. Now Joseph, commending all his affairs to God, did not betake himself to make his defence, nor to give an account of the circumstances of the fact, but silently underwent the bonds and the distress he was in, firmly believing that God, who knew the cause of his affliction and the truth of the fact, would be more powerful than those that inflicted the punishments upon him; a proof of whose providence he quickly received; for the keeper of the prison, taking notice of his care and fidelity in the affairs he had set him about, and the dignity of his countenance, relaxed his bonds, and thereby made his heavy calamity lighter and more supportable to him; he also permitted him to make use of a diet better than that of the rest of the prisoners. Now, as his fellow-prisoners, when their hard labours were over, fell to discoursing one among another, as is usual in such as are equal sufferers, and to inquire one of another, what were the occasions of their being condemned to a prison. Among them the king's cupbearer, and one that had been respected by him, was put in bonds upon the king's anger at him. This man was under the same bonds with Joseph, and grew more familiar with him; and upon his observing that Joseph had a better understanding than the rest had, he told him of a dream he had, and desired he would interpret its meaning; complaining that, besides the afflictions he underwent from the king, God did also add to him trouble from his dreams.

2. He therefore said, That in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already and ripe for gathering, and that he squeezed them into a cup, which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink, and that he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This, he said, was what he saw; and he desired Joseph, that if he had any portion of understanding in such matters, he would tell him what this vision foretold: who bid him be of good cheer, and expect to be loosed from his bonds in three days time, because the king desired his service, and was about to restore him to it again; for he let him know that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good; which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and mutual confidence among men; and puts an end to their quarrels, takes away passion and grief out of the minds of them that use it, and makes them cheerful. Thou sayest that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that the king received it; know, therefore, that this vision is for thy good, and foretells a release from thy present distress, within the same number of days as the branches had whence thou gatheredst thy grapes in thy sleep. However, remember what prosperity I have foretold thee when thou hast found it true by experience: and when thou art in authority, do not overlook us in this prison, wherein thou wilt leave us, when thou art gone to the place we have foretold; for we are not in prison for any crime, but for the sake of our virtue and sobriety are we condemned to suffer the penalty of malefactors, and because we are not willing to injure him that has thus distressed us, though it were for our own pleasure. The cupbearer, therefore, as was natural to do, rejoiced to hear such an interpretation of his dream, and waited the completion of what had been thus showed him beforehand.

3. But another servant there was of the king's, who had been chief baker and was now bound in prison with the cupbearer; he also was in good hope upon Joseph's interpretation of the other's vision, for he had seen a dream also

so he desired that Joseph would tell him what the visions he had seen the night before might mean. They were these that follow: "Methought," says he, "I carried three baskets upon my head, two were full of loaves, and the third full of sweetmeats and other eatables, such as are prepared for kings; but that the fowls came flying, and ate them all up, and had no regard to my attempt to drive them away." And he expected a prediction like to that of the cupbearer's But Joseph, considering and reasoning about the dream, said to him, that he would willingly be an interpreter of good events to him, and not of such as his dream denounced to him; but he told him, that he had only three days in all to live, for that the [three] baskets signify, that on the third day he should be crucified, and devoured by fowls, while he was not able to help himself. Now both these dreams had the same several events that Joseph foretold they should have, and this to both the parties; for on the third day beforementioned, when the king solemnized his birthday, he crucified the chief baker, but set the butler free from his bonds, and restored him to his former ministration.

4. But God freed Joseph from his confinement, after he had endured his bonds two years, and had received no assistance from the cupbearer, who did not remember what he had said to him formerly; and God contrived this method of deliverance for him. Pharaoh the king had seen in his sleep the same evening two visions; and after them had the interpretations of them both given him. He had forgotton the latter, but retained that of the dreams themselves. Being therefore troubled at what he had seen, for it seemed to him to be all of a melancholy nature, the next day he called together the wisest men among the Egyptians, desiring to learn from them the interpretation of his dreams. But when they hesitated about them, the king was so much the more disturbed. And now it was that the memory of Joseph, and his skill in dreams, came into the mind of the king's cupbearer, when he saw the confusion that Pharoah was in; so he came and mentioned Joseph to him, as also the vision he had seen in prison, and how the event proved as he had said; as also, that the chief baker was crucified on the very same day; and that this also happened to him, according to the interpretation of Joseph. That Joseph himself was laid in bonds by Potiphar, who was his head cook, as a slave; but he said he was one of the noblest of the stock of the Hebrews; and said further, his father lived in great splendour. If therefore thou wilt send for him, and not despise him on the score of his misfortunes, thou wilt learn what thy dreams signify. So the king commanded that they should bring Joseph into his presence; and those who received the command came and brought him with them, having taken care of his habit, that it might be decent, as the king had enjoined them to do.

5. But the king took him by the hand; and, "O young man," says he, "for my servant bears witness that thou art at present the best and most skiful person I can consult with, vouchsafe me the same favours which thou bestowedest on this servant of mine, and tell me what events they are, which the visions of my dreams foreshow; and I desire thee to suppress nothing out of fear, nor to flatter me with lying words, or with what may please me, although the truth should be of a melancholy nature. For it seemed to me that, as I walked by the river, I saw kine fat and very large, seven in number, going from the river to the marshes; and other kine, of the same number like them, met them out of the marshes, exceeding lean and ill favoured, which ate up the fat and the large kine, and yet were no better than before, and not less miserably pinched with famine. After I had seen this vision, I awaked out of my sleep; and being in disorder, and considering with myself what this appearance should be, I fell asleep again and saw another dream, much more wonderful than the foregoing, which still did more affright and disturb me: I saw seven ears of corn growing out of one root, having their heads borne down by the weight of the grains, and bending down with the fruit which was now ripe, and fit for reaping; and near these I saw seven other ears of corn, meagre and weak for want of rain, which fell to

eating and consuming those that were fit for reaping, and put me into great astonishment.

6. To which Joseph replied: "This dream," said he, "O king, although seen under two forms, signifies one and the same event of things; for when thou sawest the kine, which is an animal made for the plough and for labour, devoured by the worser kine, and the ears of corn eaten up by the smaller ears, they foretell a famine, and want of the fruits of the earth, for the same number of years and equal with those when Egypt was in a happy state; and this so far that the plenty of these years will be spent in the same number of years of scarcity, and that scarcity of necessary provisions will be very difficult to be corrected; as a sign whereof, the ill favoured kine, when they had devoured the better sort, could not be satisfied. But still God foreshows what is to come upon men, not to grieve them; but that when they know it beforehand, they may by prudence make the actual experience of what is foretold the more tolerable. If thou, therefore carefully dispose of the plentiful crops which will come in the former years thou wilt procure that the future calamity will not be felt by the Egyptians."

7. Hereupon the king wondered at the discretion and wisdom of Joseph; and asked him by what means he might so dispense the foregoing plentiful crops, in the happy years, as to make the miserable crops more tolerable. Joseph then added this his advice: To spare the good crops, and not permit the Egyptians to spend them luxuriously, but to reserve what they would have spent in luxury beyond their necessity, against the time of want. He also exhorted him to take the corn of the husbandmen, and give them only so much as would be sufficient for their food. Accordingly Pharaoh, being surprised at Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dream, but for the counsel he had given him, intrusted him with dispensing the corn, with power to do what he thought would be for the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the king, as believing that he who first discovered this method of acting would prove the best overseer of it. But Joseph having this power given him by the king, with leave to make use of his seal, and to wear purple, drove in his chariot through all the land of Egypt, and took* the corn of the husbandmen, allotting as much to every one as would be sufficient for seed and for food, but without discovering to any one the reason why he did so.

CHAP. VI.

How Joseph, when he was become famous in Egypt, had his Brethren in Subjection.

§ 1. JOSEPH was now grown up to thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honours from the king, who called him *Psothom Phanech*, out of regard to his prodigious degree of wisdom; for that name denotes *the revealer of secrets*. He also married a wife of very high quality; for he married the daughter of Petephres† one of the priests of Heliopolis; she was a virgin, and her name was Asenath. By her he had children before the scarcity came on, Manasseh, the elder, which signifies *forgetful*, because his present happiness made him forget his former misfortunes: and Ephraim, the younger, which signifies *restored*, because he

* That is, bought it for Pharaoh at a very low price.

† This *Potiphar*, or as in Josephus, *Petephres*, who was now a priest of On, or Heliopolis, is the same name in Josephus, and perhaps in Moses also, with him who is before called the *head cook*, or *captain of the guard*, and to whom Joseph was sold, see Gen. xxxii. 36; xxxix. 1; with xli. 50. They are also affirmed to be one, and the same person in the testament of Joseph, sect. 18, for he is there said to have married the daughter of his master and mistress. Nor is this a notion peculiar to that Testament but, as Dr Bernard confesses, note on Antiq. b. ii. chap. iv. sect. 1, common to Josephus, to the Septuagint interpreters, and to other learned Jews of old time.

was restored to the freedom of his forefathers. Now, after Egypt had happily passed over seven years, according to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, the famine came upon them in the eighth year; and because this misfortune fell upon them when they had no sense of it beforehand,* they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become confessedly a saviour to the whole multitude of the Egyptians. Nor did he open this market of corn for the people of that country only, but strangers had liberty to buy also, Joseph being willing that all men, who are naturally akin to one another, should have assistance from those that lived in happiness.

2. Now Jacob also, when he understood that foreigners might come, sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn; for the land of Canaan was grievously afflicted with the famine; and this great misery touched the whole continent. He only retained Benjamin, who was born to him by Rachel, and was of the same mother with Joseph. These sons of Jacob then came into Egypt, and applied themselves to Joseph, wanting to buy corn; for nothing of this kind was done without his approbation, since even then only was the honour that was paid the king himself advantageous to the person that paid it, when they took care to honour Joseph also. Now when he well knew his brethren, they thought nothing of him; for he was but a youth when he left them, and was now come to an age so much greater that the lineaments of his face were changed, and he was not known by them; besides this, the greatness of the dignity wherein he appeared suffered them not so much as to suspect it was he. He now made trial what sentiments they had about affairs of the greatest consequence; for he refused to sell them corn, and said they were come as spies of the king's affairs; and that they came from several countries, and joined themselves together, and pretended that they were of kin, it not being possible that a private man should breed up so many sons, and those of so great beauty of countenance as they were; such an education of so many children being not easily obtained by kings themselves. Now this he did in order to discover what concerned his father, and what happened to him after his own departure from him, and as desiring to know what was become of Benjamin his brother; for he was afraid that they had ventured on the like wicked enterprise against him that they had done to himself, and had taken him off also.

3. Now these brethren of his were under distraction and terror, and thought that very great danger hung over them; yet not at all reflecting upon their brother Joseph; and standing firm under the accusations laid against them, they made their defence by Reubel, the eldest of them, who now became their spokesman: "We come not hither," said he, "with any unjust design, nor in order to bring any harm to the king's affairs; we only want to be preserved, as supposing your humanity might be a refuge for us from the miseries which our country labours under, we having heard that you proposed to sell corn, not only to your own countrymen, but to strangers also, and that you determined to allow that corn in order to preserve all that want it; but that we are brethren, and of the same common blood, the peculiar lineaments of our faces, and those not so much different from one another, plainly show. Our father's name is Jacob, an Hebrew man, who had twelve of us for his sons by four wives; which twelve of us while we were all alive were a happy family; but when one of our brethren, whose name was Joseph, died, our affairs changed for the worse; for our father could not forbear to make a long lamentation for him, and we are in affliction, both by the calamity of the death of our brother, and the miserable state of our aged father. We are now therefore come to buy corn, having entrusted the care of our father, and the provision for our family, to Benjamin, our youngest brother; and if thou

* This entire ignorance of the Egyptians of these years of famine before they came, told us before as well as here, chap. v. sect. 7, by Josephus, seems to be almost incredible. It is in no other copy that I know of

sendest to our house, thou mayst learn whether we are guilty of the least falsehood in what we say."

4. And thus did Reubel endeavour to persuade Joseph to have a better opinion of them. But when he had learned from them that Jacob was alive, and that his brother was not destroyed by them, he for the present put them in prison, as intending to examine more into their affairs when he should be at leisure. But on the third day he brought them out, and said to them, "That since you constantly affirm that you are not come to do any harm to the king's affairs; that you are brethren, and the sons of the father whom you named, you will satisfy me of the truth of what you say, if you leave one of your company with me, who shall suffer no injury here; and if, when ye have carried corn to your father, you will come to me again, and bring your brother, whom you say you left there along with you: for this shall be by me esteemed an assurance of the truth of what you have told me." Hereupon they were in greater grief than before; they wept, and perpetually deplored one among another the calamity of Joseph; and said, "They were fallen into this misery as a punishment inflicted by God for what evil contrivances they had against him." And Reubel was large in his reproaches of them for their too late repentance, whence no profit arose to Joseph; and earnestly exhorted them to bear with patience whatever they suffered, since it was done by God in way of punishment on his account. Thus they speak to one another, not imagining that Joseph understood their language. A general sadness also seized on them at Reubel's words, and a repentance for what they had done; and they condemned the wickedness they had perpetrated, for which they judged they were justly punished by God. Now when Joseph saw that they were in this distress, he was so affected at it that he fell into tears, and not being willing that they should take notice of him, he retired; and after a while came to them again, and taking Symeon,* in order to his being a pledge for his brethren's return, he bid them take the corn they had bought, and go their way. He also commanded his steward privily to put the money which they had brought with them for the purchase of corn into their sacks, and to dismiss them therewith; who did what he was commanded to do.

5. Now when Jacob's sons were come into the land of Canaan, they told their father what had happened to them in Egypt, and that they were taken to have come thither as spies upon the king; and how they said they were brethren, and had left their eleventh brother with their father, but were not believed; and how they had left Symeon with the governor, until Benjamin should go thither, and be a testimonial of the truth of what they had said. And they begged of their father to fear nothing, but to send the lad along with them. But Jacob was not pleased with any thing his sons had done; and he took the detention of Symeon heinously, and thence thought it a foolish thing to give up Benjamin also. Neither did he yield to Reubel's persuasion, though he begged it of him; and gave leave that the grandfather might, in way of requital, kill his own sons, in case any harm came to Benjamin in the journey. So they were distressed, and knew not what to do. Nay, there was another accident that still disturbed them more, the money that was found hidden in their sacks of corn. Yet when the corn they had brought failed them, and when the famine still afflicted them, and necessity forced them, Jacob did [not†] still resolve to send Benjamin with his brethren, although there was no returning into Egypt unless they came with what they had promised. Now the misery growing every day worse, and his sons begging it of him, he had no other course to take in his present circumstances. And Judas, who was of a bold temper upon other occasions, spake

* The reason why Symeon might be selected out of the rest for Joseph's prisoner, is plain in the Testament of Symeon, viz. that he was one of the bitterest of all Joseph's brethren against him, sect. 2, which appears also in part by the Testament of Zabulon, sect. 3.

† The coherence seems to me to show, that the negative particle is here wanting which I have supplied w brackets, and I wonder none have hitherto suspected it ought to be supplied.

his mind very freely to him: "That it did not become him to be afraid on account of his son, nor to suspect the worst, as he did; for nothing could be done to his son but by the appointment of God, which must also for certain come to pass though he were at home with him; that he ought not to condemn them to such manifest destruction; nor deprive them of that plenty of food they might have from Pharaoh, by his unreasonable fear about his son Benjamin, but ought to take care of the preservation of Symeon, lest by attempting to hinder Benjamin's journey, Symeon should perish. He exhorted him to trust God for him, and said he would either bring his son back to him safe, or, together with his, lose his own life." So that Jacob was at length persuaded, and delivered Benjamin to them, with the price of corn doubled; he also sent presents to Joseph, of the fruits of the land of Canaan, balsam,* and rosin, as also turpentine, and honey. Now their father shed many tears at the departure of his sons, as well as themselves. His concern was, that he might receive them back again safe after their journey; and their concern was, that they might find their father well, and no way afflicted with grief for them. And this lamentation lasted a whole day; so that the old man was at last tired with grief, and stayed behind; but they went on their way for Egypt, endeavouring to mitigate their grief for their present misfortunes with the hopes of better success hereafter.

6. As soon as they came into Egypt, they were brought down to Joseph. But here no small fear disturbed them, lest they should be accused about the price of the corn, as if they had cheated Joseph. They then made a long apology to Joseph's steward; and told him, that when they came home they found the money in their sacks, and that they had now brought it along with them. He said he did not know what they meant; so they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Symeon, and put him into a handsome habit, he suffered him to be with his brethren; at which time Joseph came from his attendance on the king. So they offered him their presents; and upon his putting the question to them about their father, they answered that they found him well. He also, upon his discovery that Benjamin was alive, asked whether this was their younger brother? for he had seen him. Whereupon they said he was; he replied, that the God over all was his protector. But when his affection to him made him shed tears, he retired, desiring he might not be seen in that plight by his brethren. Then Joseph took them to supper, and they were set down in the same order as they used to sit at their father's table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a mess to Benjamin that was double what the rest of the guests had for their shares.

7. Now when after supper they had composed themselves to sleep, Joseph commanded his steward both to give them their measures of corn, and to hide its price again in their sacks; and that withal they should put into Benjamin's sack the golden cup out of which he loved himself to drink. Which things he did in order to make trial of his brethren, whether they would stand by Benjamin when he should be accused of having stolen the cup, and should appear to be in danger; or whether they would leave him, and depending on their own innocency, go to their father without him. When the servant had done as he was bidden, the sons of Jacob, knowing nothing of all this, went their way, and took Symeon along with them, and had a double cause of joy, both because they had received him again, and because they took back Benjamin to their father, as they had promised. But presently a troop of horsemen encompassed them, and brought with them Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected attack of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and asked what the reason was that they came thus upon men who, a little before, had been by their lord thought worthy of an honourable and hospitable reception? They replied by calling them wicked wretches, who had forgot that very hospitable

* Of the precious balsam of Judea, and the turpentine, see the note on Antiq. B. viii. chap. vi. sect. 6

and kind treatment which Joseph had given them, and did not scruple to be injurious to him, and to carry off that cup out of which he had, in so friendly a manner, drunk to them; and not regarding their friendship with Joseph, no more than the danger they should be in if they were taken, in comparison of the unjust gain. Hereupon he threatened that they should be punished; for, though they had escaped the knowledge of him who was but a servant, yet they had not escaped the knowledge of God, nor had gone off with what they had stolen; and, after all, asked why we come upon them? as if they knew nothing of the matter; and he told them that they should immediately know it by their punishment. This, and more of the same nature, did the servant say, in way of reproach to them: but they, being wholly ignorant of any thing here that concerned them, laughed at what he said, and wondered at the abusive language which the servant gave them, when he was so hardy as to accuse those who did not before so much as retain the price of their corn, which was found in their sacks, but brought it again, though nobody else knew of any such thing; so far were they from offering any injury to Joseph voluntarily. But still, supposing that a search would be a more sure justification of themselves than their own denial of the fact, they bid him search them, and that if any of them had been guilty of the theft, to punish them all; for, being no way conscious to themselves of any crime, they spake with assurance, and, as they thought, without any danger to themselves also. The servants desired there might be a search made; but they said, the punishment should extend to him alone who should be found guilty of the theft. So they made the search; and having searched all the rest, they came last of all to Benjamin, as knowing it was Benjamin's sack in which they had hidden the cup; they having indeed searched the rest only for a show of accuracy: so the rest were out of fear for themselves, and were now only concerned about Benjamin, but still were well assured that he would also be found innocent; and they reproached those that came after them for their hindering them, while they might, in the meanwhile, have gotten a good way on their journey. But, as soon as they had searched Benjamin's sack, they found the cup, and took it from him, and all was changed into mourning and lamentation. They rent their garments, and wept for the punishment which their brother was to undergo for his theft, and for the delusion they had put on their father when they promised they would bring Benjamin safe to him. What added to their misery was, that this melancholy accident came unfortunately at a time when they thought they had gotten off clear; but they confessed that this misfortune of their brother, as well as the grief of their father for him, was owing to themselves, since it was they that forced their father to send him with them, when he was averse to it.

8. The horsemen therefore took Benjamin and brought him to Joseph, his brethren also following him; who, when he saw him in custody, and them in the habit of mourners, said, "How came you, vile wretches as you are, to have such a strange notion of my kindness to you, and of God's providence, as insolently to do thus to your benefactor, who in such an hospitable manner had entertained you?" Whereupon they gave up themselves to be punished, in order to save Benjamin; and called to mind what a wicked enterprise they had been guilty of against Joseph. They also pronounced him more happy than themselves, if he were dead, in being freed from the miseries of this life; and if he were alive that he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing God's vengeance upon them. They said farther, that they were the plague of their father, since they should now add to his former affliction for Joseph this other affliction for Benjamin. Reubel also was large in cutting them upon this occasion. But Joseph dismissed them; for he said, they had been guilty of no offence, and that he would content himself with the lad's punishment; for he said, it was not a fit thing to let him go free, for the sake of those who had not offended; nor was it a fit thing to punish them together with him who had been guilty of stealing. And when he promised to give them leave to go away in safety, the rest of them were under great consta-

nation, and were able to say nothing on the sad occasion. But Judas, who had persuaded their father to send the lad from him, being otherwise also a very bold and active man, determined to hazard himself for the preservation of his brother. "*It is true," said he "O governor, that we have been very wicked with regard to thee, and on that account deserve punishment; even all of us may justly be punished, although the theft were not committed by all, but only by one of us, and he the youngest also; but yet there remains some hope for us, who otherwise must be under despair on his account, and this from thy goodness, which promises us a deliverance out of our present danger. And now I beg thou wilt not look at us, or at that great crime we have been guilty of, but at thy own excellent nature, and take advice of thine own virtue, instead of that wrath thou hast against us; which passion those that otherwise are of a low character indulge, as they do their strength, and that not only on great, but also on very trifling occasions. Overcome, sir, that passion, and be not subdued by it, nor suffer it to slay those that do not otherwise presume upon their own safety, but are desirous to accept it from thee; for this is not the first time that thou wilt bestow it on us, but before, when we came to buy corn, thou affordedst us great plenty of food, and gavest us leave to carry so much home to our family as has preserved them from perishing by famine. Nor is there any difference between not overlooking men that were perishing for want of necessaries, and not punishing those that seem to be offenders, and have been so unfortunate as to lose the advantage of that glorious benefaction which they received from thee. This will be an instance of equal favour, though bestowed after a different manner; for thou wilt save those this way whom thou didst feed the other; and thou wilt hereby preserve alive, by thy own bounty, those souls which thou didst not suffer to be distressed by famine; it being, indeed, at once a wonderful and a great thing to sustain our lives by corn, and to bestow on us that pardon, whereby, now we are distressed, we may continue those lives. And I am ready to suppose that God is willing to afford thee this opportunity of showing thy virtuous disposition by bringing us into this calamity, that it may appear thou canst forgive the injuries that are done to thyself; and mayst be esteemed kind to others, besides those who, on other accounts, stand in need of thy assistance; since it is indeed a right thing to do well to those who are in distress for want of food, but still a more glorious thing to save those who deserve to be punished, when it is on account of heinous offences against thyself; for if it be a thing deserving commendation to forgive such as have been guilty of small offences, that tend to a person's loss, and this be praiseworthy in him that overlooks such offences; to restrain a man's passion as to crimes which are capital to the guilty is to be like the most excellent nature of God himself. And truly, as for myself, had it not been that we had a father, who had discovered, on occasion of the death of Joseph, how miserably he is always afflicted at the loss of his sons, I had not made any words on account of the saving of our own lives; I mean, any farther than as that would be an excellent character for thyself, to preserve even those that would have nobody to lament them when they were dead; but we would have yielded ourselves up to suffer whatsoever thou pleasedest: but now (for we do not plead for mercy to ourselves, though, indeed, if we die, it will be while we are young, and before we have had the enjoyment of life) have regard to our father, and take pity of his old age, on whose account it is that we make these supplications to thee. We beg thou wilt give us those lives, which this wickedness of ours has rendered obnoxious to thy punishment; and this for his sake who is not himself wicked, nor does his being our father make us wicked. He is a good man, and not worthy to have such trials of his patience; and now we are absent, is he afflicted with care for us. But if he

* This oration seems to me too large, and too unusual a digression, to have been composed by Judas on this occasion. It seems to me a speech or declamation composed formerly, in the person of Judas, and in the way of oratory, that lay by him, and which he thought fit to insert on this occasion. See two more such speeches or declamations, Antiq. B. vi. ch. xii sect. 4.

hear of our deaths, and what was the cause of it, he will on that account die an immature death; and the reproachful manner of our ruin will hasten his end, and will directly kill him, nay, will bring him to a miserable death, while he will make haste to rid himself of the world, and bring himself to a state of insensibility, before the sad story of our end come abroad to the rest of the world. Consider things in this manner, although our wickedness does now provoke thee with a just desire of punishing that wickedness, and forgive it for our father's sake; and let thy commiseration of him weigh more with thee than our wickedness. Have regard to the old age of our father, who, if we perish, will be very lonely while he lives, and will soon die himself also. Grant this boon to the name of fathers, for thereby thou wilt honour him that begat thee, and will grant it to thyself also, who enjoyest already that denomination; thou wilt then, by that denomination, be preserved of God, the Father of all, by showing a pious regard to which, in the case of our father, thou wilt appear to honour him who is styled by the same name; I mean, if thou wilt have this pity on our father, upon this consideration, how miserable he will be if he be deprived of his sons. It is thy part, therefore, to bestow on us what God has given us, when it is in thy power to take it away, and so to resemble him entirely in charity; for it is good to use that power, which can either give or take away, on the merciful side: and when it is in thy power to destroy, to forget that thou ever hadst that power, and to look on thyself as only allowed power for preservation; and that the more any one extends this power, the greater reputation does he gain to himself. Now, by forgiving our brother what he has unhappily committed, thou wilt preserve us all; for we cannot think of living if he be put to death, since we dare not show ourselves alive to our father, without our brother, but here must we partake of one and the same catastrophe of his life. And so far we beg of thee, O governor, that if thou condemnest our brother to die, thou wilt punish us together with him, as partakers of his crime; for we shall not think it reasonable to be reserved to kill ourselves for grief of our brother's death, but so to die rather as equally guilty with him of this crime. I will only leave with thee this one consideration, and then will say no more, viz. that our brother committed his fault when he was young, and not yet of confirmed wisdom in his conduct, and that men naturally forgive such young persons. And I end here, without adding what more I have to say, that in case thou condemnest us, that omission may be supposed to have hurt us, and permitted thee to take the severer side. But in case thou settest us free, that this may be ascribed to thy own goodness, of which thou art inwardly conscious, that thou freest us from condemnation; and that not by barely preserving us, but by granting us such a favour as will make us appear more righteous than we really are, and by representing to thyself more motives for our deliverance than we are able to produce ourselves. If, therefore, thou resolvest to slay him, I desire thou wilt slay me in his stead, and send him back to his father; or if thou pleasest to retain him with thee as a slave, I am fitter to labour for thy advantage in that capacity, and, as thou seest, am better prepared for either of these sufferings."* So Judas being very willing to undergo any thing whatever for the deliverance of his brother, cast himself down at Joseph's feet, and earnestly laboured to assuage and pacify his anger. All his brethren also fell down before him weeping; and delivering themselves up to destruction for the preservation of the life of Benjamin.

10. But Joseph, as overcome now with his affections, and no longer able to personate an angry man, commanded all that were present to depart, that he might make himself known to his brethren, when they were alone. And when the rest were gone out, he made himself known, to his brethren, and said, "I commend you for your virtue and your kindness to our brother; I find you better men than I could have expected from what you contrived about me. Indeed, I did all this to

* In all this speech of Judas we may observe, that Josephus still supposed that death was the punishment of theft in Egypt, in the days of Joseph, though it never was so among the Jews by the law of Moses

try your love to your brother; so I believe you were not wicked by nature in what you did in my case, but that all has happened according to God's will, who has hereby procured our enjoyment of what good things we have, and, if he continue in a favourable disposition, of what we hope for hereafter. Since, therefore, I know that our father is safe and well, beyond expectation, and I see you so well disposed to your brother, I will no longer remember what guilt you seem to have had about me, but will leave off to hate you for that your wickedness, and do rather return you my thanks, that you have concurred with the intentions of God to bring things to their present state. I would have you also rather to forget the same, since that imprudence of yours is come to such a happy conclusion, than to be uneasy and blush at those your offences. Do not therefore let your evil intentions, when you condemned me, and that bitter remorse which might follow, be a grief to you now, because those intentions were frustrated. Go, therefore, your way, rejoicing in what has happened by the divine providence, and inform your father of it, lest he should be spent with cares for you, and deprive me of the most agreeable part of my felicity; I mean, least he should die before he comes into my sight, and enjoys the good things that we now have. Bring, therefore, with you our father, and your wives and children, and all your kindred, and remove your habitations hither; for it is not proper that the persons dearest to me should live remote from me, now my affairs are so prosperous, especially when they must endure five more years of famine." When Joseph had said this, he embraced his brethren, who were in tears and sorrow. But the generous kindness of their brother seemed to leave among them no room for fear, lest they should be punished on account of what they had consulted and acted against him. And they were then feasting. Now the king, as soon as he heard that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was exceeding glad of it, as if it had been a part of his own good fortune; and gave them wagons full of corn, and gold, and silver, to be conveyed to his father. Now when they had received more of their brother part to be carried to their father, and part as free gifts to every one of themselves, Benjamin having still more than the rest, they departed.

CHAP. VII.

The Removal of Joseph's Father, with all his Family, to him, on Account of the Famine.

§ 1. As soon as Jacob came to know, by his sons returning home, in what state Joseph was, that he had not only escaped death, for which yet he lived all along in mourning, but that he lived in splendour and happiness, and ruled over Egypt jointly with the king, and had intrusted to his care almost all his affairs; he did not think any thing he was told to be incredible, considering the greatness of the works of God, and his kindness to him; although that kindness had, for some late times, been intermitted: so he immediately and zealously set out upon his journey to him.

2. When he came to the well of the oath (Beersheba) he offered sacrifice to God; and being afraid that the happiness there was in Egypt might tempt his posterity to fall in love with it, and settle in it, and no more think of removing into the land of Canaan, and possessing it, as God had promised them; as also being afraid, lest if this descent into Egypt were made without the will of God, his family might be destroyed there; out of fear withal, lest he should depart this life before he came to the sight of Joseph, he fell asleep, revolving these doubts in his mind.

3. But God stood by him, and called to him twice by his name; and when he asked, who he was? God said, "No, sure, it is not just that thou Jacob should

be unacquainted with that God who has been ever a protector and a helper to thy forefathers, and after them to thyself: for when thy father would have deprived thee of the dominion, I gave it thee; and by my kindness it was, that when thou wast sent into Mesopotamia all alone, thou obtainedst good wives, and returnedst with many children and much wealth. Thy whole family also has been preserved by my providence; and it was I who conducted Joseph, thy son, whom thou gavest up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, so that he differs but little from a king. Accordingly I come now as a guide to thee in this journey; and foretell to thee that thou shalt die in the arms of Joseph; and I inform thee, that thy posterity shall be many ages in authority and glory, and that I will settle them in the land which have promised them."

4. Jacob, encouraged by this dream, went on more cheerfully for Egypt, with his sons, and all belonging to them. Now they were in all seventy. I once indeed thought it best not to set down the names of this family, especially because of their difficult pronunciation (by the Greeks); but upon the whole, I think it necessary to mention those names, that I may disprove such as believe that we came originally not out of Mesopotamia, but are Egyptians. Now Jacob had twelve sons, of these Joseph was come thither before. We will therefore set down the names of Jacob's children and grandchildren. Reubel had four sons, Anoch, Phallu, Assaron, Charmi. Symeon had six, Jamuel, Jamin, Avod, Jachin, Soar, Saul. Levi had three sons, Gersom, Caath, Merari. Judas had three sons, Sala, Phares, Zerah; and by Phares two grandchildren, Esrom, and Amur. Issachar had four sons, Thola, Phua, Jasub, Samaron. Zabulon had with him three sons, Sared, Helon, Jalel. So far is the posterity of Lea; with whom went her daughter Dinah. These are thirty-three. Rachel had two sons, the one of which, Joseph, had two sons also, Manasseh and Ephraim. The other, Benjamin, had ten sons, Bolau, Bacchar, Asabel, Geras, Naaman, Jes, Ros, Momphis, Opphis, Arad. These fourteen added to the thirty-three before enumerated amount to the number forty-seven. And this was the legitimate posterity of Jacob. He had beside by Bilha, the handmaid of Rachel, Dan and Nephthali, which last had four sons that followed him, Jessel, Guni, Issari, and Sellim. Dan had an only begotten son, Usi. If these be added to those before mentioned, they complete the number fifty-four. Gad and Aser were the sons of Zilpha, who was the handmaid of Lea. These had with them, Gad seven, Saphoniah, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Eroed, Ariel. Aser had a daughter Sarah, and six male children, whose names were Jomne, Isus, Isoui, Baris, Abar, and Melchiel. If we add these, which are sixteen, to the fifty-four, the forementioned number [70] is completed, Jacob not* being himself included in that number.

5. When Joseph understood that his father was coming, for Judas his brother was come before him, and informed him of his approach, he went out to meet him; and they met together at Heroopolis. But Jacob almost fainted away at this unexpected and great joy: however, Joseph revived him, being yet not himself able to contain from being affected in the same manner, at the pleasure he now had, yet was he not wholly overcome with his passion, as his father was. After this, he desired Jacob to travel on slowly; but he himself took five of his brethren with him, and made haste to the king, to tell him that Jacob and his family were come; which was a joyful hearing to him. He also bid Joseph tell him what sort of life his brethren loved to lead, that he might give them leave to follow the same: who told him they were good shepherds, and had been used to follow no other employment but this alone. Whereby he provided for them,

* All the Greek copies of Josephus have the negative particle here, that Jacob himself was *not* reckoned one of the 70 souls that came into Egypt; but the old Latin copies want it, and directly assure us he was one of them. It is therefore hardly certain which of these was Josephus's true reading, since the number 70 is made up without him, if we reckon Leah for one, but if she be not reckoned, Jacob must himself be one, to complete the number.

that they should not be separated, but live in the same place, and take care of their father; as also hereby he provided, that they might be acceptable to the Egyptians, by doing nothing that would be common to them with the Egyptians, for the Egyptians are prohibited* to meddle with feeding of sheep.

6. When Jacob was come to the king, and saluted him, and wished all prosperity to his government, Pharaoh asked him how old he now was? Upon whose answer, that he was a hundred and thirty years old, he admired Jacob on account of the length of his life. And when he had added, that still he had not lived so long as his forefathers, he gave him leave to live with his children in Heliopolis; for in that city the king's shepherds had their pasturage.

7. However, the famine increased among the Egyptians; and this heavy judgment grew more oppressive to them, because neither did the river overflow the ground, for it did not rise to its former height, nor did God send rain† upon it; nor did they indeed make the least provision for themselves, so ignorant were they what was to be done; but Joseph sold them corn for their money. But when their money failed them, they bought corn with their cattle and their slaves; and if any of them had a small piece of land, they gave up that to purchase them food, by which means the king became the owner of all their substance: and they were removed some to one place, and some to another, that so the possession of their country might be firmly assured to the king; excepting the lands of the priests, for their country continued still in their own possession. And indeed this sore famine made their minds, as well as their bodies, slaves; and at length compelled them to procure a sufficiency of food by such dishonourable means. But when this misery ceased, and the river overflowed the ground, and the ground brought forth its fruits plentifully, Joseph came to every city, and gathered the people thereunto belonging together, and give them back entirely the land which, by their own consent, the king might have possessed alone, and alone enjoyed the fruits of it. He also exhorted them to look on it as every one's own possession; and to fall to their husbandry with cheerfulness; and to pay as a tribute to the king, the fifth part‡ of the fruits for the land which the king, when it was his own, restored to them. These men rejoiced upon their becoming unexpectedly owners of their lands, and diligently observed what was enjoined them. And by this means Joseph procured to himself a greater authority among the Egyptians, and greater love to the king from them. Now this law, that they should pay the fifth part of their fruits as tribute continued until their later kings.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Death of Jacob and Joseph.

§ 1. Now when Jacob had lived seventeen years in Egypt, he fell into a disease, and died in the presence of his sons; but not till he had made his prayers for

* Josephus thought that the Egyptians hated or despised the employment of a shepherd in the days of Joseph; whereas Bishop Cumberland has shown that they rather hated such Phœnician or Canaanite shepherds as had long enslaved the Egyptians of old time. See his Sanchoniatho, p. 361, 362.

† Reland here puts the question, How Josephus could complain of its not raining in Egypt during this famine, while the ancients affirm, that it never does naturally rain there? His answer is, that when the ancients deny that it never rains in Egypt, they only mean the Upper Egypt above the Delta, which is called Egypt in the strictest sense; but that in the Delta [and by consequence in the Lower Egypt adjoining to it] it did of old, and still does rain sometimes. See the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. 1. sect. 6.

‡ Josephus supposes, that Joseph now restored the Egyptians their lands again, upon the payment of a fifth part as a tribute. It seems to me rather that the land was now considered as Pharaoh's land, and this fifth part as its rent, to be paid to him, as he was their landlord, and they his tenants and that the lands were not properly restored, and his fifth part reserved as tribute only, till the days of Sesostris. See Essay on the Old Testament, Append. 148, 149

their enjoying prosperity, and till he had foretold to them prophetically how every one of them was to dwell in the land of Canaan. But this happened many years afterward. He also enlarged upon the praises of Joseph*, how he had not remembered the evil doings of his brethren to their disadvantage; nay, on the contrary, was kind to them, bestowing upon them so many benefits, as seldom are bestowed on men's own benefactors. He then commanded his own sons that they should admit Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, into their number, and divide the land of Canaan in common with them; concerning whom we shall treat hereafter. However, he made it his request, that he might be buried at Hebron. So he died, when he had lived full a hundred and fifty years, three only abated, having not been behind any of his ancestors in piety towards God, and having such a recompense for it as it was fit those should have who were so good as these were. But Joseph, by the king's permission, carried his father's dead body to Hebron, and there buried it at a great expense. Now his brethren were at first unwilling to return back with him, because they were afraid, lest, now their father was dead, he should punish them for their secret practices against him, since he was now gone for whose sake he had been so gracious to them. But he persuaded them to fear no harm, and to entertain no suspicions of him; so he brought them along with him, and gave them great possessions, and never left off his particular concern for them.

2. Joseph also died when he had lived a hundred and ten years; having been a man of admirable virtue, and conducting all his affairs by the rules of reason; and used his authority with moderation, which was the cause of his so great felicity among the Egyptians, even when he came from another country, and that in such ill circumstances also as we have already described. At length his brethren died, after they had lived happily in Egypt. Now the posterity and sons of these men, after some time, carried their bodies, and buried them at Hebron; but as to the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward, when the Hebrews went out of Egypt; for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath. But what became of every one of these men, and by what toils they got possession of the land of Canaan, shall be showed hereafter, when I have first explained upon what account it was that they left Egypt.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Afflictions that befell the Hebrews in Egypt during Four Hundred Years.†

§ 1. Now it happened that the Egyptians grew delicate and lazy, as to painstaking, and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular to the love of gain. They also became very ill affected towards the Hebrews, as touched with envy at their prosperity; for when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become eminent already in plenty of wealth, which they had acquired by their virtue and natural love of labour, they thought their increase was to their own detriment. And having in length of time forgotten the benefits they had received from Joseph, particularly the crown being now come into another family, they became very abusive to the Israelites, and contrived many

* As to this encomium upon Joseph, so preparatory to Jacob's adopting Ephraim and Manasseh into his own family, and to be admitted for two tribes, which Josephus here mentions, all our copies of Genesis omit it, ch. xlviii. nor do we know whence he took it, or whether it be not his own embellishment only.

† As to the affliction of Abraham's posterity for 400 years, see Antiq. B. i. ch. x sect. 3. And as to what cities they built in Egypt under Pharaoh Sesostris, and of Pharaoh Sesostris's drowning in the Red Sea see Essay on the Old Test. Append. p. 139—162.

ways of afflicting them; for they enjoined them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities and ramparts, that they might restrain the river, and hinder its waters from stagnating upon its running over its own banks; they set them also to build pyramids,* and by all this wore them out; and forced them to learn all sorts of mechanical arts, and to accustom themselves to hard labour. And four hundred years did they spend under these afflictions; for they strove one against the other which should get the mastery, the Egyptians desiring to destroy the Israelites by these labours, and the Israelites desiring to hold out to the end under them.

2. While the affairs of the Hebrews were in this condition, there was this occasion offered itself to the Egyptians, which made them more solicitous for the extinction of our nation. One of those sacred scribes† who were very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the king, that about this time there would a child be born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites; that he would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory that would be remembered through all ages. Which thing was so feared by the king, that according to this man's opinion, he commanded that they should cast every male child which was born to the Israelites into the river, and destroy it; that besides this the Egyptian midwives‡ should watch the labours of the Hebrew women, and observe what was born, for those were the women who were enjoined to do the office of midwives to them; and by reason of their relation to the king, would not trangress his commands. He enjoined also, that if any parents should disobey him, and venture to save their male children alive,§ they and their families should be destroyed. This was a severe affliction indeed to those that suffered it, not only as they were deprived of their sons, and while they were the parents themselves, they were obliged to be subservient to the destruction of their own children, but as it was to be supposed to tend to the extirpation of their nation, while upon the destruction of their children, and their own gradual dissolution, the calamity would become very hard and inconsolable to them. And this was the ill state they were in. But no one can be too hard for the purpose of God, though he contrive ten thousand subtile devices for that end; for this child, whom the sacred scribe foretold, was brought up and concealed from the observers appointed by the king; and he that foretold him did not mistake in the consequences of his preservation, which were brought to pass after the manner following.

3. A man whose name was Amram, one of the nobler sort of the Hebrews was afraid of his whole nation lest it should fail, by the want of young men to be brought up hereafter, and was very uneasy at it, his wife being then with child, and he knew not what to do. Hereupon he betook himself to prayer to God; and entreated him to have compassion on those men who had no ways transgressed the laws of his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render abortive their enemies' hopes

* Of this building of the pyramids of Egypt by the Israelites, see Perizonius Orig. Egyptiæ, chap. xxi. It is not impossible they might build one or more of the small ones, but the large one seems much later. Only, if they be all built of stone, this does not so well agree with the Israelites' labours, which are said to have been in *brick*, and not in *stone*, as Mr. Sandys observes in his Travels, p. 127, 128.

† Dr. Bernard informs us here, that, instead of this single priest or prophet of the Egyptians, without a name in Josephus, the Targum of Jonathan names the two famous antagonists of Moses, Jannes and Jambres. Nor is it at all unlikely that it might be one of these who foreboded so much misery to the Egyptians, and so much happiness to the Israelites from the rearing of Moses.

‡ Josephus is clear that these midwives were Egyptians, and not Israelites, as in our other copies, which is very probable, it not being easy to be supposed, that Pharaoh could trust the Israelite midwives to execute so barbarous a command against their own nation. Consult therefore and correct hence our ordinary copies. Exod. i. 15—22. And indeed Josephus seems to have had much completer copies of the Pentateuch, or other authentic records now lost, about the birth and actions of Moses, than either our Hebrew, Samaritan, or Greek bibles afford us, which enabled him to be so large and particular about him.

§ Of this grandfather of Sesostris Ramestes the Great, who slew the Israelite infants, and of the inscription on his obelisk, containing, in my opinion, one of the oldest records of mankind, see Essay on the Old Test. Append. p. 139, 145, 147, 217, 220.

of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He stood by him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair of his future favours. He said farther, that he did not forget their piety towards him, and would always reward them for it, as he had formerly granted his favour to their forefathers, and made them increase from a few to so great a multitude. He put him in mind, that when Abraham was come alone out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, he had been made happy, not only in other respects, but that when his wife was at first barren, she was afterwards by him enabled to conceive seed, and bear him sons. That he left to Ismael and to his posterity the country of Arabia; as also to his sons by Ketura, Troglodytes; and to Isaac, Canaan. That by my assistance, said he, he did great exploits in war, which, unless you be yourselves impious, you must still remember. As for Jacob he became well known to strangers also, by the greatness of that prosperity in which he lived, and left to his sons, who came into Egypt with no more than seventy souls, while you are now become above six hundred thousand. Know, therefore, that I shall provide for you all in common what is for your good, and particularly for thyself what shall make thee famous; for that child, out of dread of whose nativity the Egyptians have doomed the Israelite children to destruction, shall be this child of thine, and shall be concealed from those who watch to destroy him; and when he is brought up in a surprising way, he shall deliver the Hebrew nation from the distress they are under from the Egyptians. His memory shall be famous while the world lasts; and this not only among the Hebrews, but foreigners also. All which shall be the effect of my favour to thee and to thy posterity. He shall also have such a brother that he shall himself obtain my priesthood, and his posterity shall have it after him to the end of the world.

4. When the vision had informed him of these things, Amram awaked and told it to Jochebed, who was his wife. And now the fear increased upon them on account of the prediction in Amram's dream; for they were under concern, not only for the child, but on account of the great happiness that was to come to him also. However the mother's labour was such as afforded a confirmation to what was foretold by God; for it was not known to those that watched her, by the easiness of her pains, and because the throes of her delivery did not fall upon her with violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time Amram fearing he should be discovered, and by falling under the king's displeasure, both he and his child should perish, and so he should make the promise of God of none effect, he determined rather to entrust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him, which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and whereby both the child, so privately to be nourished, and himself should be in imminent danger, but he believed that God would some way for certain procure the safety of the child in order to secure the truth of his own predictions. When they had thus determined, they made an ark of bulrushes, after the manner of a cradle, and of a bigness sufficient for an infant to be laid in, without being too much straitened; they then daubed it over with slime, which would naturally keep out the water from entering between the bulrushes, and put the infant into it, and setting it afloat upon the river, they left its preservation to God; so the river received the child, and carried him along. But Miriam, the child's sister, passed along upon the bank over against him, as her mother had bid her, to see whither the ark would be carried; where God demonstrated, that human wisdom was nothing, but that the supreme Being is able to do whatsoever he pleases; that those who, in order to their own security, condemn others to destruction, and use great endeavours about it, fail of their purpose; but that others are in a surprising manner preserved, and obtain a prosperous condition almost from the very midst of their calamities; those, I mean, whose dangers arise by the

appointment of God. And indeed such a providence was exercised in the case of this child as showed the power of God.

5. Thermuthis was the king's daughter She was now diverting herself by the banks of the river; and seeing a cradle borne along by the current, she sent some that could swim, and bid them bring the cradle to her. When those that were sent on this errand came to her with the cradle, and she saw the little child, she was greatly in love with it, on account of its largeness and beauty for God had taken such great care in the formation of Moses, that he caused him to be thought worthy of bringing up, and providing for by all those that had taken the most fatal resolutions, on account of their dread of his nativity, for the destruction of the rest of the Hebrew nation. Thermuthis bid them bring her a woman that might afford her breast to the child; yet would not the child admit of her breast, but turned away from it, and did the like to many other women. Now Miriam was by when this happened, not to appear to be there on purpose, but only as staying to see the child; and she said, "It is in vain that thou, O queen, callest for these women for the nourishing of the child, who are no way of kin to it; but still if thou wilt order one of the Hebrew women to be brought perhaps is may admit the breast of one of its own nation." Now since she seemed to speak well, Thermuthis bid her procure such a one, and to bring one of those Hebrew women that gave suck. So when she had such authority given her, she came back and brought the mother, who was known to nobody there. And now the child gladly admitted the breast, and seemed to stick close to it; and so it was that, at the queen's desire, the nursing of the child was entirely entrusted to the mother.

6. Hereupon it was that Thermuthis imposed this name *Moüses* upon him, from what had happened when he was put into the river; for the Egyptians call water by the name of *Mo*, and such as are saved out of it by the name of *Uses*. so by putting these two words together, they imposed this name upon him. And he was by the confession of all, according to God's prediction, as well for his greatness of mind, as for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews for Abraham was his ancestor of the seventh generation; for Moses was the son of Amram, who was the son of Caath, whose father Levi was the son of Jacob, who was the son of Isaac, who was the son of Abraham. Now Moses's understanding became superior to his age, nay, far beyond that standard; and when he was taught, he discovered greater quickness of apprehension than was usual at his age: and his actions at that time promised greater, when he should come to the age of a man. God did also give him that tallness when he was but three years old, as was wonderful. And as for his beauty, there was nobody so unpolite as, when they saw Moses, they were not greatly surprised at the beauty of his countenance; nay, it happened frequently, that those that met him, as he was carried along the road, were obliged to turn again upon seeing the child; that they left what they were about and stood still a great while to look on him; for the beauty of the child was so remarkable and natural to him, on many accounts, that it detained the spectators, and made them stay longer to look upon him.

7. Thermuthis therefore perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for her son, having no child of her own. And when one time she had carried Moses to her father, she showed him to him, and said, she thought to make him her father's successor, if it should please God she should have no legitimate child of her own; and said to him, "I have brought up a child who is of a divine form* and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bounty of the river, in a wonderful manner, I thought proper to adopt him for my son, and the heir of thy kingdom." And when she had said this, she put

* What Josephus here says of the beauty of Moses, that he was *of a divine form*, is very like what St Stephen says of the same beauty, that Moses was *beautiful in the sight of God*, Acts, vii 20

the infant into her father's hands; so he took him, and hugged him close to his breast; and, on his daughter's account, in a pleasant way put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and in a puerile mood, he wreathed it round, and tread upon it with his feet, which seemed to bring along with it an evil presage concerning the kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribe saw this (he was the same person who foretold that his nativity would bring the dominion of that kingdom low,) he made a violent attempt to kill him and, crying out in a frightful manner, he said, "This, O king! this child is he of whom God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in no danger; he himself affords an attestation to the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon thy government and treading upon thy diadem. Take him therefore out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of being encouraged by him." But Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was not hasty to slay him; God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the king to spare him. He was therefore educated with great care. So the Hebrews depended upon him, and were of good hopes that great things would be done by him; but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would follow such his education. Yet because, if Moses had been slain, there was no one, either akin or adopted, that had any oracle of his side for pretending to the crown of Egypt, and likely to be of greater advantage to them, they abstained from killing him

CHAP. X.

How Moses made War with the Ethiopians.

§ 1. MOSES therefore when he was born, and brought up in the foregoing manner, and came to the age of maturity, made his virtue manifest to the Egyptians, and showed that he was born for the bringing them down, and raising the Israelites. And the occasion he laid hold of was this: The Ethiopians who are the next neighbours to the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, which they seized upon, and carried off the effects of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, fought against them, and revenged the affronts they had received from them, but being overcome in battle, some of them were slain, and the rest ran away in a shameful manner, and by that means saved themselves; whereupon the Ethiopians followed after them in the pursuit, and thinking that it would be a mark of cowardice if they did not subdue all Egypt, they went on to subdue the rest with greater vehemence; and when they had tasted the sweets of the country, they never left off the prosecution of the war: and as the nearest parts had not courage enough at first to fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis, and the sea itself, while not one of the cities were able to oppose them. The Egyptians, under this sad oppression, betook themselves to their oracles and prophecies; and when God had given them this counsel, to make use of Moses the Hebrew, and take his assistance, the king commanded his daughter to produce him, that he might be the general of their army.* Upon which, when she had made him swear he would do him no harm, she delivered him to the king, and supposed his assistance would be of great advantage to them. She withal

* This history of Moses, as general of the Egyptians against the Ethiopians, is wholly omitted in our Bibles, but is thus cited by Irenæus, from Josephus, and that soon after his own age: "Josephus says that when Moses was nourished in the king's palace, he was appointed general of the army against the Ethiopians, and conquered them; when he married that king's daughter, because out of her affection for him, she delivered the city up to him." See the Fragments of Irenæus, *ab edit. Grab.* p. 472. Nor perhaps did St. Stephen refer to any thing else, when he said of Moses, before he was sent by God to the Israelites, that he was not only *learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*, but was also *mighty in words and in deeds*. Acts, vii 22.

reproached the priest; who, when they had before admonished the Egyptians to kill him, was not ashamed now to own their want of his help.

2. So Moses, at the persuasion both of Thermuthis, and the king himself, cheerfully undertook the business; and the sacred scribes of both nations were glad;—those of the Egyptians, that they should at once overcome their enemies by his valour, and that by the same piece of management Moses would be slain; but those of the Hebrews, that they should escape from the Egyptians, because Moses was to be their general. But Moses prevented the enemies, and took and led this army before those enemies were apprised of his attacking them; for he did not march by the river, but by land, where he gave a wonderful demonstration of his sagacity; for when the ground was difficult to be passed over, because of the multitude of serpents, which it produces in vast numbers, and indeed is singular in some of those productions which other countries do not breed, and yet such as are worse than others in power and mischief and an unusual fierceness of sight, some of which ascend out of the ground unseen, and also fly in the air, and so come upon men at unawares, and do them a mischief; Moses invented a wonderful stratagem to preserve the army safe, and without hurt; for he made baskets like unto arks, of sedge, and filled them with Ibes,* and carried them along with them; which animal is the greatest enemy to serpents imaginable, for they fly from them when they come near them, and as they fly they are caught and devoured by them, as if it were done by the harts; but the ibes are tame creatures, and only enemies to the serpentine kind. But about these ibes I say no more at present, since the Greeks themselves are not unacquainted with this sort of bird. As soon therefore as Moses was come to the land which was the breeder of these serpents, he let loose the ibes, and by their means repelled the serpentine kind, and used them for his assistants before the army came upon that ground. When he had therefore proceeded thus on his journey, he came upon the Ethiopians before they expected him; and joining battle with them, he beat them, and deprived them of the hopes they had of success against the Egyptians, and went on in overthrowing their cities, and indeed made a great slaughter of these Ethiopians. Now when the Egyptian army had once tasted of this prosperous success, by the means of Moses, they did not slacken their diligence, insomuch that the Ethiopians were in danger of being reduced to slavery and all sorts of destruction. And at length they retired to Saba, which was a royal city of Ethiopia, which Cambyses afterwards named *Meroe*, after the name of his own sister. The place was to be besieged with very great difficulty, since it was both encompassed by the Nile quite round, and the other rivers Astapus and Astaborus made it a very difficult thing for such as attempted to pass over them; for the city was situate in a retired place, and was inhabited after the manner of an island, being encompassed with a strong wall, and having the rivers to guard them from their enemies, and having great ramparts between the wall and the rivers, insomuch, that when the waters come with the greatest violence it can never be drowned; which ramparts make it next to impossible for even such as are gotten over the rivers to take the city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle (for the enemies durst not come to a battle) this accident happened: Tharbis was the daughter of the king of the Ethiopians; she happened to see Moses as he led the army near to the walls, and fought with great courage, and admiring the subtility of his undertakings, and believing him to be the author of the Egyptians' success, when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty, and to be the occasion of the greater danger the Ethiopians were in, when they had before boasted of their great achievements, she fell deeply in love with him; and upon the prevalency of that passion, sent to him the most faithful of all her servants to discourse with him about their marriage. He there-

* Pliny speaks of these birds called *Ibes*, and says, "The Egyptians invoked them against the serpents." Hist. Nat. Book x. ch. 28. Strabo speaks of this island *Meroe*, and these rivers *Astaplus* and *Astaborus*, Book xvi. p. 771, 786, and Book xvii. p. 821.

upon accepted the offer, on condition she would procure the delivering up of the city; and gave her the assurance of an oath to take her to his wife, and that when he had once taken possession of the city, he would not break his oath to her. No sooner was the agreement made, but it took effect immediately; and when Moses had cut off the Ethiopians, he gave thanks to God, and consummated his marriage, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

CHAP. XI.

How Moses fled out of Egypt to Midian.

§ 1. Now the Egyptians, after they had been preserved by Moses, entertained a hatred to him, and were very eager in compassing their designs against him, as suspecting that he would take occasion from his good success, to raise a sedition, and bring innovations into Egypt; and told the king he ought to be slain. The king had also some intentions of himself to the same purpose, and this as well out of envy at his glorious expedition at the head of his army, as out of fear of being brought low by him; and being instigated by the sacred scribes, he was ready to undertake to kill Moses. But when he had learned beforehand what plots there were against him, he went away privately; and because the public roads were watched, he took his flight through the deserts, and where his enemies could not suspect he would travel; and though he was destitute of food, he went on, and despised that difficulty courageously. And when he came to the city Midian, which lay upon the Red Sea, and was so denominated from one of Abraham's sons by Keturah, he sat upon a certain well, and rested himself there after his laborious journey and the affliction he had been in. It was not far from the city; and the time of the day was noon, where he had an occasion offered him by the custom of the country of doing what recommended his virtue and afforded him an opportunity of bettering his circumstances.

2. For that country having but little water, the shepherds used to seize on the wells before others came, lest their flocks should want water, and lest it should be spent by others before they came. There were now come therefore to this well seven sisters that were virgins, the daughters of Raguel, a priest, and one thought worthy by the people of the country of great honour. These virgins, who took care of their father's flocks, which sort of work it was customary and very familiar for women to do in the country of the Troglodytes, they came first of all, and drew water out of the well in a quantity sufficient for their flocks, into troughs, which were made for the reception of that water. But when the shepherds came upon the maidens, and drove them away, that they might have the command of the waters themselves, Moses thinking it would be a terrible reproach upon him if he overlooked the young women under unjust oppression, and should suffer the violence of the men to prevail over the right of the maidens, he drove away the men who had a mind to more than their share, and afforded a proper assistance to the women; who, when they had received such a benefit from him, came to their father, and told him how they had been affronted by the shepherds, and assisted by a stranger, and entreated that he would not let this generous action be done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well from his daughters that they were so desirous to reward their benefactor, and bid them bring Moses into his presence, that he might be rewarded as he deserved. And when Moses came, he told him what testimony his daughters bare to him, that he had assisted them; and that, as he admired him for his virtue, he said, that Moses had bestowed such his assistance on persons not insensible of benefits, but where they were both able and willing to return the kindness, and even to exceed the measure of his generosity. So he made him his

son, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and appointed him to be the guardian and superintendant over his cattle; for of old all the wealth of the barbarians was in those cattle.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the burning Bush, and the Rod of Moses

§ 1. Now Moses, when he had obtained this favour of Jethro, for that was one of the names of Raguel, stayed there, and fed his flock; but some time afterward, taking his station at the mountain called *Sinai*, he drove his flock thither to feed them. Now this is the highest of all the mountains thereabouts, and the best for pasturage, the herbage being there good; and it had not been before fed upon, because of the opinion men had that God dwelt there, the shepherds not daring to ascend up to it. And here it was that a wonderful prodigy happened to Moses; for a fire fed upon a thorn-bush, yet did the green leaves and the flowers continue untouched, and the fire did not at all consume the fruit-branches, although the flame was great and fierce. Moses was affrighted at this strange sight, as it was to him; but he was still more astonished when the fire uttered a voice, and called to him by name, and spake words to him, by which it signified to him how bold he had been in venturing to come into a place whither no man had ever come before, because the place was divine; and advised him to remove a great way from the flame, and to be contented with what he had seen; and though he were himself a good man, and the offspring of great men, yet that he should not pry any farther, and he foretold to him, that he should have glory and honour among men, by the blessing of God upon him. He also commanded him to go away thence with confidence to Egypt, in order to his being the commander and conductor of the body of the Hebrews, and to his delivering his own people from the injuries they suffered there: "For," said God, "they shall inhabit this happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all sorts of good things; and thou by thy prudence shalt guide them to those good things." But still he enjoined him, when he had brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there. Such were the divine oracles which were delivered out of the fire.

2. But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and he said, "I think it would be an instance of too great madness, O Lord, for one of that regard I bear to thee, to distrust thy power, since I myself adore it, and know that it has been made manifest to my progenitors; but I am still in doubt how I, who am a private man, and one of no abilities, should either persuade my own countrymen to leave the country they now inhabit, and to follow me to a land whither I lead them; or if they should be persuaded, how can I force Pharaoh to permit them to depart, since they augment their own wealth and prosperity by the labours and works they put upon them?"

3. But God persuaded him to be courageous on all occasions, and promised to be with him, and to assist him in his words when he was to persuade men, and in his deeds when he was to perform wonders. He bid him also to take a signal of the truth of what he said, by throwing his rod upon the ground; which, when he had done, it crept along, and was become a serpent, and rolled itself round in its folds, and erected its head, as ready to revenge itself on such as should assault it, after which it became a rod again as it was before. After this God bid Moses to put his right hand into his bosom; he obeyed, and when he took it out it was white, and in colour like to chalk, but afterward it returned to its wonted colour again. He also, upon God's command, took some of the water

that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the colour was that of blood. Upon the wonder that Moses showed at these signs, God exhorted him to be of good courage, and to be assured he would be the greatest support to him; and bid him make use of those signs in order to obtain belief among all men, that thou art sent by me, and dost all things according to my commands. Accordingly I enjoin thee to make no more delays, but to make haste to Egypt, and to travel night and day, and not to draw out the time, and so make the slavery of the Hebrews and their sufferings to last the longer.

4. Moses, having now seen and heard these wonders, that assured him of the truth of these promises to God, had no room left him to disbelieve them; so he entreated him to grant him that power when he should be in Egypt; and besought him to vouchsafe him the knowledge of his own name, and since he had heard and seen him, that he would also tell him his name, that when he offered sacrifices he might invoke him by such his name in his oblations. Whereupon God declared to him his holy name, which had never been discovered to men before; concerning which it is* not lawful for me to say any more. Now these signs accompanied Moses, not then only, but always when he prayed for them. Of all which signs he attributed the firmest assent to the fire in the bush; and believing that God would be a gracious supporter to him, he hoped he should be able to deliver his own nation, and bring calamities on the Egyptians.

CHAP. XIII.

How Moses and Aaron returned to Egypt to Pharaoh.

§ 1. So Moses, when he understood that the Pharaoh in whose reign he fled away was dead, asked leave of Raguel to go to Egypt, for the benefit of his own people. And he took with him Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, whom he had married, and the children he had by her, Gersom and Eleasar, and made haste into Egypt. Now the former of those names, Gersom, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies, that he was in a *strange land:* and Eleasar, that by the *assistance of the God of his fathers*, he had escaped from the Egyptians. Now when they were near the borders, Aaron his brother, by the command of God, met him, to whom he declared what had befallen him at the mountain, and the commands that God had given him. But as they were going forward, the chief men among the Hebrews having learned that they were coming, met them; to whom Moses declared the signs he had seen; and while they could not believe them, he made them see them. So they took courage at these surprising and unexpected sights, and hoped well of their entire deliverance, as believing now that God took care of their preservation.

2. Since, then, Moses found that the Hebrews would be obedient to whatsoever he should direct, as they promised to be, and were in love with liberty, he came to the king, who had indeed but lately received the government, and told him how much he had done for the good of the Egyptians, when they were despised by the Ethiopians, and their country laid waste by them: and how he had been the commander of their forces, and had laboured for them, as if they had been his own people; and he informed him in what danger he had been during that expedition, without having any proper returns made him, as he had deserved. He also inform-

* This superstitious fear of discovering the name *with four letters*, which of late we have been used falsely to pronounce *Jehovah*, but seems to have been originally pronounced *Jahoh*, or *Jao*, is never, I think, heard of till this passage of Josephus; and this superstition, in not pronouncing that name, has continued among the Rabbinical Jews to this day (though whether the Samaritans and Caraites observed it so early, does not appear.) Josephus also durst not set down the very words of the ten commandments, as we shall see hereafter, Antiq. B. iii. ch. v. sect 4, which superstitious silence, I think, has yet not been continued, even by the Rabbins. It is, however, no doubt but both these cautious concealments were taught Josephus by the Pharisees, a body of men at once very wicked and very superstitious.

ed him distinctly, what things happened to him at Mount Sinai; and what God said to him; and the signs that were done by God, in order to assure him of the authority of those commands which he had given him. He also exhorted him not to disbelieve what he told him, nor to oppose the will of God.

3. But when the king derided Moses, he made him in earnest to see the signs that were done at Mount Sinai. Yet was the king very angry with him, and called him an ill man, who had formerly run away from his Egyptian slavery, and came now back with deceitful tricks, and wonders, and magical arts, to astonish him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to let him see the same wonderful sights, as knowing that the Egyptians were skilful in this kind of learning, and that he was not the only person who knew them and pretended them to be divine; as also he told him, that when he brought such wonderful sights before him, he would only be believed by the unlearned. Now when the priests threw down their rods, they became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at it; and said, "O king, I do not myself despise the wisdom of the Egyptians, but I say, that what I do is so much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks as divine power exceeds the power of man. But I will demonstrate, that what I do is not done by craft, or counterfeiting what is not really true, but that they appear by the providence and power of God." And when he had said this, he cast his rod down upon the ground, and commanded it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, until it had consumed them all; it then returned to its own form, and Moses took it into his hand again.

4. However, the king was no more moved when this was done than before; and being very angry, he said, "That he should gain nothing by this his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians." And he commanded him that was the chief task-master over the Hebrews, to give them no relaxation from their labours, but to compel them to submit to greater oppressions than before. And though he allowed them chaff before for the making their bricks, he would allow it them no longer; but he made them to work hard at brick making in the daytime, and to gather chaff in the night. Now when their labour was thus doubled upon them, they laid the blame upon Moses, because their labour and their misery were on his account become more severe to them. But Moses did not let his courage sink for the king's threatenings, nor did he abate of his zeal on account of the Hebrews' complaints, but he supported himself, and set his soul resolutely against them both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to his countrymen. So he went to the king, and persuaded him to let the Hebrews go to Mount Sinai, and there to sacrifice to God, because God had enjoined them so to do. He persuaded him also, not to counterwork the designs of God, but to esteem his favour above all things, and to permit them to depart, lest, before he be aware, he lay an obstruction in the way of the divine commands, and so occasion his own suffering such punishments as it was probable any one that counterworked the divine commands should undergo, since the severest afflictions arise from every object to those that provoke the divine wrath against them; for such as these have neither the earth nor the air for their friends; nor are the fruits of the womb according to nature, but every thing is unfriendly and adverse towards them. He said farther, that the Egyptians should know this by sad experience; and that besides, the Hebrew people should go out of their country without their consent.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the Ten Plagues which came upon the Egyptians.

§ 1. But when the king despised the words of Moses, and had no regard at all to them, grievous plagues seized the Egyptians, every one of which I will describe, both because no such plagues did ever happen to any other nation as the Egyptians now felt; and because I would demonstrate that Moses did not fail in any one thing that he foretold them; and because it is for the good of mankind, that they may learn this caution, not to do any thing that may displease God, lest he be provoked to wrath, and avenge their iniquities upon them. For the Egyptian river ran with bloody water, at the command of God, insomuch that it could not be drunk, and they had no other spring of water neither: for the water was not only of the colour of blood, but it brought upon those that ventured to drink of it great pains and bitter torment. Such was the river to the Egyptians; but it was sweet and fit for drinking, to the Hebrews, and no way different from what it naturally used to be. As the king, therefore, knew not what to do in these surprising circumstances, and was in fear for the Egyptians, he gave the Hebrews leave to go away; but when the plague ceased, he changed his mind again, and would not suffer them to go.

2. But when God saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the ceasing of the calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians; an innumerable multitude of frogs consumed the fruit of the ground; the river was also full of them, insomuch that those who drew water had it spoiled by the blood of these animals, as they died in, and were destroyed by the water; and the country was full of filthy slime, as they were born and as they died; they also spoiled their vessels in their houses, which they used, and were found among what they ate and what they drank, and came in great numbers upon their beds. There was also an ungrateful smell and stink arose from them, as they were born and as they died therein. Now, when the Egyptians were under the oppression of these miseries, the king ordered Moses to take the Hebrews with him, and be gone. Upon which the whole multitude of the frogs vanished away; and both the land and the river returned to their former natures. But as soon as Pharaoh saw the land freed from this plague, he forgot the cause of it, and retained the Hebrews; and, as though he had a mind to try the nature of more such judgments,* he would not yet suffer Moses and his people to depart, having granted that liberty rather out of fear than out of any good consideration

3. Accordingly God punished his falseness with another plague added to the former; for there arose out of the bodies of the Egyptians an innumerable quantity of lice, by which, wicked as they were, they miserably perished, as not able to destroy this sort of vermin, either with washes, or with ointments. At which terrible judgment the king of Egypt was in disorder, upon the fear into which he reasoned himself, lest his people should be destroyed, and that the manner of this death was also reproachful, so that he was forced in part to recover himself from his wicked temper to a sounder mind, for he gave leave for the Hebrews themselves to depart. But when the plague thereupon ceased, he thought it proper to require, that they should leave their children and wives behind them, as pledges of their return; whereby he provoked God to be more vehemently angry at him, as if he thought to impose on his providence and as if it were only Moses, and not God, who punished the Egyptians for the sake of the Hebrews; for he filled that country full of various sorts of pestilential creatures, with their various properties, such indeed as had never come into the sight of men before, by whose means the men perished themselves, and

* Of this judicial hardening the hearts, and blinding the eyes of wicked men, or infatuating them, as a just punishment for their other wilful sins, to their own destruction, see the note on Antiq. Book vii. ch. v. sect. 6

the land was destitute of husbandmen for its cultivation; but if any thing escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper, which the men underwent also.

4. But when Pharaoh did not even then yield to the will of God; but while he gave leave to the husbands to take their wives with them, yet insisted that the children should be left behind, God presently resolved to punish his wickedness with several sorts of calamities, and those worse than the foregoing, which yet had so generally afflicted them; for their bodies had terrible biles, breaking forth with blains, while they were already inwardly consumed; and a great part of the Egyptians perished in this manner. But when the king was not brought to reason by this plague, hail was sent down from heaven; and such hail it was as the climate of Egypt had never suffered before, nor was it like to that which falls in other climates in winter time,* but larger than that which falls in the middle of the spring to those that dwell in the northern and north-western regions. This hail broke down their boughs laden with fruit. After this, a tribe of locusts consumed the seed which was not hurt by the hail, so that to the Egyptians all the hopes of future fruits of the ground were entirely lost.

5. One would think the forementioned calamities might have been sufficient for one that was only foolish, without wickedness, to make him wise, and to make him sensible what was for his advantage. But Pharaoh, led not so much by his folly as by his wickedness, even when he saw the cause of his miseries, he still contested with God, and wilfully deserted the cause of virtue; so he bid Moses take the Hebrews away, with their wives and children, but to leave their cattle behind, since their own cattle were destroyed. But when Moses said, that what he desired was unjust, since they were obliged to offer sacrifices to God of those cattle; and the time being prolonged on this account, a thick darkness, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obstructed, and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and under a terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. Beside this, when the darkness, after three days and as many nights, was dissipated, and when Pharaoh did not still repent, and let the Hebrews go, Moses came to him and said, "How long wilt thou be disobedient to the command of God? for he enjoins thee to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of being freed from the calamities you are under, unless you do so." But the king was angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head if he came any more to trouble him about these matters. Hereupon Moses said, he would not speak to him any more about them, for that he himself, together with the principal men among the Egyptians, should desire the Hebrews to go away. So when Moses had said this, he went his way.

6. But when God had signified, that with one more plague he would compel the Egyptians to let the Hebrews go, he commanded Moses to tell the people, that they should have a sacrifice ready, and that they should prepare themselves on the tenth day of the month Xanthicus, against the fourteenth (which month is called by the Egyptians *Pharmuthi*, and *Nisan* by the Hebrews; but the Macedonians call it *Xanthicus*,) and that he should carry away the Hebrews with all they had. Accordingly, he having got the Hebrews ready for their departure, and having sorted the people into tribes he kept them together in one place but when the fourteenth day was come, and all were ready to depart, they offered the sacrifice, and purified their houses with the blood, using bunches of hyssop for that purpose; and when they had supped, they burned the remainder of the flesh, as just ready to depart. Whence it is that we do still offer this sacrifice in like manner to this day, and call this festival *Pascha*, which signifies the feast of the passover, because on that day God *passed* us *over*, and sent the plague upon the Egyptians; for the destruction of the first-born came upon the

* As to this winter or spring hail near Egypt and Judea, see the like on thunder and lightning there in the note on Antiq. B. vi. ch. v. sect. 6.

Egyptians that night, so that many of the Egyptians, which lived near the king's palace, persuaded Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go. Accordingly he called for Moses, and bid them be gone; as supposing, that if once the Hebrews were gone out of the country, Egypt should be freed from its miseries. They also honoured the Hebrews with gifts;* some in order to get them to depart quickly, and others on account of their neighbourhood, and the friendship they had with them.

CHAP. XV.

How the Hebrews, under the conduct of Moses, left Egypt.

§ 1. So the Hebrews went out of Egypt, while the Egyptians wept, and repented that they had treated them so hardly. Now they took their journey by Letopolis, a place at that time deserted, but where Babylon was built afterward, when Cambyses laid Egypt waste; but as they went away hastily, on the third day they came to a place called *Baalzephon* on the Red Sea; and when they had no food out of the land, because it was a desert, they ate of loaves kneaded of flour only warmed by a gentle heat; and this food they made use of for thirty days for what they brought with them out of Egypt would not suffice them any longer time; and this only while they dispensed it to each person, to use so much only as would serve for necessity, but not for satiety. Whence it is, that, in memory of the want we were then in, we keep a feast for eight days, which is called the *feast of unleavened bread.* Now the entire multitude of those that went out, including the women and children, was not easy to be numbered, but those that were of an age fit for war were six hundred thousand.

2. They left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the fifteenth day of the lunar month, four hundred and thirty years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan,† but two hundred and fifteen years only after Jacob removed into Egypt. It was the eightieth year of the age of Moses, and of that of Aaron three more. They also carried out the bones of Joseph with them, as he had charged his sons to do.

3. But the Egyptians soon repented that the Hebrews were gone; and the king also was mightily concerned that this had been procured by the magic arts of Moses; so they resolved to go after them. Accordingly they took their weapons and other warlike furniture, and pursued after them, in order to bring them back, if once they overtook them, because they would now have no pretence to pray to God against them, since they had already been permitted to go out; and they thought they should easily overcome them, as they had no armour, and would be weary with their journey; so they made haste in their pursuit, and asked of every one they met which way they were gone; and, indeed, that land was difficult to be travelled over, not only by armies, but by

* These large presents made to the Israelites, of *vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment*, were, as Josephus truly calls them, *gifts* really *given* them, not *lent* them, as our English falsely renders them. They were *spoils required*, not *borrowed* of them, Gen. xv. 14; Exod. iii. 22; xi. 2. Psalm cv. 37, as the same version falsely renders the Hebrew word here used, Exod. xii. 35, 36. God had ordered the Jews to demand these as their pay and reward, during their long and bitter slavery in Egypt, as atonements for the lives of the Egyptians, and as the condition of the Jews' departure, and of the Egyptian deliverance from these terrible judgments, which, had they not now ceased, *they had* soon *been all dead men*, as they themselves confess, ch. xii. 33. Nor was there any sense in *borrowing* or *lending*, when the Israelites were finally departing out of the land for ever.

† Why our Masorete copy so groundlessly abridges this account in Exod. xii. 40, as to ascribe 430 years to the sole peregrination of the Israelites in Egypt, when it is clear, even by that Masorete chronology elsewhere, as well as from the express text itself, in the Samaritan Septuagint, and Josephus, that they sojourned in Egypt but *half* that time; and that by consequence, the other half of their peregrination was in the land of Canaan, before they came into Egypt, is hard to say. See Essay on the Old Testament, p. 62, 63

single persons. Now Moses led the Hebrews this way, that in case the Egyptians should repent and be desirous to pursue after them, they might undergo the punishment of their wickedness, and of the breach of those promises they had made to them. As also he led them this way on account of the Philistines, who had quarrelled with them, and hated them of old, that by all means they might not know of their departure, for their country is near to that of Egypt; and thence it was that Moses led them not along the road that tended to the land of the Philistines, but he was desirous that they should go through the desert, that so after a long journey, and after many afflictions, they might enter upon the land of Canaan. Another reason of this was, that God had commanded him to bring the people to Mount Sinai, that there they might offer him sacrifices. Now when the Egyptians had overtaken the Hebrews, they prepared to fight them, and by their multitude they drove them into a narrow place; for the number that pursued after them was six hundred chariots, with fifty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand footmen, all armed. They also seize l on the passages by which they imagined the Hebrews might fly, shutting them up between inaccessible precipices* and the sea; for there was [on each side] a [ridge of] mountains that terminated at the sea, which were impassable by reason of their roughness, and obstructed their flight; wherefore they there pressed upon the Hebrews with their army, where the [ridges of] the mountains were closed with the sea, which army they placed at the chops of the mountains, that so they might deprive them of any passage into the plain.

4. When the Hebrews, therefore, were neither able to bear up, being thus as it were besieged, because they wanted provisions, nor saw any possible way of escaping; and if they should have thought of fighting, they had no weapons, they expected a universal destruction, unless they delivered themselves up voluntarily to the Egyptians. So they laid the blame on Moses, and forgot all the signs that had been wrought by God for the recovery of their freedom; and this so far that their incredulity prompted them to throw stones at the prophet, while he encouraged them, and promised them deliverance; and they resolved that they would deliver themselves up to the Egyptians. So there was sorrow and lamentation among the women and children, who had nothing but destruction before their eyes, while they were encompassed with mountains, the sea, and their enemies, and discerned no way of flying from them.

5. But Moses, though the multitude looked fiercely at him, did not, however, give over the care of them, but despised all dangers, out of his trust in God; who, as he had afforded them the several steps already taken for the recovery of their liberty, which he had foretold them, he would not now suffer them to be subdued by their enemies, to be either made slaves, or be slain by them. And standing in the midst of them, he said, "It is not just for us to distrust even men, when they have hitherto well managed our affairs, as if they would not be the same men hereafter; but it is no better than madness at this time to despair of the providence of God, by whose power all those things have been performed

* Take the main part of Reland's excellent note here, which greatly illustrates Josephus, and the scripture, in this history, as follows: "[A traveller, says Reland, whose name was] Eneman, when he returned out of Egypt, told me that he went the same way from Egypt to Mount Sinai, which he supposed the Israelites of old travelled; and that he found several mountainous tracts, that ran down towards the Red Sea. He thought the Israelites had proceeded as far as the desert of Etnam, Exod. xiii. 20, when they were commanded by God to *return back*, Exod. xiv. 2, and to pitch their camp *between* Migdol and *the sea*; and that when they were not able to fly, unless by sea, they were shut in on each side by mountains. He also thought we might evidently learn hence, how it might be said, that the Israelites were *in* Etham before they went over the sea, and yet might be said to have *come into* Etham after they had passed over the sea also. Besides, he gave an account how he passed over a river in a boat, near the city Sues, which he says must needs be the Heropolis of the ancients, since that city could not be situate any where else in that neighbourhood."

As to the famous passage produced here by Dr. Bernard, out of Herodotus, as the most ancient heathen estimony of the Israelites coming from the Red Sea into Palestine, Bishop Cumberland has showed that ' belongs to the old Canaanite or Phœnician shepherds, and their retiring out of Egypt into Canaan or Phœnicia, long before the days of Moses. Sanchoniatho, p. 374, &c

which he promised, when you expected no such things; I mean all that I have been concerned in for your deliverance and escape from slavery. Nay, when we are in the utmost distress, as you see we now are, we ought the rather to hope that God will succour us, by whose operations it is that we are now encompassed within this narrow place, that he may deliver us out of such difficulties as are otherwise insurmountable, and out of which neither you nor your enemies expect you can be delivered, and may at once demonstrate his own power, and his providence over us. Nor does God use to give his help in small difficulties to those whom he favours, but in such cases where no one can see how any hope in man can better their condition. Depend, therefore, upon such a protector as is able to make small things great, and to show that this mighty force against you is nothing but weakness. And be not affrighted at the Egyptian army; nor do you despair of being preserved, because the sea before, and the mountains behind, afford you no opportunity for flying; for even these mountains, if God so please, may be made plain ground for you, and the sea become dry land.'

CHAP. XVI.

How the Sea was divided asunder for the Hebrews, while they were pursued by the Egyptians, and so gave them an opportunity of escaping from them.

§ 1. When Moses had said this, he led them to the sea, while the Egyptians looked on, for they were within sight. Now these were so distressed by the toil of their pursuit, that they thought proper to put off fighting till next the day But when Moses was come to the seashore, he took his rod, and made supplication to God, and called upon him to be their helper and assistant; and said, 'Thou art not ignorant, O Lord, that it is beyond human strength and human contrivance to avoid the difficulties we are now under, but it must be thy work altogether to procure deliverance to this army, which has left Egypt at thy appointment. We despair of any other assistance or contrivance, and have recourse only to that hope we have in thee; and if there be any method that can promise us an escape by thy providence, we look up to thee for it. And let it come quickly, and manifest thy power to us; and do thou raise up this people unto good courage and hope of deliverance, who are deeply sunk into a disconsolate state of mind. We are in a helpless place, but still it is a place that thou possessest; but still the sea is thine, the mountains that enclose us are thine: so that these mountains wilt open themselves if thou commandest them, and the sea also, if thou commandest it, will become dry land. Nay, we might escape by a flight through the air, if thou shouldst determine we should have that way of salvation."

2. When Moses had thus addressed himself to God, he smote the sea with his rod, which parted asunder at the stroke, and receiving those waters into itself, left the ground dry, as a road, and place of flight for the Hebrews. Now when Moses saw this appearance of God, and that the sea went out of its own place, and left dry land, he went first of all into it, and bid the Hebrews to follow him along that divine road, and to rejoice at the danger their enemies that followed them were in; and gave thanks to God for this so surprising a deliverance which appeared from him.

3. Now while these Hebrews made no stay, but went on earnestly, as led by God's presence with them, the Egyptians supposed at first that they were distracted, and were going rashly upon manifest destruction. But when they saw that they were gone a great way without any harm, and that no obstacle or difficulty fell in their journey, they made haste to pursue them, hoping that the sea

would be calm for them also. They put their horse foremost, and went down themselves into the sea. Now the Hebrews, while these were putting on their armour, and therein spending their time, were beforehand with them, and escaped them, and got first over to the land on the other side, without any hurt. Whence the others were encouraged, and more courageously pursued them, as hoping no harm would come them neither: but the Egyptians were not aware that they went into a road made for the Hebrews, and not for others; that this road was ade for the deliverance of those in danger, but not for those that were earnest to make use of it for the others' destruction. As soon, therefore, as ever the whole Egyptian army was within it, the sea flowed to its own place, and came down with a torrent raised by storms of wind,* and encompassed the Egyptians. Showers of rain also came down from the sky, and dreadful thunders, and lightning, and flashes of fire. Thunderbolts also were darted upon them. Nor was there any thing which used to be sent by God upon men, as indications of his wrath, which did not happen at this time, for a dark and dismal night oppressed them. And thus did all these men perish, so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians.

4. But the Hebrews were not able to contain themselves for joy at their wonderful deliverance, and destruction of their enemies; now indeed supposing themselves firmly delivered, when those that would have forced them into slavery were destroyed, and when they found they had God so evidently for their protector. And now these Hebrews having escaped the danger they were in, after this manner, and besides that, seeing their enemies punished in such a way as is never recorded of any other men whomsoever, were all the night employed in singing of hymns and in mirth.† Moses also composed a song unto God, containing his praises, and a thanksgiving for his kindness, in Hexameter verse.‡

5. As for myself, I have delivered every part of this history as I found it in the sacred books. Nor let any one wonder at the strangeness of the narration, if a way were discovered to those men of old time, who were free from the wickedness of the modern ages, whether it happened by the will of God, or whether it happened of its own accord; while, for the sake of those that accompanied Alexander, king of Macedonia, who yet lived comparatively but a little while ago, the Pamphylian Sea§ retired and afforded them a passage through itself, when they had

* Of these storms of wind, thunder, and lightning, at this drowning of Pharaoh's army, although wanting in our copies of Exodus, but fully extant in that of David, Psalm lxxvii. 16, 17, 18, and in that of Josephus here, see Essay on the Old Test. Append. p. 154, 155.

† What some have here objected against this passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, *in this one night*, from the common maps, viz. that this sea being here about 30 miles broad, so great an army could not pass over it in so short a time, is a great mistake. Mons. Thevenot, an authentic eyewitness, informs us, that this sea, for about five days' journey, is no where more than about eight or nine miles over-cross, and in one place but four or five miles, according to De Lisle's map, which is made from the best travellers themselves, and not copied from others. What has been further objected against this passage of the Israelites, and drowning of the Egyptians being miraculous also, viz. that Moses might carry the Israelites over at a *low tide*, without any miracle, while yet the Egyptians, not knowing the tide so well as he, might be drowned upon the *return* of the tide, is a strange story indeed: that Moses, who never had lived here, should know the quantity and time of the flux and reflux of the Red Sea, better than the Egyptians themselves in its neighbourhood! Yet does Artapanus, an ancient heathen historian, inform us, that this was what the more ignorant Menophites, who lived at a great distance, pretended; though he confesses that the more learned Heliopolitans, who lived much nearer, owned the destruction of the Egyptians and the deliverance of the Israelites to have been miraculous. And De Castro, a mathematician, who surveyed this sea with great exactness, informs us, that there is no great flux or reflux in this part of the Red Sea to give a colour to this hypothesis; nay, that the elevation of the tide there is little above half the height of a man. See Essay on the Old Test. Append. p. 239, 240. So vain and groundless are these and the like evasions and subterfuges of our modern sceptics and unbelievers! and so certainly do thorough inquiries and authentic evidence disprove and confute such evasions and subterfuges upon all occasions.

‡ What that *Hexameter* verse, in which Moses's triumphant song is here said to be written, distinctly means, our present ignorance of the old Hebrew metre or measure will not let us determine. Nor does it appear to me certain, that even Josephus himself had a distinct notion of it, though he speaks of several sorts of that metre or measure, both here and elsewhere, Antiq. Book iv. ch. viii. sect. 44, and Book vii. ch. xii. sect. 3.

§ Take here the original passages of the four old authors that still remain, as to this transit of Alexander the Great over the Pamphylian Sea; I mean, of Callisthenes, Strabo, Arian, and Appian. As to

no other way to go; I mean, when it was the will of God to destroy the monarchy of the Persians. And this is confessed to be true by all that have written about the actions of Alexander. But as to these events, let every one determine as he pleases.

6. On the next day Moses gathered together the weapons of the Egyptians, which were brought to the camp of the Hebrews by the current of the sea and the force of the winds assisting it; and he conjectured that this also happened by Divine Providence, that so they might not be destitute of weapons. So when he had ordered the Hebrews to arm themselves with them, he led them to Mount Sinai, in order to offer sacrifices to God, and to render oblations for the salvation of the multitude, as he was charged to do beforehand.

Callisthenes, who himself accompanied Alexander in this expedition, Eustathius, in his notes upon the third Iliad of Homer, (as Dr. Bernard here informs us,) says, that "this Callisthenes wrote how the Pamphylian Sea did not only open a passage for Alexander, but by rising and elevating its waters, did pay him homage as its king." Strabo's account is this, Geog. Book xiv. p. 666: "Now about Phaselis is that narrow passage by the seaside through which Alexander led his army. There is a mountain called *Climax*, which adjoins to the sea of Pamphylia, leaving a narrow passage on the shore, which in calm weather is bare, so as to be passable by travellers, but when the sea overflows, it is covered to a great degree by the waves. Now, then, the ascent by the mountains being round about, and steep, in still weather they make use of the road along the coast. But Alexander fell into the winter season, and committing himself chiefly to fortune, he marched on before the waves retired, and so it happened that they were a whole day in journeying over it, and were under water up to the navel." Arian's account is this, Book i. p. 72, 73: "When Alexander removed from Phaselis, he sent some part of his army over the mountains to Perga, which road the Thracians showed him. A difficult way it was, but short. However, he himself conducted those that were with him by the seashore. This road is impassable at any other time than when the north wind blows; but if the south wind prevail, there is no passing by the shore. Now at this time, after strong south winds, a north wind blew; and that not without the Divine Providence, (as both he and they that were with him supposed,) and afforded him an easy and quick passage." Appian, when he compares Cæsar and Alexander together (De Bel. Civil Book ii. p. 522,) says, "That they both depended on their boldness and fortune, as much as on their skill in war. As an instance of which, Alexander journeyed over a country without water in the heat of summer, to the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon, and quickly passed over the Bay of Pamphylia, when by *Divine Providence*, the sea was cut off; thus *Providence* restraining the sea on his account, as it had sent him rain when he travelled [over the desert]."

N. B. Since, in the days of Josephus, he assures us, *all* the more numerous original historians of Alexander gave the account he has here set down, as to the providential going back of the waters of the Pamphylian Sea, when he was going with his army to destroy the Persian monarchy, which the forenamed authors now remaining fully confirm, it is without all just foundation that Josephus is here blamed, by some late writers, for quoting those ancient authors upon the present occasion. Nor can the reflections of Plutarch, or any other author later than Josephus, be in the least here alleged to contradict him. Josephus went by all the evidence he then had, and that evidence of the most authentic sort also. So that whatever the moderns may think of the thing itself, there is hence not the least colour for finding fault with Josephus; he would rather have been much to blame had he omitted these quotations.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO YEARS.

FROM THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT TO THE REJECTION OF THAT GENERATION.

CHAP. I.

How Moses, when he had brought the People out of Egypt, led them to Mount Sinai, but not till they had suffered much in their Journey.

§ 1. When the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance, the country was a great trouble to them, for it was entirely a desert, and without all sustenance for them; and also had exceeding little water, so that it not only was not at all sufficient for the men, but not enough to feed any of the cattle, for it was parched up, and had no moisture that might afford nutriment to the vegetables; so they were forced to travel over this country, as having no other country but this to travel in. They had indeed carried water along with them from the land over which they had travelled before, as their conductor had bidden them; but when that was spent they were obliged to draw water out of wells, with pain, by reason of the hardness of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking, and this in small quantities also. And as they thus travelled, they came late in the evening to a place called *Marah*,* which had this name from the badness of its water, for Mar denotes *bitterness*. Thither they came afflicted, both by the tediousness of their journey, and by their want of food, for it entirely failed them at that time. Now here was a well which made them choose to stay in the place, which, although it were not sufficient to satisfy so great an army, did yet afford them some comfort, as found in such desert places; for they heard from those who had been to search, that there was nothing to be found if they travelled farther. Yet was this water bitter, and not fit for men to drink; and not only so, but it was intolerable even to the cattle themselves.

2. When Moses saw how much the people were cast down, and that the occasion of it could not be contradicted, for the people were not in the nature of a complete army of men, who might oppose a manly fortitude to the necessity that distressed them; the multitude of the children, and of the women also, being of too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men themselves. Moses, therefore, was in great difficulties, and made every body's calamity to be his own. For they ran all of them to him, and begged of him; the women begged for their infants, and the men for the women, that he would not overlook them, but procure some way or other for their deliverance. He therefore betook himself to prayer to God, that he would change the water from its present badness, and make it fit for drinking. And when God had granted him

* Dr. Bernard takes notice here, that this place Mar, where the waters were bitter, is called by the Syrians and Arabians *Mariri*, and by the Syrians sometimes *Morath*, all derived from the Hebrew *Mar*. He also takes notice, that it is called the *bitter fountain* by Pliny himself. Which waters remain there to this day, and are still bitter, as Thevenot assures us; and that there are also abundance of palm trees see his Travels, part i. chap. xxvi. p. 166.

that favour, he took the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and divided it in the middle, and made the section lengthways. He then let it down into the well, and persuaded the Hebrews that God had hearkened to his prayers, and had promised to render the water such as they desired it to be, in case they would be subservient to him in what he should enjoin them to do; and this not after a remiss or negligent manner. And when they had asked what they were to do in order to have the water changed for the better,* he bid the strongest men among them that stood there, to draw up water; and told them, that when the greatest part was drawn up, the remainder would be fit to drink; so they laboured at it till the water was so agitated and purged as to be fit to drink.

3. And now, removing from thence they came to Elim; which place looked well at a distance, for there was a grove of palm-trees; but when they came near it, it appeared to be a bad place, for the palm-trees were no more than seventy; and they were ill grown and creeping trees, by the want of water, for the country about was all parched, and no moisture sufficient to water them, and make them hopeful and useful, was derived to them from the fountains, which were in number twelve; they were rather a few moist places than springs, which, not breaking out of the ground nor running over, could not sufficiently water the trees. And when they dug into the sand, they met with no water; and if they took a few drops of it into their hands, they found it to be useless, on account of its mud. The trees also were too weak to bear fruit, for want of being sufficiently cherished and enlivened by the water. So they laid the blame on their conductor, and made heavy complaints against him; and said, that this their miserable state, and the experience they had of adversity, were owing to him; for that they had then journeyed an entire thirty days, and had spent all the provisions they had brought with them, and meeting with no relief, they were in a very desponding condition. And by fixing their attention upon nothing but their present misfortunes, they were hindered from remembering what deliverances they had received from God, and those by the virtue and wisdom of Moses also. so they were very angry at their conductor, and were zealous in their attemp to stone him, as the direct occasion of their present miseries.

4. But as for Moses himself, while the multitude were irritated and bitterly set against him, he cheerfully relied upon God, and upon his consciousness of the care he had taken of these his own people; and he came into the midst of them, even while they clamoured against him, and had stones in their hands in order to despatch him. Now he was of an agreeable presence, and very able to persuade the people by his speeches; accordingly he began to mitigate their anger, and exhorted them not to be overmindful of their present adversities, lest they should thereby suffer the benefits that had formerly been bestowed on them to slip out of their memories: and he desired them, by no means, on account of their present uneasiness, to cast those great and wonderful favours and gifts, which they had obtained of God, out of their minds, but to expect deliverance out of those their present troubles which they could not free themselves from, and this by the means of that Divine Providence which watched over them. Seeing it is probable that God tries their virtue, and exercises their patience by

* The additions here to Moses' account of the sweetening the waters at Marah seem derived from some ancient profane author, and he such an author also as looks less authentic than are usually followed by Josephus Philo has not a syllable of these additions, nor any other ancienter writer that we know of. Had Josephus written these his Antiquities for the use of Jews, he would hardly have given them these very improbable circumstances; but writing to Gentiles, that they might not complain of his omission of any accounts of such miracles, derived from Gentiles, he did not think proper to conceal what he had met with there about this matter; which procedure is perfectly agreeable to the character and usage of Josephus upon many occasions. This note is, I confess, barely conjectural; and since Josephus never tells us when his own copy, taken out of the temple, had such additions, or when any ancient notes supplied them, or, indeed, when they were derived from Jewish, and when from Gentile antiquity, we can go no farther than bare conjectures in such cases; only the notions of Jews were generally so different from those of Gentiles, that we may sometimes make no improbable conjectures to which sort such additions belong. See also somewhat like these additions, in Josephus' account of Elisha's making sweet the bitter and barren spring near Jericho. Of the War, B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 3

these adversities, that it may appear what fortitude they have, and what memory they retain of his former wonderful works in their favour, and whether they will not think of them upon occasion of the miseries they now feel. He told them, it appeared they were not really good men, either in patience, or in remembering what had been successfully done for them, sometimes by contemning God and his commands, when by those commands they left the land of Egypt; and sometimes by behaving themselves ill towards him who was the servant of God, and this when he had never deceived them either in what he said, or had ordered them to do by God's command. He also put them in mind of all that had passed: how the Egyptians were destroyed when they attempted to detain them contrary to the command of God; and after what manner the very same river was to the others bloody and not fit for drinking, but was to them sweet and fit for drinking; and how they went a new road through the sea, which fled a long way from them, by which very means they were themselves preserved, but saw their enemies destroyed; and that when they were in want of weapons, God gave them plenty of them; and so he recounted all the particular instances, how when they were in appearance just going to be destroyed, God had saved them in a surprising manner; that he had still the same power; and that they ought not even now to despair of his providence over them; and accordingly he exhorted them to continue quiet, and to consider that help would not come too late, though it come not immediately, if it be present with them before they suffer any great misfortune; that they ought to reason thus, that God delays to assist them, not because he has no regard to them, but because he will first try their fortitude, and the pleasure they take in their freedom, that he may learn whether you have souls great enough to bear want of food and scarcity of water on its account: or whether you rather love to be slaves, as cattle are slaves to such as own them and feed them liberally, but only in order to make them more useful in their service. That as for himself, he shall not be so much concerned for his own preservation; for if he die unjustly, he shall not reckon it any affliction, but that he is concerned for them, lest by casting stones at him, they should be thought to condemn God himself.

5. By this means Moses pacified the people and restrained them from stoning him, and brought them to repent of what they were going to do. And because he thought the necessity they were under made their passion less unjustifiable, he thought he ought to apply himself to God by prayer and supplication; and going up to an eminence, he requested of God for some succour for the people, and some way of deliverance from the want they were in, because in him, and in him alone, was their hope of salvation; and he desired that he would forgive what necessity had forced the people to do, since such was the nature of mankind, hard to please, and very complaining under adversities. Accordingly, God promised he would take care of them, and afford them the succour they were desirous of. Now when Moses had heard this from God, he came down to the multitude. But as soon as they saw him joyful at the promises he had received from God, they changed their sad countenances into gladness. So he placed himself in the midst of them, and told them he came to bring them from God a deliverance from their present distresses. Accordingly a little after came a vast number of quails, which is a bird more plentiful in this Arabian gulf than any where else, flying over the sea, and hovered over them, till wearied with their laborious flight, and, indeed, as usual, flying very near the earth, they fell down upon the Hebrews, who caught them, and satisfied their hunger with them, and supposed that this was the method whereby God meant to supply them with food. Upon which Moses returned thanks to God for affording them his assistance so suddenly, and sooner than he had promised them.

6. But presently after this first supply of food, he sent them a second; for as Moses was lifting up his hands in prayer, a dew fell down; and Moses, when he found it stick to his hands, supposed this was also come for food from God to

them, he tasted it, and perceiving that the people knew not what it was, and thought it snowed, and that it was what usually fell at that time of the year, he informed them, that this dew did not fall from heaven after the manner they imagined, but came for their preservation and sustenance. So he tasted it, and gave them some of it, that they might be satisfied about what he told them. They also imitated their conductor, and were pleased with the food, for it was like honey in sweetness and pleasant taste, but like in its body to bdellium, one of the sweet spices, but in bigness equal to coriander seed. And very earnest they were in gathering it. But they were enjoined to gather it equally, the measure of a homer for each one every day,* because this food should not come in too small a quantity, lest the weaker might not be able to get their share, by reason of the overbearing of the strong in collecting it. However, these strong men, when they had gathered more than the measure appointed for them, they had no more than others, but only tired themselves more in gathering it, for they found no more than a homer a piece; and the advantage they got by what was superfluous was none at all, it corrupting, both by the worms breeding in it, and by its bitterness. So divine and wonderful a food was this! It also supplied the want of other sorts of food to those that fed on it. And even now, in all that place this manna† comes down in rain, according to what Moses then obtained of God, to send it to the people for their sustenance. Now the Hebrews call this food *manna;* for the particle *man*, in our language, is the asking of a question, *What is this?* So the Hebrews were very joyful at what was sent them from heaven. Now they made use of this food for forty years, or as long as they were in the wilderness.

7. As soon as they were removed thence, they came to Rephidem, being distressed to the last degree by thirst; and while in the foregoing days they had lighted on a few small fountains, but now found the earth entirely destitute of water, they were in an evil case. They again turned their anger against Moses; but he at first avoided the fury of the multitude, and then betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching him, that as he had given them food when they were in the greatest want of it, so he would give them drink, since the favour of giving them food was of no value to them while they had nothing to drink. And God did not long delay to give it them, but promised Moses that he would procure them a fountain and plenty of water, from a place they did not expect any. So he commanded him to smite the rock,‡ which they saw lying there, with his rod, and out of it to receive plenty of what they wanted; for he had taken care that drink should come to them without any labour or pains-taking. When Moses had received this command from God, he came to the people who waited for him, and looked upon him, for they saw already that he was coming apace from his eminence. As soon as he was come, he told them that God would deliver them from their present distress, and had granted them an unexpected favour; and informed them that a river should run, for their sakes, out of the rock. But they were amazed at that hearing, supposing they were of necessity to cut the rock in

* It seems to me, from what Moses, Exod. xvi. 18, St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 15, and Josephus here say, compared together, that the quantity of manna that fell daily, and did not putrefy, was just so much as came to a homer a piece, through the whole host of Israel, and no more.

† This supposal, that the sweet honey-dew or manna, so celebrated in ancient and modern authors, as falling usually in Arabia, was of the very same sort with this manna sent to the Israelites, savours more of Gentilism than of Judaism or Christianity. It is not improbable that some ancient Gentile author, read by Josephus, so thought; nor would he here contradict him, though just before, and Antiq. B. iv. ch. iii. sect. 2, he seems directly to allow that it had not been seen before. However, this food from heaven is here described to be *like snow;* and in Artopanus, a heathen writer, it is compared to *meal like to oatmeal, in colour like to snow, rained down by God*, Essay on the Old Test. Append. p 239. But as to the derivation of the word *manna*, whether from *man*, which Josephus says then signified, *what is it?* or from *mannah*, to divide, i. e. a *dividend or portion* allotted to every one, it is uncertain. I incline to the latter derivation. This manna is called *angels' food*, Psalm lxxviii. 26; and *by* our Saviour, John, vi. 31, &c. as well as by Josephus here and elsewhere, Antiq. B. iii. ch. v. sect. 3, said to be *sent the Jews from heaven.*

‡ This rock is there at this day, as the travellers agree, and must be the same that was there in the days of Moses, as being too large to be brought thither by our modern carriages

pieces, now they were distressed by their thirst and by their journey, while Moses, only smiting the rock with his rod, opened a passage, and out of it burst out water, and that in great abundance, and very clear. But they were astonished at this wonderful effect; and, as it were, quenched their thirst by the very sight of it. So they drank of this pleasant, this sweet water; and such it seemed to be, as might well be expected, where God was the donor. They were also in admiration how Moses was honoured by God; and they made grateful returns of sacrifices to God for his providence towards them. Now that Scripture, which is laid up in the temple,* informs us how God foretold to Moses that water should in this manner be derived out of the rock.

CHAP. II.

How the Amalekites and the neighbouring Nations made War with the Hebrews, and were beaten, and lost a great part of their Army.

§ 1. The name of the Hebrews began already to be every where renowned, and rumours about them ran abroad. This made the inhabitants of those countries to be in no small fear. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to one another, and exhorted one another to defend themselves, and to endeavour to destroy these men. Those that induced the rest to do so were such as inhabited Gobolitis and Petra. They were called *Amalekites*, and were the most warlike of the nations that lived thereabout; and whose kings exhorted one another, and their neighbours, to go to this war against the Hebrews; telling them, that an army of strangers, and such a one as had run away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in wait to ruin them; which army they were not, in common prudence and regard to their own safety, to overlook, but to crush them before they gather strength and come to be in prosperity; and perhaps attack them first in an hostile manner, as presuming upon our indolence in not attacking them before; and that we ought to avenge ourselves of them for what they have done in the wilderness, but that this cannot be so well done when they have once laid their hands on our cities and our goods; that those who endeavour to crush a power in its first rise are wiser than those that endeavour to put a stop to its progress, when it is become formidable; for these last seem to be angry only at the flourishing of others, but the former do not leave any room for their enemies to become troublesome to them. After they had sent such embassages to the neighbouring nations, and among one another, they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.

2. These proceedings of the people of those countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to Moses, who expected no such warlike preparations. And when these nations were ready to fight, and the multitude of the Hebrews were obliged to try the fortune of war, they were in a mighty disorder, and in want of all necessaries, and yet were to make war with men who were thoroughly well prepared for it. Then therefore it was that Moses began to encourage them, and to exhort them to have a good heart, and rely on God's assistance, by which they had been advanced into a state of freedom, and to hope for victory over those who were ready to fight with them, in order to deprive them of that blessing. That they were to suppose their own army to be numerous, wanting nothing, neither weapons nor money nor provisions, nor such other conveniences as when men are in possession of they fight undauntedly; and that they were to judge themselves to have all these advantages in the divine assistance. They

* Note here, that this small book of the principal laws of Moses is ever said to be laid up in the *holy house*, itself; but the larger Pentateuch, as here, somewhere within the limits of the *temple* and its courts only. See Antiq. B. v ch. i. sect. 17

are also to suppose the enemies army to be small, unarmed, weak, and such as want those conveniences which they know must be wanted, when it is God's will that they shall be beaten. And how valuable God's assistance is they had experienced in abundance of trials; and those such as were more terrible than war; for that is only against men, but these were against famine and thirst, things indeed that were in their own nature inseparable: as also against mountains, and that sea which afforded them no way for escaping; yet had all these difficulties been conquered by God's gracious kindness to them. So he exhorted them to be courageous at this time, and to look upon their entire prosperity to depend on the present conquest of their enemies.

3. And with these words did Moses encourage the multitude, who then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and jointly. The young men he charged to obey their elders, and the elders to hearken to their leader. So the people were elevated in their minds, and ready to try their fortune in battle, and hoped to be thereby at length delivered from all their miseries: nay, they desired that Moses would immediately lead them against their enemies without the least delay, that no backwardness might be a hinderance to their present resolution. So Moses sorted all that were fit for war into different troops, and set Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, over them; one that was of great courage, and patient to undergo labours, of great abilities to understand and to speak what was proper, and very serious in the worship of God; and indeed made like another Moses, a teacher of piety towards God. He also appointed a small party of the armed men to be near the water; and to take care of the children and the women of the entire camp. So that whole night they prepared themselves for the battle; they took their weapons, if any of them had such as were well made, and attended to their commanders, as ready to rush forth to the battle as soon as Moses should give the word of command. Moses also kept awake, teaching Joshua after what manner he should order his camp. But when the day began, Moses called for Joshua again, and exhorted him to approve himself in deeds such a one as his reputation made men expect from him; and to gain glory by the present expedition, in the opinion of those under him, for his exploits in this battle. He also gave a particular exhortation to the principal men of the Hebrews, and encouraged the whole army as it stood armed before him. And when he had thus animated the army, both by his words and works, and prepared every thing, he retired to a mountain, and committed the army to God and to Joshua.

4. So the armies joined battle; and it came to a close fight hand to hand, both sides showing great alacrity, and encouraging one another. And indeed while Moses* stretched out his hands towards Heaven, the Hebrews were too hard for the Amalekites; but Moses not being able to sustain his hands thus stretched out (for as often as he let down his hands, so often were his own people worsted,) he bade his brother Aaron, and Hur, their sister Miriam's husband, to stand on each side of him, and take hold of his hands, and not to permit his weariness to prevent it, but to assist him in the extension of his hands. When this was done, the Hebrews conquered the Amalekites by main force, and indeed they had all perished, unless the approach of the night had obliged the Hebrews to desist from killing any more. So our forefathers obtained a

* This eminent circumstance, that while Moses's hands were *lift up* towards heaven, the Israelites prevailed, and while they were *let down* towards the earth, the Amalekites prevailed, seems to me the earliest intimation we have of the proper posture, used of old, in solemn prayer, which was the stretching out the hands [and eyes] towards heaven, as other passages of the Old and New Testament inform us. Nay, by the way, this posture seems to have continued in the Christian church, till the clergy, instead of learning their prayers by heart, read them out of a book, which is in great measure inconsistent with such an elevated posture, and which seems to me to have been only a later practice introduced under the corrupt state of the church, though the constant use of divine forms of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, appears to me to have been the practice of God's people, Patriarchs, Jews, and Christians in all the past ages.

most signal and most seasonable victory; for they not only overcame those that fought against them, but terrified also the neighbouring nations, and got great and splendid advantages, which they obtained of their enemies by their hard pains in this battle; for when they had taken the enemy's camp, they got ready booty for the public and for their own private families, whereas till then they had not any sort of plenty, of even necessary food. The forementioned battle, when they had once got it, was also the occasion of their prosperity, not only for the present, but for the future ages also; for they not only made slaves of the bodies of their enemies, but subdued their minds also; and after this battle, became terrible to all that dwelt round about them. Moreover, they acquired a vast quantity of riches; for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemy's camp; as also brazen vessels, which they made a common use of in their families; many utensils also that were embroidered there were of both sorts, that is, of what were weaved, and what were the ornaments of their armour; and other things that served for use in the family and for the furniture of their rooms; they got also the prey of their cattle, and of whatsoever uses to follow camps, when they remove from one place to another. So the Hebrews now valued themselves upon their courage, and claimed great merit for their valour; and they perpetually inured themselves to take pains, by which they deemed every difficulty might be surmounted. Such were the consequences of this battle.

5. On the next day, Moses stripped the dead bodies of their enemies, and gathered together the armour of those that were fled, and gave rewards to such as had signalized themselves in the action; and highly commended Joshua, their general, who was attested to by all the army, on account of the great actions he had done. Nor was any one of the Hebrews slain; but the slain of the enemy's army were too many to be enumerated. So Moses offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and built an altar, which he named, *the Lord the Conqueror*. He also foretold, that the Amalekites should utterly be destroyed, and that hereafter none of them should remain, because they fought against the Hebrews, and this when they were in the wilderness and in their distress also. Moreover, he refreshed the army with feasting. And thus did they fight this first battle with those that ventured to oppose them after they were gone out of Egypt. But when Moses had celebrated this festival for the victory, he permitted the Hebrews to rest for a few days, and then he brought them out, after the fight, in order of battle; for they had now many soldiers in light armour. And going gradually on, he came to Mount Sinai, in three months time after they were removed out of Egypt; at which mountain, as we have before related, the vision of the bush and the other wonderful appearances had happened.

CHAP. III.

That Moses kindly received his Father-in-law Jethro, when he came to him to Mount Sinai.

Now when Raguel, Moses's father-in-law, understood in what a prosperous condition his affairs were, he willingly came to meet him. And Moses took Zipporah his wife, and his children, and pleased himself with his coming. And when he had offered sacrifice, he made a feast for the multitude, near the bush he had formerly seen; which multitude, every one according to their families, partook of the feast. But Aaron and his family took Raguel, and sung hymns to God, as to him who had been the author and procurer of their deliverance and their freedom. They also praised their conductor, as him by whose virtue it was that all things had succeeded so well with them. Raguel also in his

eucharistical oration to Moses, made great encomiums upon the whole multitude; and he could not but admire Moses for his fortitude, and that humanity he had showed in the delivery of his friends.

CHAP. IV.

How Raguel suggested to Moses to set his People in Order, under their Rulers of Thousands, and Rulers of Hundreds, who lived without Order before; and how Moses complied in all Things with his Father-in-law's Admonition.

§ 1. THE next day, as Raguel saw Moses in the midst of a crowd of business (for he determined the differences of those that referred them to him, every one still going to him, and supposing that they should then only obtain justice, if he were the arbitrator; and, those that lost their causes thought it no harm, while they thought they lost them justly, and not by partiality.) Raguel, however, said nothing to him at that time, as not desirous to be any hinderance to such as had a mind to make use of the virtue of their conductor. But afterwards he took him to himself, and when he had him alone, he instructed him in what he ought to do; and advised him to leave the trouble of lesser causes to others, but himself to take care of the greater, and of the people's safety; for that certain others of the Hebrews might be found that were fit to determine causes, but that nobody but a Moses could take care of the safety of so many ten thousands. "Be not therefore," says he, "insensible of thine own virtue, and what thou hast done by ministering under God to the people's preservation. Permit, therefore, the determination of common causes to be done by others, but do thou reserve thyself to the attendance on God only, and look out for methods of preserving the multitude from their present distress. Make use of the method I suggest to you, as to human affairs; and take a review of the army, and appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and then over thousands; then divide them into five hundreds; and again into hundreds, and into fifties; and set rulers over each of them, who may distinguish them into thirties, and keep them in order; and at last number them by twenties and by tens. And let there be one commander over each number, to be denominated from the number of those over whom they are rulers, but such as the whole multitude have tried, and do approve of,* being good and righteous men; and let these rulers decide the controversies they have one with another. But if any great cause arise, let them bring the cognizance of it before the rulers of a higher dignity; but if any great difficulty arise that is too hard for even their determination, let them send it to thee. By these means two advantages will be gained, that the Hebrews will have justice done them; and thou wilt be able to attend constantly on God, and procure him to be more favourable to the people."

2. This was the admonition of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted according to his suggestion. Nor did he conceal the invention of this method, nor pretend to it himself, but informed the multitude who it was that invented it. Nay, he has named Raguel in the books he wrote, as the person who invented this ordering of the people, as thinking it right to give a true testimony to worthy persons, although he might have gotten reputation by ascribing to himself the inventions of other men. Whence we may learn the virtuous disposition of Moses; but of such his disposition we shall have proper occasion to speak in other places of these books.

* This manner of electing the judges and officers of the Israelites by the *testimonies* and *suffrages* of the people, before they were *ordained* by God or by Moses, deserves to be carefully noted, because it was the pattern of the like manner of the choice and ordination of bishops, presbyters, and deacons in the Christian Church.

CHAP. V

How Moses ascended up to Mount Sinai, and received Laws from God, and delivered them to the Hebrews.

§ 1. Now Moses called the multitude together, and told them that he was going from them unto Mount Sinai, to converse with God; to receive from him, and to bring back with him a certain oracle; but he enjoined them to pitch their tents near the mountain, and prefer the habitation that was nearest to God, before one more remote. When he had said this, he ascended up to Mount Sinai, which is the highest* of all the mountains that are in that country, and is not only very difficult to be ascended by men, on account of its vast altitude, but because of the sharpness of its precipices also; nay, indeed it cannot be looked at without pain of the eyes. And besides this, it was terrible and inaccessible, on account of the rumour that passed about, that God dwelt there. But the Hebrews removed their tents, as Moses had bidden them, and took possession of the lowest parts of the mountain, and were elevated in their minds, in expectation that Moses would return from God with promises of the good things he had proposed to them. So they feasted, and waited for their conductor, and kept themselves pure, as in other respects, and not accompanying with their wives for three days, as he had before ordered them to do. And they prayed to God, that he would favourably receive Moses in his conversing with him, and bestow some such gift upon them, by which they might live well. They also lived more plentifully as to their diet, and put on their wives and children more ornamental and decent clothing than they usually wore.

2. So they passed two days in this way of feasting; but on the third day, before the sun was up, a cloud spread itself over the whole camp of the Hebrews, such as none had before seen, and encompassed the place where they had pitched their tents; and while all the rest of the air was clear, there came strong winds, that raised up large showers of rain, which became a mighty tempest. There was also such lightning as was terrible to those that saw it; and thunder, with its thunderbolts, were sent down, and declared God to be there present in a gracious way to such as Moses desired he should be gracious. Now as to these matters, every one of my readers may think as he pleases; but I am under a necessity of relating this history as it is described in the sacred books. This sight, and the amazing sound that came to their ears, disturbed the Hebrews to a prodigious degree, for they were not such as they were accustomed to; and then the rumour that was spread abroad, how God frequented that mountain, greatly astonished their minds, so they sorrowfully contained themselves within their tents, as both supposing Moses to be destroyed by the divine wrath, and expecting the like destruction for themselves.

3. When they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared as joyful and greatly exalted. When they saw him, they were freed from their fear, and admitted of more comfortable hopes as to what was to come. The air also was become clear and pure of its former disorders, upon the appearance of Moses. Whereupon he called together the people to a congregation, in order to their

* Since this mountain Sinai is here said to be *the highest of all the mountains that are in that country* it must be that now called *St. Katherine's*, which is one third higher than that within a mile of it now called *Sinai*, as Mons. Thevenot informs us, Travels, part i. chap. xxviii. p. 168. The other name of it, *Horeb*, is never used by Josephus; and perhaps was its name among the Egyptians only, whence the Israelites were lately come, as *Sinai* was its name among the Arabians, Canaanites, and other nations. Accordingly when (1 Kings, ix. 8.) the Scripture says that Elijah *came to Horeb, the mount of God*, Josephus justly says, Antiq. B. viii. chap. xiii. sect. 7, that *he came to the mountain called Sinai*; and Jerome, here cited by Dr. Hudson, says, that he took this mountain to have two names, *Sinai* and *Choreb*. See Nomin. Heb. p. 427.

hearing what God would say to them: and when they were gathered together, he stood on an eminence, whence they might all hear him, and said: "God has received me graciously, O Hebrews, as he has formerly done; and has suggested a happy method of living for you, and an order of political government, and is now present in the camp: I therefore charge you, for his sake, and the sake of his works, and what we have done by his means, that you do not put a low value on what I am going to say, because the commands have been given by me that now deliver them to you, nor because it is the tongue of a man that delivers them to you; but if you have a due regard to the great importance of the things themselves, you will understand the greatness of whose institutions they are, and who has not disdained to communicate them to me for our common advantage; for it is not to be supposed, that the author of these institutions is barely Moses, the son of Amram and Jochebed, but he who obliged the Nile to run bloody for your sakes, and tamed the haughtiness of the Egyptians by various sorts of judgments; he who provided a way through the sea for us; he who contrived a method of sending us food from heaven, when we were distressed for want of it; he who made the water to issue out of a rock, when we had very little of it before; he by whose means Adam was made to partake of the fruits both of the land and of the sea; he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge he by whose means our forefather Abraham, of a wandering pilgrim, was made the heir of the land of Canaan; he by whose means Isaac was born of parents who were very old; he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons; he by whose means Joseph became a potent lord over the Egyptians: he it is who conveys these instructions to you by me as his interpreter. And let them be to you venerable, and contended for more earnestly by you than your own children and your own wives; for if you will follow them, you will lead a happy life: you will enjoy the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the fruit of the womb born complete, as nature requires; you will be also terrible to your enemies; for I have been admitted into the presence of God, and been made a hearer of his incorruptible voice; so great is his concern for your nation, and its duration."

4. When he had said this, he brought the people, with their wives and children, so near the mountain that they might hear God himself speaking to them about the precepts which they were to practice; that the energy of what should be spoken might not be hurt by its utterance by that tongue of a man, which could but imperfectly deliver it to their understanding. And they all heard a voice that came to all of them from above, insomuch that no one of these words escaped them, which Moses wrote in two tables; which it is not lawful for us to set down directly,* but their import we will declare.

5. The first commandment teaches us, that there is but one God, and that we ought to worship him only. The second commands us not to make the image of any living creature to worship it. The third, that we must not swear by God in a false matter. The fourth, that we must keep the seventh day, by resting from all sort of work. The fifth, that we must honour our parents. The sixth, that we must abstain from murder. The seventh, that we must not commit adultery. The eighth, that we must not be guilty of theft. The ninth, that we must not bear false witness. The tenth, that we must not admit of the desire of any thing that is another's.

6. Now when the multitude had heard God himself giving those precepts which Moses had discoursed of, they rejoiced at what was said, and the congregation was dissolved. But on the following days they came to his tent, and desired him to bring them besides, other laws from God. Accordingly he appointed such laws; and afterwards informed them in what manner they should act in all

* Of this and another like superstitious notion of the Pharisees, which Josephus complied with, see the note on Antiq. b. ii. chap. xii. sect 4

cases; which laws I shall make mention of in their proper time; but I shall reserve most of those laws for another work,* and make there a distinct explication of them.

7. When matters were brought to this state, Moses went up again to Mount Sinai, of which he had told them beforehand. He made his ascent in their sight, and while he stayed there so long a time (for he was absent from them forty days,) fear seized upon the Hebrews, lest Moses should have come to any harm; nor was there any thing else so sad, and that so much troubled them, as this supposal that Moses was perished. Now there was a variety in their sentiment about it: some saying that he was fallen among wild beasts, and those that were of this opinion were chiefly such as were ill disposed to him; but others saying, that he was departed and gone to God; but the wiser sort were led by their reason to embrace neither of those opinions with any satisfaction, thinking, that it was a thing that sometimes happens to men to fall among wild beasts, and perish that way, so it was probable enough that he might depart and go to God, on account of his virtue; they therefore were quiet, and expected the event. Yet were they exceeding sorry upon the supposal that they were deprived of a governor and a protector, such a one indeed as they could never recover again; nor would this suspicion give them leave to expect any comfortable event about this man, nor could they prevent their trouble and melancholy upon this occasion. However, the camp durst not remove all this while, because Moses had bid them afore to stay there.

8. But when the forty days and as many nights were over, Moses came down, having tasted nothing of food usually appointed for the nourishment of men. His appearance filled the army with gladness, and he declared to them what care God had of them, and by what manner of conduct of their lives they might live happily; telling them that during these days of his absence, he had suggested to him also that he would have a tabernacle built for him, into which he would descend when he came to them; and how we should carry it about with us when we remove from this place; and that there would be no longer any occasion for going up to Mount Sinai, but that he would himself come and pitch his tabernacle amongst us, and be present at our prayers; as also, that the tabernacle should be of such measures and construction as he had showed him, and that you are to fall to the work, and prosecute it diligently. When he had said this, he showed them the two tables with the ten commandments engraven upon them, five upon each table; and the writing was by the hand of God

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Tabernacle which Moses built in the Wilderness, for the Honour of God, and which seemed to be a Temple.

§ 1. Hereupon the Israelites rejoiced at what they had seen and heard of their conductor, and were not wanting in diligence according to their ability; but they brought silver, and gold, and brass, and of the best sorts of wood, and such as would not at all decay by putrefaction; camel's hair also, and sheep skins. some of them dyed of a blue colour and some of a scarlet; some brought the flowers for the purple colour, and others for white; with wool dyed by the flowers afore mentioned; and fine linen and precious stones, which those that used costly ornaments set in ouches of gold; they brought also a great quantity of spices, for of these materials did Moses build the tabernacle which did not at all differ

* This other work of Josephus here referred to seems to be that which does not appear to have been ever published, which yet he intended to publish, about the reasons of many of the laws of Moses, as which see the note on the preface, sect. 4.

from a moveable and ambulatory table. Now when these things were brought together with great diligence, for every one was ambitious to further the work, even beyond their ability, he set architects over the works, and this by the command of God; and indeed the very same which the people themselves would have chosen, had the election been allowed to them. Now their names are set down in writing in the sacred books; and they were these, Besaleel, the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, the grandson of Miriam, the sister of their conductor; and Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. Now the people went on with what they had undertaken with so great alacrity that Moses was obliged to restrain them, by making proclamation, that what had been brought was sufficient, as the artificers had informed him. So they fell to work upon the building of the tabernacle. Moses also informed them, according to the direction of God, both what the measures were to be, and its largeness; and how many vessels it ought to contain, for the use of the sacrifices. The women also were ambitious to do their parts, about the garments of the priests, and about other things that would be wanted in this work, both for ornament, and for the divine service itself.

2. Now when all things were prepared, the gold and the silver and the brass and what was woven, Moses, when he had appointed beforehand that there should be a festival, and that sacrifice should be offered according to every one's ability, reared up the tabernacle.* And when he had measured the open court, fifty cubits broad and a hundred long, he set up brazen pillars five cubits high, twenty on each of the longer sides, and ten pillars from the breadth behind; every one of the pillars also had a ring. Their chapiters were of silver, but their bases were of brass; they resembled the sharp ends of spears, and were of brass, fixed into the ground. Cords were also put through the rings, and were tied at their farther ends to brass nails of a cubit long, which at every pillar were driven into the floor, and would keep the tabernacle from being shaken by the violence of the winds. But a curtain of fine soft linen went round all the pillars, and hung down in a flowing loose manner from their chapiters, and enclosed the whole space, and seemed not at all unlike to a wall about it. And this was the structure of three of the sides of this enclosure. But as for the fourth side, which was fifty cubits in extent, and was the front of the whole, twenty cubits of it were for the opening at the gates, wherein stood two pillars on each side, after the resemblance of open gates; these were made wholly of silver, and polished, and that all over, excepting the bases, which were of brass. Now, on each side of the gates there stood three pillars, which were inserted into the concave bases of the gates, and were suited to them; and round them was drawn a curtain of fine linen. But to the gates themselves, which were twenty cubits in extent, and five in height, the curtain was composed of purple and scarlet and blue and fine linen, and embroidered with many and divers sorts of figures, excepting the figures of animals. Within these gates was the brazen laver for purification, having a bason beneath of the like matter, whence the priests might wash their hands and sprinkle their feet. And this was the ornamental construction of the enclosure about the court of the tabernacle, which was exposed to the open air.

3. As to the tabernacle itself, Moses placed it in the middle of that court, with its front to the east, that when the sun arose it might send its first rays upon it. Its length, when it was set up, was thirty cubits, and its breadth was twelve [ten] cubits. The one of its walls was on the south, and the other was exposed to the north, and on the back part of it remained the west. It was necessary that its height should be equal to its breadth [ten cubits.] There were also pillars made of wood, twenty on each side: they were wrought into a quadrangular figure, in breadth a cubit and a half, but the thickness was four fingers; they

* Of this tabernacle of Moses, with its several parts and furniture, see my description at large, chap. vii. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. hereto belonging

had thin plates of gold affixed to them on both sides, inwardly and outwardly; they had each of them two tenons belonging to them, inserted into their bases, and these were of silver; in each of which bases there was a socket to receive the tenon. But the pillars on the west wall were six. Now all these tenons and sockets accurately fitted one another, insomuch that the joints were invisible, and both seemed to be one entire and united wall. It was also covered with gold both within and without. The number of pillars was equal on the opposite sides, and there were on each part twenty, and every one of them had the third part of a span in thickness; so that the number of thirty cubits were fully made up between them. But as to the wall behind, where the six pillars made up together only nine cubits, they made two other pillars, and cut them out of one cubit, which they placed in the corners, and made them equally fine with the other. Now every one of the pillars had rings of gold affixed to their fronts outward, as if they had taken root in the pillars, and stood one row over against another round about, through which were inserted bars girt over with gold, each of them five cubits long, and these bound together the pillars, the head of one bar running into another, after the nature of one tenon inserted into another. But for the wall behind, there was but one row of bars that went through all the pillars, into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls, the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole firmly together; and for this reason was all this joined so fast together, that the tabernacle might not be shaken, either by the winds, or by any other means, but that it might preserve itself quiet and immovable continually.

4. As for the inside, Moses parted its length into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the most secret end, Moses placed four pillars, whose workmanship was the very same with that of the rest; and they stood upon the like bases with them, each a small matter distant from his fellow. Now the room within those pillars was the *Most Holy Place;* but the rest of the room was the *Tabernacle*, which was open for the priests. However, this proportion of the measures of the tabernacle proved to be an imitation of the system of the world; for that third part thereof which was within the four pillars, to which the priests were not admitted, is, as it were, a heaven peculiar to God. But the space of the twenty cubits is, as it were, sea and land, on which men live, and so this part is peculiar to the priests only. But at the front, where the entrance was made, they placed pillars of gold, that stood on bases of brass, in number seven; but then they spread over the tabernacle vails of fine linen, and purple and blue and scarlet colours, embroidered. The first vail was ten cubits every way, and this they spread over the pillars which parted the temple, and kept the most holy place concealed within; and this vail was that which made this part not visible to any. Now the whole temple was called *the Holy Place*; but that part which was within the four pillars, and to which none were admitted, was called *the Holy of Holies.* This vail was very ornamental, and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the earth produces; and there was interwoven into it all sorts of variety that might be an ornament, excepting the forms of animals. Another vail there was which covered the five pillars that were at the entrance. It was like the former in its magnitude and texture and colour; and at the corner of every pillar, a ring retained it from the top downwards, half the depth of the pillars; the other half affording an entrance for the priest, who crept under it. Over this there was a vail of linen, of the same largeness with the former; it was to be drawn this way or that way by cords, whose rings fixed to the texture of the vail, and to the cords also, were subservient to the drawing and undrawing of the vail, and to the fastening it at the corner, that then it might be no hinderance to the view of the sanctuary, especially on solemn days: but that on other days, and especially when the weather was inclined to snow, it might be expanded and afford a covering to the vail of divers colours: whence

that custom of ours is derived, of having a fine linen vail after the temple has been built, to be drawn over the entrances. But the ten other curtains were four cubits in breadth and twenty-eight in length, and had golden clasps, in order to join the one curtain to the other, which was done so exactly that they seemed to be one entire curtain; these were spread over the temple, and covered all the top, and parts of the walls on the sides, and behind so far as within one cubit of the ground. There were other curtains, of the same breadth with these, but one more in number, and longer, for they were thirty cubits long; but these were woven of hair, with the like subtilty as those of wool were made, and were extended loosely down to the ground, appearing like a triangular front and elevation at the gates; the eleventh curtain being used for this very purpose. There were also other curtains made of skins above these, which afforded covering and protection to those that were woven, both in hot weather and when it rained. And great was the surprise of those who viewed these curtains at a distance, for they seemed not at all to differ from the colour of the sky. But those that were made of hair, and of skins, reached down in the same manner as did the vail at the gates, and kept off the heat of the sun, and what injury the rains might do. And after this manner was the tabernacle reared.

5. There was also an ark made, sacred to God, of wood that was naturally strong, and could not be corrupted. This was called *Eron* in our own language Its construction was thus: its length was five spans, but its breadth and height was each of them three spans. It was covered all over with gold, both within and without, so that the wooden part was not seen. It had also a cover united to it by golden hinges, after a wonderful manner; which cover was evenly fitted to it, and had no eminences to hinder its exact conjunction. There were also two golden rings belonging to each of the longer boards, and passing through the entire wood, and through them gilt bars passed along each board, that it might thereby be moved and carried about as occasion should require; for it was not drawn in a cart by beasts of burden, but borne on the shoulders of the priests. Upon this its cover were two images, which the Hebrews call *Cherubim;* they are flying creatures, but their form is not like to that of any of the creatures which men have seen, though Moses said he had seen such beings near the throne of God. In this ark he put the two tables whereon the ten commandments were written, five upon each table, and two and a half upon each side of them; and this ark he placed in the most holy place.

6. But in the holy place he placed a table, like those at Delphi. Its length was two cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and its height three spans. It had feet also, the lower half of which were complete feet, resembling those which the Dorians put to their bedsteads, but the upper parts towards the table were wrought into a square form. The table had a hollow towards every side, having a ledge of four fingers depth, that went round about like a spiral, both on the upper and lower part of the body of the work. Upon every one of the feet was there also inserted a ring not far from the cover, through which went bars of wood beneath, but gilded, to be taken out upon occasion, there being a cavity where it joined to the rings; for they were not entire rings, but before they came quite round, they ended in acute points, the one of which was inserted into the prominent part of the table, and the other into the foot; and by these it was carried when they journeyed. Upon this table, which was placed on the north side of the temple, not far from the most holy place, were laid twelve unleavened loaves of bread, six upon each heap, one above another; they were made of two tenth deals of the purest flour, which tenth deal [an homer] is a measure of the Hebrews, containing seven Athenian *cotylæ:* and above those loaves were put two vials full of frankincense. Now after seven days, other loaves were brought in their stead, on the day which is by us called the *Sabbath;* for we call the seventh day the *Sabbath.* But for the occasion of this invention of placing loaves here, we will speak to it in another place

7. Over against this table, near the southern wall, was set a candlestick of cast gold, hollow within, being of the weight of one hundred pounds, which the Hebrews call *cinchares*; if it be turned into the Greek language, denotes a *talent*. It was made with its knops, and lilies, and pomegranates, and bowls, (which ornaments amounted to seventy in all,) by which means the shaft elevated itself on high from a single base, and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun among them. It terminated in seven heads in one row, all standing parallel to one another: and these branches carried seven lamps, one by one, in imitation of the number of the planets; these lamps looked to the east and to the south, the candlestick being situate obliquely.

8. Now between this candlestick and the table, which, as we said, were within the sanctuary, was the altar of incense, made of wood indeed, but of the same wood of which the foregoing vessels were made, such as was not liable to corruption. It was entirely crusted over with a golden plate. Its breadth on each side was a cubit, but the altitude double. Upon it was a grate of gold, that was extant above the altar, which had a golden crown encompassing it round about, whereto belonged rings and bars, by which the priests carried it when they journeyed. Before this tabernacle there was reared a brazen altar, but it was within made of wood, five cubits by measure on each side, but its height was but three, in like manner adorned with brass plates as bright as gold. It had also a brazen hearth of net-work, for the ground underneath received the fire from the hearth because it had no basis to receive it. Hard by this altar lay the basons, and the vials, and the censers, and the caldrons, made of gold; but the other vessels, made for the use of the sacrifices, were all of brass. And such was the construction of the tabernacle; and these were the vessels thereto belonging.

CHAP. VII.

Which were the Garments of the Priests, and of the High Priest: Concerning the Priesthood of Aaron, with the Manner of the Purifications and Sacrifices; as also concerning the Festivals, and how each Day was then disposed of; with other Laws.

1. There were peculiar garments appointed for the priest, and for all the rest, which they call *Cahanæa* [priestly] garments, as also for the high priests, which they call *Cahanæa Rabbæ*, and denote the high priest's garments. Such was therefore the habit of the rest. But when the priest approaches the sacrifices, he purifies himself with the purification which the law prescribes; and, in the first place, he puts on that which is called *Machanese*, which means somewhat that is fast tied. It is a girdle composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them in the nature of breeches, but above half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs, and is there tied fast.

2. Over this he wore a linen vestment, made of fine flax doubled; it is called *Chethone*, and denotes linen, for we call linen by the name of *Chethone*. This vestment reaches down to the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms; it is girded to the breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven, that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet and purple and blue, and fine twined linen; but the warp was nothing but fine linen. The beginning of its circumvolution is at the breast, and when it has gone often round, it is there tied, and hangs loosely there down to the ankles; I mean this, all the time the priest is not about any laborious service for in this position it appears in the most agreeable manner to the spectators, but when he is obliged to assist at the offering sacrifices, and to do the appointed

service, that he may not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he throws it to the left, and bears it on his shoulder. Moses indeed calls the belt *Abaneth*, but we have learned from the Babylonians to call it *Emia*, for so it is by them called. This vestment has no loose or hollow parts any where in it, but only a narrow aperture about the neck; and it is tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and is fastened above each shoulder; it is called *Massabazanes*.

3. Upon his head he wears a cap, not brought to a conic form, nor encircling the whole head, but still covering more than the half of it, which is called *Mas naemphthes;* and its make is such that it seems to be a crown, being made of thick swathes, but the contexture is of linen; and it is doubled round many times and sewed together; besides which, a piece of fine linen covers the whole cap from the upper part, and reaches down to the forehead, and hides the seams of the swathes, which would otherwise appear indecently: this adheres closely upon the solid part of the head, and is thereto so firmly fixed, that it may not fall off during the sacred service about the sacrifices. So we have now showed you what is the habit of the generality of the priests.

4. The high-priest is indeed adorned with the same garments that we have described, without abating one, only over these he puts on a vestment of a blue colour. This also is a long robe, reaching to his feet [in our language it is called *Meeir;*] and is tied round with a girdle, embroidered with the same colours and flowers as the former, with a mixture of gold interwoven. To the bottom of which garment are hung fringes, in colour like pomegranates, with golden bells* by a curious and beautiful contrivance; so that between two bells hangs a pomegranate, and between two pomegranates a bell. Now this vesture was not composed of two pieces, nor was it sewed together upon the shoulders and the sides, but it was one long vestment so woven as to have an aperture for the neck; not an oblique one, but parted all along the breast and the back. A border also was sewed to it, lest the aperture should look too indecently. It was also parted where the hands were to come out.

5. Besides these, the high-priest put on a third garment, which was called the *Ephod*, which resembles the Epomis of the Greeks Its make was after this manner: it was woven to the depth of a cubit, of several colours, with gold intermixed, and embroidered, but it left the middle of the breast uncovered: it was made with sleeves also; nor did it appear to be at all differently made from a short coat. But in the void place of this garment there was inserted a piece of the bigness of a span, embroidered with gold, and the other colours of the ephod, and is called *Essen* [the breastplate,] which in the Greek language signifies the *Oracle*. This piece exactly filled up the void space in the ephod. It is united to it by golden rings at every corner, the like rings being annexed to the ephod, and a blue riband was made use of to tie them together by those rings; and that the space between the rings might not appear empty, they contrived to fill it up with stiches of blue ribands. There were also two sardonyxes upon the ephod at the shoulders, to fasten it, in the nature of buttons, having each end running to the sardonyxes of gold, that they might be buttoned by them. On these were engraven the names of the sons of Jacob, in our own country letters and our own tongue, six on each of the stones, on either side; and the elder sons' names were on the right shoulder. Twelve stones also there were upon the breastplate, extraordinary in largeness and beauty: and they were an ornament not

* The use of these golden bells at the bottom of the high priest's long garment seems to me to have been this, that by shaking his garment at the time of his offering incense in the temple, on the great day of expiation, or at other proper periods of his sacred ministrations there, on the great festivals, the people might have notice of it, and might fall to their own *prayers at the time of incense*, or other proper periods; and so the whole congregation might at once offer those common prayers jointly with the high priest himself to the Almighty. See Luc. i. 10, Apoc. viii. 3, 4. Nor probably is the father of Sirach to be otherwise understood, when he says of Aaron, the first priest, Ecclus. xiv. 9, *And God encompassed Aaron with pomegranates, and with many golden bells round about, that as he went there might be a sound and a noise made, that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people.*

to be purchased by men, because of their immense value. These stones however stood in three rows, by four in a row, and were inserted into the breastplate itself, and they were set in ouches of gold, that were themselves inserted in the breastplate, and were so made that they might not fall out. Now the first three stones were a sardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a ligure, hen an amethyst, and the third an agate, being the ninth of the whole number. The first of the fourth row was a chrysolite, the next was an onyx, and then a beryl, which was the last of all. Now the names of all those sons of Jacob were engraven in these stones, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, each stone having the honour of a name, in the order according to which they were born And whereas the rings were too weak of themselves to bear the weight of the stones, they made two other rings of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breastplate which reached to the neck, and inserted into the very texture of the breastplate, to receive chains finely wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the tops of the shoulders, whose extremity turned backwards, and went into the ring, on the prominent back part of the ephod; and this was for the security of the breastplate, that it might not fall out of its place. There was also a girdle sewed to the breastplate, which was of the forementioned colours, with gold intermixed; which, when it had gone once round, was tied again upon the seam, and hung down. There were also golden loops that admitted its fringes at each extremity of the girdle, and included them entirely.

6. The high priest's mitre was the same that we described before, and was wrought like that of all the other priests; above which there was another, with swathes of blue embroidered, and round it was a golden crown polished, of three rows, one above another; out of which arose a cup of gold, which resembled the herb which we call *Saccharus*, but those Greeks that are skilful in botany call it *Hyoscyamus*. Now lest any one that has seen this herb, but has not been taught its name and is unacquainted with its nature, or having known its name, knows not the herb when he sees it, I shall give such a description of it. This herb is oftentimes in tallness above three spans, but its root is like that of a turnip (for he that should compare it thereto would be mistaken,) but its leaves are like to the leaves of mint. Out of its branches it sends out a calyx, cleaving to the branch, and a coat encompasses it, which it naturally puts off when it is changing, in order to produce its fruit. This calyx is of the bigness of the bone of the little finger, but in the compass of its aperture is like a cup. This I will farther decribe for the use of those that are unacquainted with it. Suppose a sphere be divided into two parts, round at the bottom, but having another segment that grows up to a circumference from the bottom; suppose it become narrower by degrees, and that the cavity of that part grow decently smaller, and then gradually grow wider again at the brim, such as we see in the navel of a pomegranate, with its notches. And indeed such a coat grows over this plant as renders it an hemisphere, and that, as one may say, turned accurately in a lathe, and having its notches extant above it, which, as I said, grow like a pomegranate, only that they are sharp, and end in nothing but prickles. Now the fruit is preserved by this coat of the calyx, which fruit is like the seed of the herb *sederitis*; it sends out a flower that may seem to resemble that of poppy. Of this was a crown made, as far as from the hinder part of the head to each of the temples; but this *ephielis*, for so this calyx may be called, did not cover the forehead, but it was covered with a *golden plate*,* which had inscribed upon it the name of God in sacred characters. And such were the ornaments of the high priest.

7. Now, here one may wondor at the ill will which men bear to us, and which

* The reader ought to take notice here, that the very Mosaic *petalon*, or *golden plate*, for the forehead of the Jewish high priest, was itself preserved, not only till the days of Josephus but of Origen; and that as inscription, *Holiness to the Lord*, was in the Samaritan characters. See Antiq. B. viii. ch. iii. sect. 8. Essay on the Old Test. p. 154, and Reland, de Spol. Templi. p. 132.

they profess to be on account of our despising that deity which they pretend to honour; for if any one do but consider the fabric of the tabernacle, and take a view of the garments of the high priest, and of those vessels which we make use of in our sacred ministration, he will find that our legislator was a divine man, and that we are unjustly reproached by others; for if any one do, without prejudice and with judgment, look upon these things, he will find they were every one made in way of imitation and representation of the universe. When Moses distinguished the tabernacle into three parts,* and allowed two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and common, he denoted the land and the sea, these being of general access to all; but he set apart the third division for God, because heaven is inaccessible to men. And when he ordered twelve loaves to be set on the table, he denoted the year, as distinguished into so many months. By branching out the candlestick into seventy parts, he secretly intimated the *Decani*, or seventy divisions of the planets, and as to the seven lamps upon the candlesticks, they referred to the course of the planets, of which that is the number. The vials, too, which were composed of four things, they declared the four elements; for the fine linen was proper to signify the earth, because the flax grows out of the earth. The purple signified the sea, because that colour is dyed by the blood of a sea shellfish. The blue is fit to signify the air; and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Now the vestment of the high priest, being made of linen, signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of the bells resembling thunder. And for the ephod, it showed that God had made the universe of four [elements;] and as for the gold interwoven, I suppose it related to the splendour by which all things are enlightened. He also appointed the breastplate to be placed in the middle of the ephod to resemble the earth, for that has the very middle place of the world. And the girdle which encompassed the high priest round signified the ocean, for that goes round about and includes the universe. Each of the sardonyxes declare to us the sun and the moon, those I mean, that were in the nature of buttons on the high priest's shoulders. And for the twelve stones, whether we understand by them the months, or whether we understand the like number of the signs of that circle which the Greeks call the Zodiac, we shall not be mistaken in their meaning. And for the mitre, which was of a blue colour, it seems to me to mean heaven; for how otherwise could the name of God be inscribed upon it? That it was also illustrated with a crown, and that of gold also, is because of that splendour with which God is pleased. Let this explication† suffice at present, since the course of my narration will often, and on many occasions, afford me the opportunity of enlarging on the virtue of our legislator

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Priesthood of Aaron.

§ 1. When what has been described was brought to a conclusion, gifts not being yet presented, God appeared to Moses, and enjoined him to bestow the high priesthood upon Aaron his brother, as upon him that best of them all deserved to

* When Josephus, both here and chap. vi. sect. 4, supposes the tabernacle to have been parted into three parts, he seems to esteem the bare entrance to be a third division, distinct from the holy and the most holy places, and this the rather, because in the temple afterward there was a real distinct third part, which was called the *porch*, otherwise Josephus would contradict his own description of the tabernacle, which gives us a particular account of no more than two parts.

† This explication of the mystical meaning of the Jewish tabernacle, and its vessels, with the garments of the high priest, is taken out of Philo, and fitted to Gentile philosophical notions. This may possibly be forgiven in Jews greatly versed in heathen learning and philosophy, as Philo had ever been, and as Josephus had long been when he wrote these Antiquities. In the mean time, it is not to be doubted, but

obtain that honour, on account of his virtue. And when he had gathered the multitude together, he gave them an account of Aaron's virtue, and of his good will to them, and of the dangers he had undergone for their sakes. Upon which, when they had given testimony to him in all respects, and showed their readiness to receive him, Moses said to them, "O you Israelites, this work is already brought to a conclusion, in a manner most acceptable to God, and according to our abilities. And now since you see that he is received into this tabernacle, we shall first of all stand in need of one that may officiate for us, and may minister to the sacrifices, and to the prayers that are to be put up for us. And indeed had the inquiry after such a person been left to me, I should have thought myself worthy of this honour, both because all men are naturally fond of themselves, and because I am conscious to myself that I have taken a great deal of pains for your deliverance. But now God himself has determined that Aaron is worthy of this honour, and has chosen him for his priest, as knowing him to be the most righteous person among you. So that he is to put on the vestments which are consecrated to God; he is to have the care of the altars, and to make provision for the sacrifices; and he it is that must put up prayers for you to God, who will readily hear them, not only because he is himself solicitous for your nation, but also because he will receive them as offered by one that he hath himself chosen to this office."* The Hebrews were pleased with what was said, and they gave their approbation to him whom God had ordained; for Aaron was of them all the most deserving of this honour, on account of his own stock, and gift of prophecy, and his brother's virtue. He had at that time four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar

2. Now Moses commanded them to make use of all the utensils which were more than were necessary to the structure of the tabernacle, for covering the tabernacle itself, the candlestick, and altar of incense, and the other vessels, that they might not be at all hurt when they journeyed, either by the rain, or by the rising of the dust And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordained that they should offer half a shekel for every man, as an oblation to God; which shekel is a piece among the Hebrews, and is equal to four Athenian drachmæ.† Whereupon they readily obeyed what Moses had commanded; and the number of the officers was six hundred and five thousand five hundred and fifty. Now this money that was brought by the men that were free, was given by such as were above twenty years old, but under fifty; and what was collected was spent in the uses of the tabernacle.

3. Moses now purified the tabernacle and the priests; which purification was performed after the following manner: he commanded them to take five hundred shekels of choice myrrh, an equal quantity of cassia, and half the foregoing weight of cinnamon, and calamus (this last is a sort of sweet spice,) to beat them small, and wet them with an hin of oil of olives (an hin is our own country mea-

in their education they must have both learned most Jewish interpretations, such as we meet with in the epistle of Barnabas, in that to the Hebrews, and elsewhere among the old Jews. Accordingly, when Josephus wrote his books of the Jewish war for the use of the Jews, at which time he was comparatively young, and less used to Gentile books, we find one specimen of such a Jewish interpretation; for there (B. vii. ch. v. sect. 5,) he makes the seven branches of the temple candlestick, with their seven lamps, an emblem of the seven days of creation and rest, which are mere emblems of the seven planets. Nor certainly ought ancient Jewish emblems to be explained any otherwise than according to ancient Jewish and not Gentile notions. See Of the War, B. 1. ch. xxxiii. sect. 2.

* It is well worth our observation, that the two principal qualifications required in this section, for the constitution of the first high priest, viz. that he should have an excellent character for virtuous and good actions; as also that he should have the approbation of the people, are here noted by Josephus, even where the nomination belonged to God himself, which are the very same qualifications which the Christian religion requires in the choice of Christian bishops, priests, and deacons, as the Apostolical Constitutions inform us, B. ii. ch. iii.

† This weight and value of the Jewish shekel, in the days of Josephus, equal to about 2s. 10d. sterling, is by the learned Jews owned to be one fifth larger than were their old shekels; which determination agrees perfectly with the remaining shekels that have Samaritan inscriptions, coined generally by Simon the Maccabee, about 230 years before Josephus published his Antiquities, which never weigh more than 2s. 4 1-2d. and commonly but 2s. 4 1-4d. See Reland, *De Nummis Samaritanorum*, p. 186.

sure and contains two Athenian chaos, or congiuses,) then mix them together and boil them, and prepare them after the art of the apothecary, and make them into a very sweet ointment; and afterwards to take it to anoint and to purify the priests themselves, and all the tabernacle, as also the sacrifices. There were also many, and those of various kinds, of sweet spices, that belonged to the tabernacle, and such as were of very great price, and were brought to the golden altar of incense; whose nature I do not now describe, lest it should be troublesome to my readers. But incense was to be offered twice a day, both before sunrising and at sunsetting.* They were also to keep oil already purified for the lamps; three of which were to give light all day long,† upon the sacred candlestick, before God, and the rest were to be lighted at the evening.

4. Now all was finished, Bezaleel and Aholiah appeared to be the most skilful of the workmen; for they invented finer works than what others had done before them, and were of great abilities to gain notions of what they were formerly ignorant of; and of these Bezaleel was judged to be the best. Now the whole time they were about this work was the interval of seven months; and after this it was that was ended the first year since their departure out of Egypt. But at the beginning of the second year, on the month Xanthicus, as the Macedonians call it, but on the month Nisan, as the Hebrews call it, on the new moon, they consecrated the tabernacle and all its vessels, which I have already described.

5. Now God showed himself pleased with the work of the Hebrews, and did not permit their labours to be in vain; nor did he disdain to make use of what they had made, but he came and sojourned with them, and pitched his tabernacle in the holy house. And in the following manner did he come to it; the sky was clear, but there was a mist over the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with such a very deep and thick cloud as is seen in the winter season, nor yet in so thin a one as men might be able to discern any thing through it, but from it there dropped a sweet dew, and such as showed the presence of God to those that desired and believed it.

6. Now when Moses had bestowed such honorary presents on the workmen as it was fit they should receive, who had wrought so well, he offered sacrifices in the open court of the tabernacle, as God commanded him, a bull, a ram, and a kid of the goats, for a sin-offering. Now I shall speak of what we do in our sacred offices in my discourse about sacrifices; and therein shall inform men in what cases Moses bid us offer a whole burnt-offering, and in what cases the law permits us to partake of them as of food. And when Moses had sprinkled Aaron's vestments, himself, and his sons, with the blood of the beasts that were slain, and had purified them with spring waters and ointment, they became God's priests. After this manner did he consecrate them and their garments for seven days together. The same he did to the tabernacle, and the vessels thereto belonging, both with oil first incensed, as I said, and with the blood of bulls and of rams, slain day by day one, according to its kind. But on the eighth day he appointed a feast for the people, and commanded them to offer sacrifice according to their ability. Accordingly they contended one with another, and were ambitious to exceed each other in the sacrifices which they brought, and so fulfilled Moses's injunctions. But as the sacrifices lay upon the altar, a sudden fire was kindled from among them of its own accord, and appeared to the sight like fire from a flash of lightning, and consumed whatsoever was upon the altar.

7. Hereupon an affliction befell Aaron, considered as a man and a father, but was undergone by him with true fortitude; for he had indeed a firmness of soul in such accidents, and he thought this calamity came upon him according to God's will; for whereas he had four sons, as I said before, the two elder of

* The incense was here offered, according to Josephus's opinion, before sunrising and at sunsetting. But in the days of Pompey, according to the same Josephus, the sacrifices were offered in the morning and at the ninth hour. Antiq. B. xiv. ch. iv. sect. 3.

† Hence we may correct the opinions of the modern rabbins, who say, that only one of the seven lamps burned in the daytime, whereas our Josephus, an eye-witness, says there were *three*.

them, Nadab and Abihu, did not bring those sacrifices which Moses bade them bring, but which they used to offer formerly, and were burned to death. Now when the fire rushed upon them, and began to burn them, nobody could quench it. Accordingly they died in this manner. And Moses bid their father and their brethren to take up their bodies, to carry them out of the camp, and to bury them magnificently. Now the multitude lamented them, and were deeply affected at this their death, which so unexpectedly befell them. But Moses entreated their brethren and their father not to be troubled for them, and to prefer the honour of God before their grief about them; for Aaron had already put on his sacred garments.

8. But Moses refused all that honour which he saw the multitude ready to bestow upon him, and attended to nothing else but to the service of God. He went no more up to Mount Sinai; but he went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers from God to what he prayed for. His habit was also that of a private man; and in all other circumstances he behaved himself like one of the common people, and was desirous to appear without distinguishing himself from the multitude, but would have it known that he did nothing else but take care of them. He also set down in writing the form of their government, and those laws, by obedience whereto they would lead their lives so as to please God, and so as to have no quarrels one among another. However, the laws he ordained were such as God suggested to him; so I shall now discourse concerning that form of government and those laws.

9. I will now treat what I before omitted, the garment of the high priest; for he [Moses] left no room for the evil practices of [false] prophets; but if some of that sort should attempt to abuse the divine authority, he left it to God* to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent. And he was willing this should be known, not to the Hebrews only, but to those foreigners also who were there. For as to those stones,† which we told you

* Of this strange expression, that *Moses left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent*, see the note on B. ii. against Apion, sect. 16.

† These answers by the oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*, which words signify *light* and *perfection*, or as the Septuagint render them, *revelation* and *truth*, and denote nothing further that I see, but the shining stones themselves, which were used in this method of illumination, in revealing the will of God after a perfect and true manner to his people Israel; I say, these answers were not made by the shining of the precious stones, after an awkward manner, in the high priest's breastplate, as the modern rabbins vainly suppose; for certainly the shining of the stones might precede or accompany the oracle, without itself delivering that oracle (see Antiq. B. vi. ch. vi. sect. 4), but rather by an audible voice from the mercy-seat between the cherubims. See Prideaux's Connect. at the year 534. This oracle had been silent, as Josephus here informs us, two hundred years before he wrote his Antiquities, or ever since the days of the last good high priest of the family of the Maccabees, John Hyrcanus. Now it is here very well worth our observation, that the oracle before us was that by which God appeared to be present with and gave directions to his people Israel as their king, all the while they submitted to him in that capacity, and did not set over them such independent kings as governed according to their own wills, and political maxims, instead of Divine directions. Accordingly we meet with this oracle (besides angelic and prophetic admonitions) all along from the days of Moses and Joshua, to the anointing of Saul, the first of the succession of the kings, Numb. xxvii. 21; Joshua vi. 6. &c xix. 50; Judg. i. 1; xviii. 4, 5, 6, 30, 31; xx. 18, 23, 26, 27, 28; xxi. 1, &c. 1 Sam. i. 17, 18; iii. *per tot* iv. *per tot.*; nay, till Saul's rejection of the Divine commands in the war with Amalek, when he took upon him to act as he thought fit, 1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18, 19, 36, 37; then this oracle left Saul entirely (which indeed he had seldom consulted before, 1 Sam. xiv. 35; 1 Chron. x. 14; xiii. 3; Antiq. B vii. ch. iv. sect. 2); and accompanied David, who was anointed to succeed him, and who consulted God by it frequently, and complied with its directions constantly, 1 Sam. xiv. 37, 41; xv. 20; xxii. 13, 15; xxiii.. 9, 10; xxx. 7, 8, 18; 2 Sam. ii. 1; v. 19, 23 xxi. 1; xxiii. 14; 1 Chron. xiv. 10, 14; Antiq. B. vi. ch. xii. sect. 5. Saul, indeed, long after his rejection by God, and when God had given him up to destruction for his disobedience, did once afterwards endeavour to consult God, when it was too late; but God would not then answer him, neither by dreams nor by Urim, nor by Prophets, 1 Sam. xxviii. 6. Nor did any of David's successors, the kings of Judah, that we know of, consult God by this oracle till the very Babylonish captivity itself, when those kings were at an end, they taking upon them, I suppose, too much of despotic power and royalty, and too little owning the God of Israel for the supreme king of Israel, though a few of them consulted the prophets sometimes, and were answered by them. At the return of the two tribes, without the return of kingly government, the restoration of this oracle was expected, Neh. vii. 65; 1 Esd. v. 40; 1 Macc. iv. 46; xiv. 41. And indeed it may seem to have been restored for some time after the Babylonish captivity, at least in the days of that excellent high priest, John Hyrcanus, whom Josephus esteemed as a king, a priest, and a prophet; and who, he says, foretold several things that came to pass accordingly; but about the time of his death he here implies that this oracle quite ceased, and not before. The fol-

before, the high priest bare on his shoulders, which were sardonyxes, (and I think it needless to describe their nature, they being known to every body,) the one of them shined out when God was present at their sacrifices; I mean that which was in the nature of a button on his right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by those that were most remote; which splendour yet was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as have not so far indulged themselves in philosophy as to despise *Divine revelation*. Yet will I mention what is still more wonderful than this. For God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bare on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendour shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance. Whence it came to pass, that those Greeks who had a veneration for our laws, because they could not possibly contradict this, called that breastplate *the Oracle*. Now this breastplate and this sardonyx left off shining two hundred years before I composed this book, God having been displeased at the transgressions of his laws. Of which things we shall farther discourse on a fitter opportunity; but I will now go on with my proposed narration.

10. The tabernacle being now consecrated, and a regular order being settled for the priests, the multitude judged that God now dwelt among them, and betook themselves to sacrifices and praises to God, as being now delivered from all expectation of evils, and as entertaining a hopeful prospect of better times hereafter. They offered also gifts to God, some as common to the whole nation, and others as peculiar to themselves, and these tribe by tribe; for the heads of the tribes combined together, two by two, and brought a wagon and a yoke of oxen. These amounted to six, and they carried the tabernacle when they journeyed. Besides which, every head of a tribe brought a bowl, and a charger, and a spoon of ten darics, full of incense. Now the charger and the bowl were of silver; and together they weighed two hundred shekels, but the bowl cost no more than seventy shekels; and these were full of fine flower mingled with oil, such as they used on the altar about the sacrifices. They brought also a young bullock and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, for a whole burnt-offering; as also a goat for the forgiveness of sins. Every one of the heads of the tribes brought also other sacrifices, called *peace-offerings*, for every day two bulls and five rams, with lambs of a year old and kids of the goats. These heads of tribes were twelve days in sacrificing, one sacrificing every day. Now Moses went no longer up Mount Sinai, but went into the tabernacle, and learned of God what

lowing high priests now putting diadems on their heads, and ruling according to their own will, and by their own own authority, like the other kings of the Pagan countries about them; or that while the God of Israel was allowed to be the supreme king of Israel, and his directions to be their authentic guides, God gave them such directions, as their supreme king and governor; and they were properly under a theocracy, by this oracle of Urim, but no longer (see Dr. Bernard's notes here), though I confess I cannot but esteem the high priest Juddus's divine dream, Antiq. Book xi. ch. viii. sec. 4, and the high priest Caiphas's most remarkable prophecy, John, xi. 47—52, as two small remains or specimens of this ancient oracle, which properly belonged to the Jewish high priests. Nor perhaps ought we entirely to forget that eminent prophetic dream of our Josephus himself (one next to a high priest, as of the family of the Asamoneans or Maccabees), as to the succession of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman empire, and that in the days of Nero, and before either Galba, Otho, or Vitellius, were thought of to succeed him. Of the War, B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 9. This, I think, may well be looked on as the very last instance of any thing like the prophetic Urim among the Jewish nation, and just preceded their fatal desolation. But how it could possibly come to pass that such great men as Sir John Marsham and Dr. Spencer should imagine that this oracle of Urim and Thummin, with other practices as old or older than the law of Moses, should have been ordained in imitation of somewhat like them among the Egyptians, which we never hear of till the days of Diodorus Siculus, Ælian, and Maimonides, a little earlier than the Christian era at the highest, is almost unaccountable; while the main business of the law of Moses was evidently to preserve the Israelites from the idolatrous and superstitious practices of the neighbouring Pagan nations; and while it is so undeniable, that the evidence for the great antiquity of Moses's law is incomparably beyond that for the like or greater antiquity of such customs in Egypt & other nations, which indeed is generally none at all. it is most absurd to derive any of Moses's laws from the imitation of those heathen practices. Such hypotheses demonstrate to us, how far inclination can prevail over evidence, in even some of the most learned part of mankind.

they were to do, and what laws should be made; which laws were preferable to what have been devised by human understanding, and proved to be firmly observed for all time to come, as being believed to be the gift of God, insomuch that the Hebrews did not trangress any of those laws, either as tempted in times of peace by luxury, or in times of war by distress of affairs. But I say no more here concerning them, because I have resolved to compose another work concerning our laws.

CHAP. IX.

The Manner of our offering Sacrifices.

§ 1. I WILL now, however, make mention of a few of our laws which belong to purifications and the like sacred offices, since I am accidentally come to this matter of sacrifices. These sacrifices were of two sorts; of those sorts one was offered for private persons, and the other for the people in general; and they are done in two different ways. In the one case, what is slain is burnt, as a whole burnt-offering, whence that name is given to it; but the other is a thank-offering, and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I will speak of the former. Suppose a private man offer a burnt-offering, he must slay either a bull, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, and the two latter of the first year, though of bulls he is permitted to sacrifice those of a greater age; but all burnt-offerings are to be of males. When they are slain, the priests sprinkle the blood round about the altar; they then cleanse the bodies, and divide them into parts, and salt them with salt, and lay them upon the altar, while the pieces of wood are piled one upon another, and the fire is burning; they next cleanse the feet of the sacrifices, and the inwards, in an accurate manner, and so lay them to the rest to be purged by the fire, while the priests receive the hides. This is the way of offering a burnt-offering.

2. But those that offer thank-offerings do indeed sacrifice the same creatures, but such as are unblemished and above a year old; however, they may take either males or females. They also sprinkle the altar with their blood; but they lay upon the altar the kidneys and the caul, and all the fat, and the lobe of the liver, together with the rump of the lamb; then, giving the breast and the right shoulder to the priests, the offerers feast upon the remainder of the flesh for two days; and what remains they burn.

3. The sacrifices for sins are offered in the same manner as is the thank-offering. But those who are unable to purchase complete sacrifices, offer two pigeons, or turtle-doves; the one of which is made a burnt-offering to God, the other they give as food for the priests. But we shall treat more accurately about the oblation of these creatures in our discourse concerning sacrifices. But if a person fall into sin by ignorance, he offers a ewe lamb, or female kid of the goats, of the same age; and the priests sprinkle the blood at the altar, not after the former manner, but at the corners of it. They also bring the kidneys and the rest of the fat, together with the lobe of the liver, to the altar, while the priests bear away the hides and the flesh, and spend it in the holy place on the same day*; for the law does not permit them to leave of it until the morning. But if any one sin, and is conscious of it himself, but hath nobody that can prove it upon him, he offers a ram, the law enjoining him so to do; the

* What Reland well observes here, out of Josephus, as compared with the law of Moses, Lev. vii. 15, (that the eating of the sacrifice the same day it was offered, seems to mean only before the morning of the next, although the latter part, i. e. the night, be in strictness part of the *next day*, according to the Jewish reckoning) is greatly to be observed upon other occasions also. The Jewish maxim in such cases it seems, is this, that *the day goes before the night*; and this appears to be the language both of the Old and New Testament. See also the note on Antiq. B. iv. chap. iv. sect. 4, and Reland's note on B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 28

flesh of which the priests eat, as before, in the holy place, on the same day. And if the rulers offer sacrifices for their sins, they bring the same oblations that private men do; only they so far differ that they are to bring for sacrifices a bull or a kid of the goats, both males.

4. Now the law requires, both in private and public sacrifices, that the finest flour be also brought; for a lamb the measure of one tenth deal, for a ram two, and for a bull three. This they consecrate upon the altar, when it is mingled with oil; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifice, for a bull the half of an hin, and for a ram the third part of the same measure, and one quarter of it for a lamb. This hin is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equivalent to two Athenian chaos (or conguises.) They bring the same quantity of oil which they do of wine, and they pour the wine about the altar; but if any one does not offer a complete sacrifice of animals, but brings fine flour only for a vow, he throws a handful upon the altar as its first fruits, while the priests take the rest for their food, either boiled or mingled with oil, but made into cakes of bread. But whatsoever it be that a priest himself offers, it must of necessity be all burned. Now the law forbids us to sacrifice any animal at the same time with its dam; and in other cases, not till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices there are also appointed for escaping distempers, or for other occasions, in which meat-offerings are consumed together with the animals that are sacrificed; of which it is not lawful to leave any part till the next day, only the priests are to take their own share.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the Festivals; and how each Day of such Festival is to be observed

§ 1. The law requires, that out of the public expenses a lamb of the first year be killed every day, at the beginning and at the ending of the day; but on the seventh day, which is called the *Sabbath*, they kill two, and sacrifice them in the same manner. At the new moon, they both perform the daily sacrifices, and slay two bulls, with seven lambs of the first year, and a kid of the goats also, for the expiation of sins; that is, if they have sinned through ignorance.

2. But on the seventh month, which the Macedonians call *Hyperberetæus*, they make an addition to those already mentioned, and sacrifice a bull, a ram, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins.

3. On the tenth day of the same lunar month, they fast till the evening; and this day they sacrifice a bull and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins. And besides these, they bring two kids of the goats; the one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness for the scape goat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude; but the other is brought into a place of great clearness within the limits of the camp, and is there burned, with its skin, without any sort of cleansing. With this goat was burned a bull, not brought by the people, but by the high priest, at his own charges, which, when it was slain, he brought of the blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and sprinkled the ceiling with his finger seven times, as also its pavement, and again as often towards the [most] holy place, and the golden altar. He also at last brings it into the open court, and sprinkles it about the great altar. Besides this, they set the extremities, and the kindneys, and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, upon the altar. The high priest likewise presents a ram to God as a burnt-offering.

4. Upon the fifteenth day of the same month, when the season of the year is changing for winter, the law enjoins us to pitch tabernacles in every one of our houses so that we preserve ourselves from the cold of that time of the year, as

also that when we should arrive at our own country, and come to that city which we should have then for our metropolis, because of the temple therein to be built, and keep a festival for eight days, and offer burnt-offerings, and sacrifice thank-offerings, that we should then carry in our hands a branch of myrtle, and willow, and a bough of the palm tree, with the addition of the pomecitron. That the burnt-offering on the first of those days was to be a sacrifice of thirteen bulls, and fourteen lambs, and fifteen rams, with the addition of a kid of the goats, as an expiation for sins; and on the following days the same number of lambs and of rams, with the kids of the goats; but abating one of the bulls every day till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work was laid aside, and then, as we said before, they sacrificed to God a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, with a kid of the goats, for an expiation of sins. And this is the accustomed solemnity of the Hebrews when they pitch their tabernacles.

5. In the month Xanthicus, which is by us called Nisan, and is the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries (for on this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians,) the law ordained, that we should every year slay that sacrifice which I before told you we slew when we came out of Egypt, and which was called the *Passover;* and so do we celebrate this passover in companies, leaving nothing of what we sacrifice till the day following. The feast of unleavened bread succeeds that of the passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days, wherein they feed on unleavened bread; on every one of which days two bulls are killed, and one ram, and seven lambs. Now these lambs are entirely burned, besides the kid of the goats, which is added to all the rest, for sins; for it is intended as a feast for the priest on every one of those days. But on the second day of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month, they first partake of the fruits of the earth, for before that day they do not touch them. And while they suppose it proper to honour God, from whom they obtain this plentiful provision in the first place, they offer the first fruits of their barley, and that in the manner following: They take a handful of the ears, and dry them, then beat them small, and purge the barley from the bran, they then bring one tenth deal to the altar, to God; and casting one handful of it upon the fire, they leave the rest for the use of the priests. And after this it is that they may publicly or privately reap their harvest. They also, at this participation of the first fruits of the earth, sacrifice a lamb, as a burnt-offering to God.

6. When a week of weeks has passed over after this sacrifice (which week contains forty and nine days,) on the fiftieth day, which is Pentecost, but is called by the Hebrews *Asartha*, which signifies *Pentecost*, they bring to God a loaf, made of wheat flour, of two tenth deals, with leaven; and for sacrifices they bring two lambs; and when they have only presented them to God, they are made ready to supper for the priests; nor is it permitted to leave any thing of them till the day following. They also slay three bullocks for a burnt-offering, and two rams; and fourteen lambs, with two kids of the goats for sins; nor is there any one of the festivals but in it they offer burnt-offerings; they also allow themselves to rest on every one of them. Accordingly, the law prescribes in them all, what kinds they are to sacrifice, and how they are to rest entirely, and must slay sacrifices in order to feast upon them.

7. However, out of the common charges, baked bread [was set on the table of shewbread,] without leaven, of twenty-four tenth deals of flour, for so much is spent upon this bread; two heaps of these were baked; they were baked the day before the Sabbath, but were brought into the holy place on the morning of the Sabbath, and set upon the holy table, six on a heap, one loaf still standing over against another; where two golden cups full of frankincense were also set upon them, and there they remained till another Sabbath, and then other loaves were brought in their stead, while the loaves were given to the priests for their

food, and the frankincense was burned in that sacred fire wherein all their offerings were burned also; and so other frankincense was set upon the loaves instead of what was there before. The [high] priest also, of his own charges offered a sacrifice, and that twice every day. It was made of flour mingled with oil, and gently baked by the fire; the quantity was one tenth deal of flour; he brought the half of it to the fire in the morning, and the other half at night. The account of these sacrifices I shall give more accurately hereafter; but I think I have premised what for the present may be sufficient concerning them.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Purifications.

§ 1. Moses took out the tribe of Levi from communicating with the rest of the people, and set them apart to be a holy tribe; and purified them by water, taken from perpetual springs, and with such sacrifices as were usually offered to God on the like occasions. He delivered to them also the tabernacle, and the sacred vessels, and the other curtains which were made for covering the tabernacle, that they might minister under the conduct of the priests, who had been already consecrated to God.

2. He also determined concerning animals, which of them might be used for food, and which they were obliged to abstain from; which matters, when this work shall give me occasion, shall be farther explained; and the causes shall be added, by which he was moved to allot some of them to be our food, and enjoined us to abstain from others. However, he entirely forbade us the use of blood for food, and esteemed it to contain the soul and spirit. He also forbade us to eat the flesh of an animal that died of itself, as also the caul, and the fat of goats and sheep, and bulls.

3. He also ordered that those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy, and that had a gonorrhœa, should not come into the city;* nay, he removed the women, when they had their natural purgations, till the seventh day; after which he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again. The law permits those also who have taken care of funerals to come in after the same manner, when this number of days is over; but if any continued longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law appointed the offering two lambs for a sacrifice; the one of which they are to purge by the fire, and for the other, the priests take it for themselves. In the same manner do those sacrifice who have had the gonorrhœa. But he that sheds his seed in his sleep, if he goes down in cold water, he has the same privilege with those that have lawfully accompanied with their wives. And for the lepers, he suffered them not to come into the city at all, nor to live with any others, as if they were in effect dead persons; but if any one had obtained, by prayer to God, the recovery from that distemper, and had gained a healthful complexion again, such a one returned thanks to God, with several sorts of sacrifices; concerning which we will speak hereafter.

4. Whence one cannot but smile at those who say, that Moses was himself afflicted with the leprosy when he fled out of Egypt, and that he became the conductor of those who on that account left that country, and led them into the land of Canaan; for had this been true, Moses would not have made these laws to his own dishonour, which indeed it was more likely he would have opposed, if others had endeavoured to introduce them; and this the rather, because there are lepers

* We may here note, that Josephus frequently calls the camp the *city*, and the court of the Mosaic tabernacle a *temple*, and the tabernacle itself a *holy house*, with allusion to the latter city, temple, and holy house, which he knew so well long afterwards.

in many nations, who are yet in honour, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been entrusted with high offices in the commonwealth; and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples; so that nothing hindered, but if either Moses himself, or the multitude that was with him, had been liable to such a misfortune, in the colour of his skin, he might have made laws about them for their credit and advantage, and have laid no manner of difficulty upon them. Accordingly it is a plain case that it is out of violent prejudice only that they report these things about us. But Moses was pure from any such distemper, and lived with countrymen who were pure of it also, and thence made the laws which concerned others that had the distemper. He did this for the honour of God. But as to these matters, let every one consider them after what manner he pleases.

5. As to the women, when they have born a child, Moses forbade them to come into the temple, or touch the sacrifices, before forty days were over, supposing it to be a boy; but if she hath born a girl, the law is, that she cannot be admitted before twice that number of days be over. And when after the beforementioned time appointed for them, they perform their sacrifices, the priests distribute them before God.

6. But if any one suspect that his wife has been guilty of adultery, he was to bring a tenth deal of barley flour; they then cast one handful to God, and gave the rest of it to the priests for food. One of the priests set the woman at the gates that are turned towards the temple, and took the veil from her head, and wrote the name of God in parchment, and enjoined her to swear that she had not at all injured her husband; and to wish, that if she had violated her chastity, her right thigh might be put out of joint; that her belly might swell, and that she might die thus; but that if her husband, by the violence of his affection, and of the jealousy which arose from it, had been rashly moved to this suspicion, that she might bear a male child on the tenth month. Now when these oaths were over, the priest wiped the name of God out of the parchment, and wrung the water into a vial. He also took some dust out of the temple, if any happened to be there, and put a little of it into the vial, and gave it her to drink; whereupon the woman, if she were unjustly accused, conceived with child, and brought it to perfection in her womb. But if she had broken her faith of wedlock to her husband, and had sworn falsely before God, she died in a reproachful manner; her thigh fell off from her, and her belly swelled with a dropsy. And these are the ceremonies about sacrifices, and about the purifications thereto belonging, which Moses provided for his countrymen. He also prescribed the following laws to them.

CHAP. XII.

Several Laws.

§ 1. As for adultery, Moses forbade it entirely, as esteeming it a happy thing that men should be wise in the affairs of wedlock; and that it was profitable both to cities and families, that children should be known to be genuine. He also abhorred men's lying with their mothers, as one of the greatest crimes; and the like for lying with the father's wife, and with aunts and sisters and sons' wives, as all instances of abominable wickedness. He also forbade a man to lie with his wife when she was defiled by her natural purgation; and not to come near brute beasts, nor to approve of the lying with a male, which was to hunt after unlawful pleasures on account of beauty. To those who were guilty of such insolent behaviour, he ordained death for their punishment.

2. As for the priests, he prescribed to them a double degree of purity;* for

* These words of Josephus's are remarkable, that the lawgiver of the Jews required of the priests a

he restrained them in the instances above, and moreover forbade them to marry harlots. He also forbade them to marry a slave, or a captive, and such as got their living by cheating trades, and by keeping inns; as also a woman parted from her husband on any account whatsoever. Nay, he did not think it proper for the high priest to marry even the widow of one that was dead, though he allowed that to the priests, but he permitted him only to marry a virgin, and to retain her. Whence it is that the high priest is not to come near to one that is dead, although the rest are not prohibited from coming near to their brethren, or parents, or children, when they are dead; but they are to be unblemished in all respects. He ordered that the priest who had any blemish should have his portion indeed among the priests, but he forbade them to ascend the altar, or to enter into the holy house. He also enjoined them, not only to observe purity in their sacred ministrations, but in their daily conversation, that it might be unblameable also. And on this account it is, that those who wear the sacerdotal garments are without spot, and eminent for their purity and sobriety; nor are they permitted to drink wine so long as they wear those garments.* Moreover, they offer sacrifices that are entire, and have no defect whatsoever.

3. And truly Moses gave them all these precepts, being such as were observed during his own lifetime. But though he lived now in the wilderness, yet did he make provision how they might observe the same laws when they should have taken the land of Canaan. He gave them rest to the land for ploughing and planting every seventh year, as he had prescribed to them to rest from working every seventh day: and ordered, that then what grew of its own accord out of the earth should in common belong to all that pleased to use it, making no distinction in that respect between their own countrymen and foreigners; and he ordained that they should do the same after seven times seven years, which in all are fifty years; and the fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews the *Jubilee*, wherein debtors are freed from their debts, and slaves are set at liberty; which slaves became such, though they were of the same stock, by transgressing some of those laws whose punishment was not capital, but they were punished by this method of slavery. This year also restores the land to its former possessors in the manner following. When the Jubilee is come, which name denotes *liberty*, he that sold the land, and he that bought it, meet together, and make an estimate on one hand, of the fruits gathered, and on the other hand, of the expenses laid out upon it. If the fruits gathered come to more than the expenses laid out, he that sold it takes the land again; but if the expenses prove more than the fruits, the present possessor receives of the former owner the difference that was wanting, and leaves the land to him; and if the fruits received and the expenses laid out prove equal to one another, the present possessor relinquishes it to the former owners. Moses would have the same law obtain as to those houses also which were sold in villages; but he made a different law for such as were sold in a city; for if he that sold it tendered the purchaser his money again within a year, he was forced to restore it; but in case a whole year had intervened, the purchaser was to enjoy what he had bought. This was the constitution of the laws of Moses learned of God, when the camp lay under Mount Sinai; and this he delivered in writing to the Hebrews.

4. Now when this settlement of laws seemed to be well over, Moses thought fit at length to take a review of the host as thinking it proper to settle the affairs of war. So he charged the heads of the tribes, excepting the tribe of Levi, to take an exact account of the number of those that were able to go to war; for as to the Levites they were holy, and free from all such burdens. Now when the

double degree of purity, in comparison of that required of the *people*; of which he gives several instances immediately. It was for certain the case also among the first Christians, of the *clergy*, in comparison of the *laity*, as the Apostolic Constitutions and Canaans every where inform us.

* We must bear note with Reland, that the precepts given to the priests of not drinking wine while they wore the sacred garments, is equivalent to their abstinence from it all the while they ministered in the temple, because they then always, and then only, wore those garments, which were laid up there from one time of ministration to another.

people had been numbered, there were found six hundred thousand that were able to go to war from twenty to fifty years of age, besides three thousand six hundred and fifty. Instead of Levi, Moses took Manasseh, the son of Joseph, among the heads of tribes; and Ephraim instead of Joseph. It was, indeed, the desire of Jacob himself to Joseph, that he would give him his sons to be hisown by adoption, as I have before related.

5. When they set up the tabernacle, they received it into the midst of their camp, three of the tribes pitching their tents on each side of it, and roads were cut through the midst of these tents. It was like a well appointed market; and every thing was there ready for sale in due order; and all sorts of artificers were in the shops; and it resembled nothing so much as a city that sometimes was movable, and sometimes fixed. The priests had the first places about the tabernacle; then the Levites, who, because their whole multitude was reckoned from thirty days old, were twenty three thousand eight hundred and eighty males. And during the time that the cloud stood over the tabernacle, they thought proper to stay in the same place, as supposing that God there inhabited among them; but when that removed, they journeyed also.

6. Moreover Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description is this: in length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with so much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth; it ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets. Its sound was called in the Hebrew tongue *Asosra*. Two of these being made, one of them was sounded when they required the multitude to come together to congregations. When the first of them gave a signal, the heads of the tribes were to assemble, and consult about the affairs to them properly belonging; but when they gave the signal by both of them, they called the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, it was done in this solemn order: at the first alarm of the trumpet those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared to remove; when the second signal was given, those that were on the south quarter did the like; in the next place, the tabernacle was taken to pieces, and was carried in the midst of six tribes that went before and of six that followed, all the Levites assisting about the tabernacle; when the third signal was given, that part which had their tents towards the west put themselves into motion; and at the fourth signal, those on the north did so likewise. They also made use of these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar, as well on the Sabbaths as on the rest of the [festival] days. And now it was that Moses offered that sacrifice which was called the *Passover* in the wilderness as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.

CHAP. XIII.

How Moses removed from Mount Sinai, and conducted the People to the borders of the Canaanites.

§ 1. A LITTLE while afterwards he rose up, and went from Mount Sinai; and having passed through several mansions, of which we will speak anon, he came to a place called *Huzeroth*, where the multitude began again to be mutinous, and to blame Moses for the misfortunes they had suffered in their travels; and that when he had persuaded them to leave a good land, they at once had lost that land; and instead of that happy state he had promised them, they were still wandering in their present miserable condition, being already in want of water, and if the manna should happen to fail, they must then utterly perish. Yet while they generally spake many and sore things against the man, there was one of

them who exhorted them not to be unmindful of Moses, and of what great pains he had been at about their safety; and not to despair of assistance from God. The multitude thereupon became still more unruly, and more mutinous against Moses than before. Hereupon Moses, although he was so basely abused by them, encouraged them in their despairing condition, and promised that he would procure them a great quantity of flesh meat, and that not for a few days only, but for many days. This they were not willing to believe; and when one of them asked whence he could obtain such vast plenty of what he promised? he replied, "Neither God, nor I, although we hear such opprobrious words from you, will leave off our labours for you; and this shall soon appear also." As soon as ever he had said this, the whole camp was filled with quails, and they stood round about them, and gathered them in great numbers. However, it was not long ere God punished the Hebrews for their insolence, and those reproaches they had used towards him; for no small number of them died. And still to this day the place retains the memory of this destruction, and is named *Kibroth-hattaavah*, which is, *the graves of lust.*

CHAP. XIV.

How Moses sent some Persons to search out the Land of the Canaanites, and the Largeness of their Cities: and further, that when those who were sent were returned, after Forty Days, and reported that they should not be a Match for them, and extolled the Strength of the Canaanites, the Multitude were disturbed, and fell into Despair; and were resolved to stone Moses, and to return back again into Egypt, and serve the Egyptians.

§ 1. When Moses had led the Hebrews away from thence to a place called Paran, which was near to the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to be continued in, he gathered the multitude together to a congregation; and standing in the midst of them, he said, "Of the two things that God determined to bestow upon us, liberty, and the possession of a happy country, the one of them ye already are partakers of, by the gift of God, and the other you will quickly obtain: for we now have our abode near the borders of the Canaanites, and nothing can hinder the acquisition of it, when we now at last are fallen upon it; I say, not only no king nor city, but neither the whole race of mankind, if they were all gathered together, could do it. Let us therefore prepare ourselves for the work; for the Canaanites will not resign up their land to us without fighting, but it must be wrested from them by great struggles in war. Let us then send spies, who may take a view of the goodness of the land, and what strength it is of. But above all things, let us be of one mind, and let us honour God, who above all is our helper and assister."

2. When Moses had said thus, the multitude requited him with marks of respect; and chose twelve spies of the most eminent men, one out of each tribe, who passing over all the land of Canaan, from the borders of Egypt, came to the city Hamath, and to Mount Lebanon; and having learned the nature of the land and of its inhabitants, they came home, having spent forty days in the whole work. They also brought with them of the fruits which the land bare; they also showed them the excellency of those fruits, and gave an account of the great quantity of the good things that land afforded, which were motives to the multitude to go to war. But then they terrified them again with the great difficulty there was in obtaining it; that the rivers were so large and deep that they could not be passed over; and that the hills were so high that they could not travel along for them; that the cities were strong with walls, and their firm fortifications round about them. They told them also, that they found at Hebron the posterity

of the giants. Accordingly, these spies, who had seen the land of Canaan, when they perceived that all these difficulties were greater than they had met with since they came out of Egypt, they were affrighted at them themselves, and endeavoured to affright the multitude also.

3. So they supposed, from what they had heard, that it was impossible to get the possession of the country. And when the congregation was dissolved, they, their wives, and children, continued their lamentation, as if God would not indeed assist them, but only promised them fair. They also again blamed Moses, and made a clamour against him, and his brother Aaron the high priest. Accordingly they passed that night very ill, and with contumelious language against them; but in the morning they ran to a congregation, intending to stone Moses and Aaron, and so return into Egypt.

4. But of the spies there were Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, that were afraid of the consequence, and came into the midst of them, and stilled the multitude, and desired them to be of good courage; and neither to condemn God, as having told them lies, neither to hearken to those who had affrighted them, by telling them what was not true concerning the Canaanites, but to those that encouraged them to hope for good success; and that they should gain possession of the happiness promised them, because neither the height of mountains nor the depth of rivers could hinder men of true courage from attempting them, especially while God would take care of them beforehand, and be assistant to them. Let us then go, said they, against our enemies, and have no suspicion of ill success, trusting in God to conduct us, and following those that are to be our leaders. Thus did these two exhort them, and endeavour to pacify the rage they were in. But Moses and Aaron fell on the ground, and besought God, not for their own deliverance, but that he would put a stop to what the people were unwarily doing, and would bring their minds to a quiet temper which were now disordered by their present passion. The cloud also did now appear, and stood over the tabernacle, and declared to them the presence of God to be there.

CHAP. XV.

How Moses was displeased at this; and foretold that God was angry, and that they should continue in the Wilderness for Forty Years, and not [*during that Time*] *either return into Egypt, or take Possession of Canaan.*

§ 1. Moses came now boldly to the multitude, and informed them that God was moved at their abuse of him, and would inflict punishment upon them, not indeed such as they deserved for their sins, but such as parents inflict on their children, in order to their correction: For, he said, that when he was in the tabernacle, and was bewailing with tears that destruction which was coming upon them, God put him in mind what things he had done for them, and what benefits they had received from him, and yet how ungrateful they had been to him; that just now they had been induced by the timorousness of the spies to think that their words were truer than his own promise to them; and that on this account, though he would not indeed destroy them all, nor utterly exterminate their nation, which he had honoured more than any other part of mankind, yet he would not permit them to take possession of the land of Canaan, nor enjoy its happiness, but would make them wander in the wilderness, and live without a fixed habitation, and without a city, for forty years together, as a punishment for this their transgression; but that he hath promised to give that land to our children, and that he would make them the possessors of those good things which, by your ungoverned passions, you have deprived yourselves of.

2. When Moses had discoursed thus to them, according to the direction of God, the multitude grieved, and were in affliction; and entreated Moses to procure their reconciliation to God, and to permit them no longer to wander in the wilderness, but to bestow cities upon them. But he replied, that God would not admit of any such trial; for that God was not moved to this determination from any human levity or anger, but that he had judiciously condemned them to that punishment. Now we are not to disbelieve that Moses, who was but a single person, pacified so many ten thousands when they were in anger, and converted them to a mildness of temper; for God was with him, and prepared the way to his persuasions of the multitude; and as they had often been disobedient, they were now sensible that such disobedience was disadvantageous to them, and that they had still thereby fallen into calamities.

3. But this man was admirable for his virtue, and powerful in making men give credit to what he delivered, not only during the time of his natural life, but even there is still no one of the Hebrews, who does not act even now, as if Moses were present, and ready to punish him, if he should do any thing that is indecent; nay, there is no one but is obedient to what laws he ordained, although they might be concealed in their transgressions. There are also many other demonstrations that his power was more than human, for still some there have been who have come from the parts beyond Euphrates, a journey of four months, through many dangers, and at great expenses, in honour of our temple: and yet, when they had offered their oblations, could not partake of their own sacrifices, because Moses had forbidden it, by somewhat in the law that did not permit them, or somewhat that had befallen them, which our ancient customs made inconsistent therewith; some of these did not sacrifice at all, and others left their sacrifices in an imperfect condition; nay, many were not able even at first so much as to enter into the temple, but went their ways in this state, as preferring a submission to the laws of Moses before the fulfilling of their own inclinations, even when they had no fear upon them that any body could convict them, but only out of reverence to their own conscience. Thus this legislation, which appeared to be divine, made this man to be esteemed as one superior to his own human nature. Nay, farther, a little before the beginning of this war, when Claudius was emperor of the Romans, and Ismael was our high priest, and when so great a famine* was come upon us that one tenth deal [of wheat] was sold for four drachmæ, and when no less than seventy cori of flour was brought into the temple at the feast of unleavened bread (these cori are thirty-one Sicilian, but forty-one Athenian medimni,) not one of the priests was so hardy as to eat one crumb of it, even while so great a distress was on the land; and this out of a dread of the law and of that wrath which God retains against acts of wickedness, even when no one can accuse the actors. Whence we are not to wonder at what was then done, while to this very day the writings left by Moses have so great a force, that even those that hate us do confess, that he who established this settlement was God, and that it was by the means of Moses and of his virtue: but as to these matters, let every one take them as he thinks fit.

* This great famine, in the days of Claudius, is again mentioned in Antiq. B. xx. chap. ii. sect. 6, and Acts, xi. 28.

BOOK IV

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS.

FROM THE REJECTION OF THAT GENERATION TO THE DEATH OF MOSES

CHAP. I.

The Fight of the Hebrews with the Canaanites without the Consent of Moses, and their Defeat.

§ 1. Now this life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, and they were so uneasy at it, that although God had forbidden them to meddle with the Canaanites, yet could they not be persuaded to be obedient to the words of Moses, and to be quiet: but supposing they should be able to beat their enemies, even without his approbation, they accused him, and suspected that he made it his business to keep them in a distressed condition, that they might always stand in need of his assistance. Accordingly, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, and said, that God gave them his assistance, not out of regard to Moses's intercessions, but because he took care of their entire nation, on account of their forefathers, whose affairs he took under his own conduct; as also, that it was on account of their own virtue that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would be assisting to them, now they were willing to take pains for it. They also said, that they were of themselves of abilities sufficient for the conquest of their enemies, although Moses should have a mind to alienate God from them: that however it was for their advantage to be their own masters, and not so far to rejoice in their deliverance from the indignities they endured under the Egyptians, as to bear the tyranny of Moses over them, and to suffer themselves to be deluded, and live according to his pleasure, as though God did only foretell what concerns us out of his kindness to him, as if they were not all the posterity of Abraham, that God made him alone the author of all the knowledge we have, and we must still learn it from him: That it would be a piece of prudence to oppose his arrogant pretences, and to put their confidence in God, and to resolve to take possession of that land which he had promised them, and not to give ear to him, who, on this account, and under the pretence of divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering therefore the distressed state they were in at present, and that in those desert places they were still to expect things would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, as submitting only to God, their supreme commander, and not waiting for any assistance from their legislator.

2. When therefore they had come to this resolution, as being best for them, they went against their enemies; but those enemies were not dismayed either at the attack itself, or at the great multitude that made it, and received them with great courage. Many of the Hebrews were slain; and the remainder of the army, upon the disorder of their troops, were pursued, and fled, after a shameful manner, to their camp. Whereupon this unexpected misfortune made them quite despond; and they hoped for nothing that was good; as gathering from it,

that this affliction came from the wrath of God, because they rashly went out to war without his approbation.

3. But when Moses saw how deeply they were affected with this defeat, and being afraid lest the enemies should grow insolent upon this victory, and should be desirous of gaining still greater glory, and should attack them, resolved that it was proper to withdraw the army into the wilderness to a farther distance from the Canaanites; so the multitude gave themselves up again to his conduct, for they were sensible, that without his care for them their affairs could not be in a good condition; and he caused the host to remove, and he went farther into the wilderness, as intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should afford them a more favourable opportunity.

CHAP. II.

The Sedition of Corah, and of the Multitude, against Moses, and against his Brother concerning the Priesthood.

§ 1. THAT which is usually the case of great armies, and especially upon ill success, to be hard to be pleased and governed with difficulty, did now befall the Jews, for they being in number six hundred thousand, and by reason of their great multitude not readily subject to their governors, even in prosperity, they at this time were more than usually angry, both against one another and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the calamities they then endured. Such a sedition overtook them, as we have not the like example either among the Greeks or the Barbarians, by which they were in danger of being all destroyed, but were notwithstanding saved by Moses, who would not remember that he had been almost stoned to death by them. Nor did God neglect to prevent their ruin, but notwithstanding the indignities they had offered their legislator and the laws, and their disobedience to the commandments which he had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities, which, without his providential care, had been brought upon them by this sedition. So I will first explain the cause whence this sedition arose, and then will give an account of the sedition itself; as also of what settlements Moses made for their government, after it was over.

2. Corah, a Hebrew of principal account, both by his family and by his wealth, one that was also able to speak well, and one that could easily persuade the people by his speeches, saw that Moses was in an exceeding great dignity, and was uneasy at it, and envied him on that account, (he was of the same tribe with Moses, and of kin to him,) was particularly grieved, because he thought he better deserved that honourable post on account of his great riches, and not inferior to him in his birth. So he raised a clamour against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and especially among his kindred, saying, "That it was a very sad thing that they should overlook Moses, while he hunted after and paved the way to glory for himself, and by ill arts should obtain it, under the pretence of God's command, while contrary to the laws he had given the priesthood to Aaron, not by the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own vote, as bestowing dignities in a tyrannical way on whom he pleased. He added, that this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne than if it had been done by an open force upon them, because he did now not only take away their power without their consent, but even while they were unapprised of his contrivances against them; for whosoever is conscious to himself that he deserves any dignity aims to get it by persuasion, and not by an arrogant method of violence; but those that believe it impossible to obtain those honours justly, they

make a show of goodness, and do not introduce force, but by cunning tricks grow wickedly powerful: That it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they think themselves concealed in their designs, and not suffer them to gain strength, till they have them for their open enemies. For what account, added he, is Moses able to give why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron and his sons? for if God had determined to bestow that honour on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more worthy of it than he is, I myself being equal to Moses by my family, and superior to him both in riches and in age: but if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest tribe, that of Rubel might have it most justly; and then Dathan and Abiram, and [On the son of] Peleth, would have it, for these are the oldest men of that tribe, and potent on account of their great wealth also."

3. Now Corah, when he said this, had a mind to appear to take care of the public welfare, but in reality he was endeavouring to procure to have that dignity transferred by the multitude to himself. Thus did he, out of a malignant design, but with plausible words, discourse to those of his own tribe; and when these words did gradually spread to more of the people, and when the hearers still added to what tended to the scandals that were cast upon Aaron, the whole army was full of them. Now of those that conspired with Corah, there were two hundred and fifty, and those of the principal men also, who were eager to have the priesthood taken away from Moses's brother, and to bring him into disgrace: nay, the multitude themselves were provoked to be seditious, and attempted to stone Moses; and gathered themselves together after an indecent manner, with confusion and disorder. And now they all were, in a tumultuous manner, raising a clamour before the tabernacle of God, to prosecute the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from their slavery under him, who, under colour of the divine commands, laid violent injunctions upon them; for that had it been God, who chose one that was to perform the office of a priest, he would have raised a worthy person to that dignity, and would not have produced such a one as was inferior to many others, nor have given him that office; and that in case he had judged it fit to bestow it on Aaron, he would have permitted it to the multitude to bestow it, and not to have left it to be bestowed by his own brother.

4. Now, although Moses had a great while ago foreseen this calumny of Corah's, and had seen that the people were irritated, yet was he not affrighted at it; but being of good courage, because he had given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had been made partaker of the priesthood at the command of God, and not by his own favour to him, he came to the assembly; and, as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as loud to Corah as he could; and being very skilful in making speeches, and having this natural talent among others, that he could greatly move the multitude with his discourses, he said, "O Corah, both thou, and all these with thee (pointing to the two hundred and fifty men,) seem to be worthy of this honour: nor do I pretend but that this whole company may be worthy of the like dignity, although they may not be so rich or so great as you are: nor have I taken and given this office to my brother, because he excelled others in riches, for thou exceedest us both in the greatness of thy wealth;* nor indeed because he was of an eminent family; for God, by giving us the same common ancestor, has made our families equal: nay, nor was it out of brotherly affection, which another might yet have justly done; for certainly, unless I had bestowed this honour out of regard to God and to his laws, I had not passed by myself, and given it to another, as being nearer of kin to myself than to my brother, and having a closer intimacy with myself than I have with him; for surely it would not be a wise thing for me, to expose myself to the dangers of offending, and to bestow the happy employment on this account upon another. But I am above such base

* Reland here takes notice, that although our Bibles say little or nothing of these riches of Corah, yet that both the Jews and Mahommedans, as well as Josephus, are full of it.

practices: nor would God have overlooked this matter, and seem himself thus despised, nor would he have suffered you to be ignorant of what you were to do, in order to please him; but he hath himself chosen one that is to perform that sacred office to him, and thereby freed us from that care. So that it was not a thing that I pretend to give, but only according to the determination of God; I therefore propose it still to be contended for by such as please to put in for it, only desiring, that he who has been already preferred, and has already obtained it, may be allowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He prefers your peace and your living without sedition, to this honourable employment, although in truth it was with your approbation that he obtained it; for though God were the donor, yet do we not offend when we think fit to accept it with your good will; yet would it have been an instance of impiety not to have taken that honourable employment when he offered it; nay, it had been exceeding unreasonable, when God had thought fit any one should have it for all time to come, and had made it secure and firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself will judge again who it shall be whom he would have to offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direction of matters of religion; for it is absurd that Corah, who is ambitious of this honour, should deprive God of the power of giving it to whom he pleases Put an end therefore to your sedition and disturbance on this account; and to-morrow morning do every one of you that desire the priesthood bring a censer from home, and come hither with incense and fire: and do thou, O Corah, leave the judgment to God, and await to see on which side he will give his determination upon this occasion; but do not thou make thyself greater than God. Do thou also come, that this contest about this honourable employment may receive determination. And I suppose we may admit Aaron, without offence, to offer himself to this scrutiny, since he is of the same lineage with thyself, and has done nothing in his priesthood that can be liable to exception. Come ye therefore together, and offer your incense in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he whose sacrifice God shall accept shall be ordained to the priesthood, and shall be clear of the present calumny on Aaron, as if I had granted him that favour because he was my brother."

CHAP. III.

How those that stirred up this Sedition were destroyed, according to the Will of God; and how Aaron, Moses's Brother, both he and his Posterity, retained the Priesthood.

§ 1. When Moses had said this, the multitude left off the turbulent behaviour they had indulged, and the suspicion they had of Moses, and commended what he said; for those proposals were good, and were so esteemed of the people. At that time therefore they dissolved the assembly. But on the next day they came to the congregation in order to be present at the sacrifice, and at the determination that was to be made between the candidates for the priesthood. Now this congregation proved a turbulent one, and the multitude were in great suspense in expectation of what was to be done; for some of them would have been pleased if Moses had been convicted of evil practices, but the wiser sort desired that they might be delivered from the present disorder and disturbance; for they were afraid, that if this sedition went on, the good order of their settlement would rather be destroyed; but the whole body of the people do naturally delight in clamours against their governors, and by changing their opinions upon the harangues of every speaker, disturb the public tranquillity. And now Moses sent messengers for Abiram and Dathan, and ordered them to come to the assembly, and wait there for the holy offices that were to be performed. But they

answered the messenger, that they would not obey his summons; nay would not overlook Moses's behaviour, who was growing too great for them by evil practices. Now when Moses heard of this their answer, he desired the heads of the people to follow him, and he went to the faction of Dathan, not thinking it any frightful thing at all to go to these insolent people; so they made no opposition, but went along with him. But Dathan and his associates, when they understood that Moses and the principal of the people were coming to them, they came out with their wives and children, and stood before their tents, and looked to see what Moses would do. They had also their servants about them to defend themselves, in case Moses should use force against them.

2. But he came near, and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude; and said, "O Lord of the creatures that are in the heaven, in the earth and in the sea; for thou art the most authentic witness to what I have done, that it has all been done by thy appointment, and that it was thou that affordest us assistance when we attempted any thing, and showedst mercy on the Hebrews in all their distresses; do thou come now, and hear all that I say; for no action nor thought escapes thy knowledge; so that thou wilt not disdain to speak what is true, for my vindication, without any regard to the ungrateful imputations of these men. As for what was done before I was born, thou knowest best, as not learning them by report, but seeing them, and being present with them when they were done; but for what has been done of late, and which these men, although they know them well enough, unjustly pretend to suspect, be thou my witness. When I lived a private quiet life, I left those good things, which by my own diligence, and by thy counsel, I enjoyed with Raguel, my father-in-law, and I gave myself up to this people, and underwent many miseries on their account. I also bore great labours at first, in order to obtain liberty for them, and now in order to their preservation; and have always showed myself ready to assist them in every distress of theirs. Now therefore, since I am suspected by those very men whose being is owing to my labours, come thou, as it is reasonable to hope thou wilt: thou, I say, who showedst me that fire at Mount Sinai, and madest me to hear its voice, and to see the several wonders which that place afforded me: thou who commandest me to go to Egypt, and declare thy will to this people: thou who disturbedst the happy estate of the Egyptians, and gavest us the opportunity of flying away from our slavery under them, and madest the dominion of Pharaoh inferior to my dominion: thou who didst make the sea dry land for us, when we knew not whither to go, and didst overwhelm the Egyptians with those destructive waves which had been divided for us: thou who didst bestow upon us the security of weapons when we were naked: thou who didst make the fountains that were corrupted to flow so as to be fit for drinking, and didst furnish us with water that came out of the rocks, when we were in the greatest want of it: thou who didst preserve our lives with [quails,] which was food from the sea, when the fruits of the ground failed us: thou who didst send us such food from heaven as had never been seen before: thou who didst suggest to us the knowledge of thy laws, and appoint us a form of government: come thou, I say, O Lord of the whole world, and that as such a judge and a witness to me as cannot be bribed, and show how I have never admitted of any gift against justice from any of the Hebrews; and have never condemned a poor man that ought to have been acquitted, on account of one that was rich; and have never attempted to hurt this commonwealth. I am now here present, and am suspected of a thing the remotest from my intentions, as if I had given the priesthood to Aaron, not at thy command, but out of my own favour to him, do thou at this time demonstrate, that all things are administered by thy providence, and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by thy will, and thereby attains its end: as also demonstrate, that thou takest care of those that have done good to the Hebrews; demonstrate this, I say, by the punishment of Abiram and Dathan, who condemn

thee as an insensible being, and one overcome by my contrivances. This will thou do by inflicting such an open punishment on these men, who so madly fly in the face of thy glory, as will take them out of the world, not in an ordinary manner, but so that it may appear they do not die after the manner of other men; let that ground on which they tread upon open about them, and consume them with their families and goods. This will be a demonstration of thy power to all men; and this method of their sufferings will be an instruction of wisdom for those that entertain profane sentiments of thee. By this means I shall be found a good servant, in the precepts thou hast given by me. But if the calumnies they have raised against me be true, mayst thou preserve these men from every evil accident, and bring all that destruction on me which I have imprecated upon them. And when thou hast inflicted punishment on those that have endeavoured to deal unjustly with this people, bestow upon them concord and peace. Save this multitude that follow thy commandments, and preserve them free from harm, and let them not partake of the punishment of those that have sinned; for thou knowest thyself, it is not just, that for the wickedness of those men, the whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment."

3. When Moses had said this, with tears in his eyes, the ground was moved on a sudden; and the agitation that set it in motion was like that which the wind produces in the waves of the sea. The people were all affrighted; and the ground that was about their tents sunk down, at the great noise, that terrible sound, and carried whatsoever was dear to the seditious into itself, who so entirely perished, that there was not the least appearance that any men had ever been seen there, the earth, that had opened itself about them, closing again, and becoming entire as it was before, insomuch that such as saw it afterward did not perceive that any such accident had happened to it. Thus did these men perish, and become a demonstration of the power of God. And truly, any one would lament them, not only on account of this calamity that befell them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also because their kindred were pleased with their sufferings; for they forgot the relation they bear to them, and at the sight of this sad accident approved of the judgment given against them; and because they looked upon the people about Dathan as pestilent men, they thought they perished as such, and did not grieve for them.

4. And now Moses called for those that contended about the priesthood, that trial might be made who should be priest, and that he whose sacrifice God was best pleased with might be ordained to that function. There attended two hundred and fifty men, who indeed were honoured by the people, not only on account of the power of their ancestors, but also on account of their own, in which they excelled the others: Aaron also, and Corah, came forth, and they all offered incense in those censers of theirs which they brought with them, before the tabernacle. Hereupon so great a fire shone out as no one ever saw in any that is made by the hand of man, neither in those eruptions out of the earth that are caused by subterraneous burnings, nor in such fires as arise of their own accord in the woods, when the agitation is caused by the trees rubbing one against another, but this fire was very bright and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; by whose eruption on them all the company, and Corah himself, were destroyed,* and this so entirely that their very bodies left no remains behind them. Aaron alone was preserved, and not at all hurt by the fire, because it was God that sent the fire to burn those only who ought to be burned. Hereupon Moses, after these men were destroyed, was desirous that the memory of this judgment might be delivered down to posterity and that future ages might be acquainted with it; and so he commanded Elea-

* It appears here, and from the Samaritan Pentateuch, and, in effect, from the Psalmist, as also from the Apostolical Constitutions, from Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, from Ignatius's epistle to the Magnesians, and from Eusebius, that Corah was not swallowed up with the Reubenites, but burned with the Levites of his own tribe. See Essay on the Old Testament, p. 64, 65

zar, the son of Aaron, to put their censers near the brazen altar, that they might be a memorial to posterity of what these men suffered for supposing that the power of God might be eluded. And thus Aaron was now no longer esteemed to have the priesthood by the favour of Moses, but by the public judgment of God: and thus he and his children peaceably enjoyed that honour afterwards.

CHAP. IV.

What happened to the Hebrews during Thirty-eight Years in the Wilderness.

§ 1. However, this sedition was so far from ceasing upon this destruction, that it grew much stronger and became more intolerable. And the occasion of its growing was of that nature as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time: for the men, believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came thus to pass not without God's favour to Moses; they therefore laid the blame upon him that God was so angry, and that this happened not so much because of the wickedness of those that were punished, as because Moses procured the punishment: and that these men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, only because they were zealous about the divine worship; as also that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people, by destroying so many men, and those the most excellent of them all, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly that nobody could any longer dispute it with him; for no one else, to be sure, could now put in for it, since he must have seen those that first did so to have miserably perished. Nay, besides this, the kindred of those that were destroyed made great entreaties to the multitude to abate the arrogance of Moses, because it would be safest for them so to do.

2. Now Moses, upon his hearing for a good while that the people were tumultuous, was afraid that they would attempt some other innovation, and that some great and sad calamity would be the consequence, he called the multitude to a congregation, and patiently heard what apology they made for themselves, without opposing them, and this lest he should imbitter the multitude: he only desired the heads of the tribes to bring their rods,* with the names of their tribes inscribed upon them, and that he should receive the priesthood in whose rod God should give a sign. This was agreed to. So the rest brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi on his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought out the rods, which were known from one another by those who brought them, they having distinctly noted them, as had the multitude also; and as to the rest, in the same form Moses had received them in that they saw them still, but they also saw buds and branches grown out of Aaron's rod, with ripe fruits upon them; they were almonds, the rod having been cut out of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before under some degree of hatred, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to admire the judgment of God concerning them; so that hereafter they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the priesthood peaceably. And thus God ordained him priest three several times; and he retained that honour without farther disturbance. And hereby this sedition of the Hebrews, which had been a great one and had lasted a great while, was at last composed.

3. And now Moses, because the tribe of Levi was made free from war and warlike expeditions, and was set apart for the divine worship, lest they should want and seek after the necessaries of life, and so neglect the temple, com-

* Concerning these twelve rods of the twelve tribes of Israel, see St. Clement's account, much larger than that in our Bibles, 1 Epist. § 45, as is Josephus's present account in some measure larger also.

manded the Hebrews, according to the will of God, that when they should gain the possession of the land of Canaan, they should assign forty-eight good and fair cities to the Levites; and permit them to enjoy their suburbs, as far as the limit of two thousand cubits would extend from the walls of the city. And, besides this, he appointed that the people should pay the tithe of their annual fruits of the earth, both to the Levites and to the priests. And this is what the tribe receives of the multitude; but I think it necessary to set down what is paid by all peculiarly to the priests.

4. Accordingly, he commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set apart for them the tenth part of the tithes which they every year receive of the people; as also, that it was but just to offer to God the first fruits of the entire product of the ground; and that they should offer the firstborn of those four-footed beasts that are appointed for sacrifices, if it be a male, to the priests, to be slain, that they and their entire families may eat them in the holy city; but that the owners of those firstborn which are not appointed for sacrifices in the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead; but for the firstborn of a man, five shekels: that they should also have the first fruits out of the shearing of the sheep; and that when any baked bread corn, and made loaves of it, they should give somewhat of what they had baked to them. Moreover, when any have made a sacred vow, I mean those that are called *Nazarites*, that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they consecrate their hair,* and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot that hair for the priests [to be thrown into the fire.] Such also as dedicate themselves to God, as a corban, which denotes what the Greeks call a *gift*, when they are desirous of being freed from that ministration, are to lay down money for the priests; thirty shekels if it be a woman, and fifty if it be a man; but if any be too poor to pay the appointed sum, it shall be lawful for the priests to determine that sum as they think fit. And if any slay beasts at home for a private festival, but not for a religious one, they are obliged to bring the maw, and the cheek [or breast,] and the right shoulder of the sacrifice, to the priests. With these Moses contrived that the priests should be plentifully maintained; besides what they had out of those offerings for sins, which the people gave them, as I have set it down in the foregoing book. He also ordered, that out of every thing allotted for the priests, their servants, [their sons,] their daughters, and their wives, should partake, as well as themselves, excepting what came to them out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins; for of those none but the males of the family of the priests might eat, and this in the temple also, and that the same day they were offered.

5. When Moses had made these constitutions, after the sedition was over, he removed, together, with the whole army, and came to the borders of Idumea. He then sent ambassadors to the king of the Idumeans, and desired him to give him a passage through his country, and agreed to send him what hostages he should desire, to secure him from any injury. He desired him also that he would allow his army liberty to buy provisions; and if he insisted upon it, he would pay down a price for the very water they should drink. But the king was not pleased with this embassage from Moses: nor did he allow a passage for the army, but brought his people armed to meet Moses, and to hinder them in case they should endeavour to force their passage. Upon which Moses consulted God by the oracle, who would not have him begin the war first; and so he withdrew his forces, and travelled round about through the wilderness.

6. Then it was that Miriam, the sister of Moses, came to her end, having completed her fortieth year† since she left Egypt, on the first day of the lunar

* Grotius, on Numb. vi. 18, takes notice, that the Greeks also, as well as the Jews, sometimes consecrated the hair of their heads to the gods.

† Josephus here uses this phrase, *when the fortieth year was completed*, for when it was begun; as does St. Luke, *when the day of Pentecost was completed*, Acts, ii. 1.

month* Xanthicus. They then made a public funeral for her, at a great expense. She was buried upon a certain mountain, which they call *Sin*; and when they had mourned for her thirty days, Moses purified the people after this manner.—He brought an heifer, that had never been used to the plough or to husbandry, that was complete in all its parts, and entirely of a red colour, at a little distance from the camp, into a place perfectly clean. This heifer was slain by the high priest, and her blood sprinkled with his finger, seven times before the tabernacle of God: after this entire heifer was burned in that state, together with its skin and entrails, and they threw cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet wool, into the midst of the fire; then a clean man gathered all her ashes together, and laid them in a place perfectly clean. When, therefore, any persons were defiled by a dead body, they put a little of these ashes into spring water, with hyssop, and dipping part of these ashes in it, they sprinkled them with it, both on the third day and on the seventh, and after that they were clean. This he enjoined them to do also when the tribes should come into their own land.

7. Now when this purification, which their leader made upon the mourning for his sister, as it has been now described, was over, he caused the army to remove and to march through the wilderness and through Arabia. And when he came to a place which the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called *Aree*, but has now the name of *Petra*, at this place, which was encompassed with high mountains, Aaron went up one of them, in the sight of the whole army, Moses having before told him that he was to die, for this place was over against them. He put off his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eleazar, his son, to whom the high priesthood belonged, because he was the elder brother, and died, while the multitude looked upon him. He died in the same year wherein he lost his sister, having lived in all a hundred twenty and three years. He died on the first day of that lunar month which is called by the Athenians *Hecatombæon*, by the Macedonians *Lous*, but by the Hebrews, *Abba*.

CHAP. V.

How Moses conquered Sihon and Og, Kings of the Amorites, and destroyed their whole Army, and then divided their Land by lot, to Two Tribes and a Half of the Hebrews.

§ 1. The people mourned for Aaron, thirty days; and when this mourning was over, Moses removed the army from that place, and came to the river Arnon, which issuing out of the mountains of Arabia, and running through all that wilderness, fell into the lake of Asphaltitis, and became the limit between the land of the Moabites and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruitful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of men with the good things it produces. Moses therefore sent messengers to Sihon, the king of this country, desiring that he would grant his army a passage, upon what security he should please to require; he promised that he should be no way injured, neither as to that country which Sihon governed, nor as to its inhabitants; and that he would buy his provisions at such a price as should be to their advantage, even though he should desire to sell them their very water. But Sihon refused his offer, and put his army into battle array, and was preparing every thing in order to hinder their passing over Arnon.

2. When Moses saw that the Amorite king was disposed to enter upon hos-

* Whether Miriam died, as Josephus's Greek copies imply, on the *first* day of the month may be doubted; because the Latin copies say it was the *tenth*, and so say the Jewish calendars also, as Dr. Bernard assures us. It is said her sepulchre is still extant near Petra, the old capital city of Arabia Petræa at this day; as also that of Aaron, not far off.

tilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult; and determining to wean the Hebrews from their indolent temper, and prevent the disorders which arose thence, which had been the occasion of their former sedition; (nor, indeed, were they now thoroughly easy in their minds,) he inquired of God whether he would give him leave to fight? which when he had done, and God also promised him the victory, he was himself very courageous, and ready to proceed to fighting. Accordingly he encouraged the soldiers, and he desired of them that they would take the pleasure of fighting, now God gave them leave so to do. They then, upon the receipt of this commission, which they so much longed for, put on their whole armour, and set about the work, without delay. But the Amorite king was not now like to himself when the Hebrews were ready to attack him; but both he himself was affrighted at the Hebrews, and his army, which before had showed themselves to be of good courage, were then found to be timorous; so that they could not sustain the first onset, nor bear up against the Hebrews, but fled away, as thinking this would afford them a more likely way for their escape than fighting; for they depended upon their cities, which were strong, from which yet they reaped no advantage when they were forced to fly to them; for as soon as the Hebrews saw them giving ground, they immediately pursued them close; and when they had broken their ranks they greatly terrified them, and some of them broke off from the rest, and ran away to the cities. Now the Hebrews pursued them briskly, and obstinately persevered in the labours they had already undergone; and being very skilful in slinging, and very dexterous in throwing of darts, or any thing else of that kind, and also having on nothing but light armour, which made them quick in the pursuit, they overtook their enemies; and for those that were most remote, and could not be overtaken, they reached them by their slings and their bows, so that many were slain; and those that escaped the slaughter were sorely wounded, and these were more distressed with thirst than with any of those that fought against them; for it was the summer season, and when the greatest number of them were brought down to the river, out of a desire to drink: as also, when others fled away by troops, the Hebrews came round them, and shot at them; so that, what with darts and what with arrows, they made a slaughter of them all. Sihon also their king was slain. So the Hebrews spoiled the dead bodies, and took their prey. The land also which they took was full of abundance of fruits, and the army went all over it without fear, and fed their cattle upon it, and they took the enemies prisoners; for they could no way make a stop to them, since all the fighting men were destroyed. Such was the destruction which overtook the Amorites, who were neither sagacious in counsel nor courageous in action. Hereupon the Hebrews took possession of their land, which is a country situate between three rivers, and naturally resembling an island, the river Arnon being its southern limit; the river Jabbok determining its northern side, which running into Jordan loses its own name, and takes the other, while Jordan itself runs along by it on its western coast.

3. When matters were come to this state, Og, the king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, fell upon the Israelites. He brought an army with him, and came in haste to the assistance of his friend Sihon. But though he found him already slain, yet did he resolve still to come and fight the Hebrews, supposing he should be too hard for them, and being desirous to try their valour; but, failing of his hope, he was both himself slain in the battle, and all his army was destroyed. So Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and overran the kingdom of Og. He overthrew their cities, and slew all their inhabitants, who yet exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the continent, on account of the goodness of the soil and the great quantity of his wealth. Now Og had very few equals, either in the largeness of his body, or handsomeness of his appearance. He was also a man of great activity in the use of his hands, so that his actions were not unequal to the vast largeness and handsome appearance of his body. And men could easily guess

at his strength and magnitude, when they took his bed at Rabbath, the royal city of the Ammonites; its structure was of iron, its breadth four cubits, and its length a cubit more than double thereto. However, his fall did not only improve the circumstances of the Hebrews for the present, but by his death he was the occasion of farther good success to them; for they presently took those sixty cities which were encompassed with excellent walls, and had been subject to him, and all got, both in general and in particular, a great prey.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Balaam, the Prophet, and what kind of Man he was.

§ 1. Now Moses, when he had brought his army to Jordan, pitched his camp in the great plain over against Jericho. This city is a very happy situation, and very fit for producing palm trees and balsam. And now the Israelites began to be very proud of themselves, and were very eager for fighting. Moses then, after he had offered for a few days sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and feasted the people, sent a party of armed men to lay waste the country of the Midianites, and to take their cities. Now the occasion which he took for making war upon them was this that follows.

2. When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who had from his ancestors a friendship and league with the Midianites, saw how great the Israelites were grown, he was much affrighted on account of his own and his kingdom's danger; for he was not acquainted with this, that the Hebrews would not meddle with any other country,* but were to be contented with the possession of the land of Canaan, God having forbidden them to go any farther. So he, with more haste than wisdom, resolved to make an attempt upon them by words; but he did not judge it prudent to fight against them, after they had had such prosperous successes, and even became out of ill successes more happy than before; but he thought to hinder them, if he could, from growing greater, and so he resolved to send ambassadors to the Midianites about them. Now these Midianites knowing there was one Balaam, who lived by Euphrates, and was the greatest of the prophets at that time, and one that was in friendship with them, sent some of their honourable princes along with the ambassadors of Balak, to entreat the prophet to come to them, that he might imprecate curses to the destruction of the Israelites. So Balaam received the ambassadors, and treated them very kindly; and when he had supped, he inquired what was God's will, and what this matter was for which the Midianites entreated him to come to them? But when God opposed his going, he came to the ambassadors, and told them, that he was himself very willing and desirous to comply with their request, but informed them, that God was opposite to his intentions, even that God who had raised him to great reputation on account of his predictions; for that this army, which they entreated him to come and curse, was in the favour of God; on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the Israelites: and when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassadors.

3. Now the Midianites, at the earnest instances and fervent entreaties of Balak, sent other ambassadors to Balaam, who desiring to gratify the men, inquired again of God; but he was displeased at this [second] trial,† and bid him by no

* What Josephus here remarks is well worth our remark in this place also, viz. that the Israelites were never to meddle with the Moabites or Ammonites, or any other people but those belonging to the land of Canaan and the countries of Sihon and Og beyond Jordan, as far as the desert and Euphrates; and that, therefore no other people had reason to fear the conquests of the Ismaelites; but that those countries, given them by God, were their proper and peculiar portion among the nations; and that all who endeavoured to dispossess them might ever be justly destroyed by them.

† Note, that Josephus never supposes Balaam to be an idolator, nor to seek idolatrous enchantment,

means to contradict the ambassadors. Now Balaam did not imagine that God gave this injunction in order to deceive him, so he went along with the ambassadors: but when the divine angel met him in the way, when he was in a narrow passage, and hedged in with a wall on both sides, the ass on which Balaam rode understood that it was a divine spirit that met him, and thrust Balaam to one of the walls, without regard to the stripes which Balaam, when he was hurt by the wall, gave her; but when the ass, upon the angel's continuing to distress her, and upon the stripes which were given her, fell down, by the will of God she made use of the voice of a man, and complained of Balaam, as acting unjustly to her; that whereas he had no fault to find with her, in her former service to him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, as not understanding that she was hindered from serving him in what he was now going about, by the providence of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the voice of the ass, which was that of a man, the angel plainly appeared to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given his ass; and informed him, that the brute creature was not in fault, but that he was himself come to obstruct his journey, as being contrary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was preparing to return back again, yet did God excite him to go on his intended way; but added this injunction, that he should declare nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

4. When God had given him this charge, he came to Balak; and when the king had entertained him in a magnificent manner, he desired him to go to one of the mountains to take a view of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself also came to the mountain, and brought the prophet along with him with a royal attendance. This mountain lay over their heads, and was distant sixty furlongs from the camp. Now when he saw them, he desired the king to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams; to which desire the king did presently conform. He then slew the sacrifices, and offered them as burnt-offerings, that he might observe some signal of the flight of the Hebrews. Then said he,—"Happy is this people on whom God bestows the possession of innumerable good things, and grants them his own providence to be their assistant and their guide! so that there is not any nation among mankind but you will be esteemed superior to them in virtue, and in the earnest prosecution of the best rules of life, and of such as are pure from wickedness, and will leave those rules to your excellent children, and this out of the regard that God bears to you, and the provision of such things for you as may render you happier than any other people under the sun. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you, and it shall be ever under the command of your children; and both all the earth, as well as the sea, shall be filled with their glory. And you shall be sufficiently numerous to supply the world in general, and every region of it in particular, with inhabitants out of your stock. However, O blessed army! wonder that you are become so many from one father! And truly, the land of Canaan can now hold you, as being yet comparatively few; but know ye that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation for ever. The multitude of your posterity also shall live as well in the islands, as on the continent; and that more in number than are the stars of heaven. And when you are become so many, God will not relinquish the care of you, but will afford you an abundance of all

or to prophecy falsely, but to be no other than an ill disposed prophet of the true God; and intimates that God's answer the second time, permitting him to go, was ironical, and on design that he should be deceived (which sort of deception, by way of punishment for former crimes, Josephus never scruples to admit, as ever esteeming such wicked men justly and providentially deceived.) But perhaps, we had better keep here close to the text, which says, Numb. xxiii. 20, 21, that God only permitted Balaam to *go along with* the ambassadors, in case *they came and called him*, or positively insisted on his going along with them, on any terms: whereas Balaam seems, out of impatience, to have *risen up in the morning, and saddled his ass*, and rather to have *called them*, than staid for their *calling him*; so zealous does he seem to have been for his *reward of divination*; his *wages of unrighteousness*; Numb. xxii. 7, 17, 18, 37; 2 Pet. ii. 15; Jude, 11; which reward or wages the truly religious prophets of God never required nor accepted, as our Josephus justly takes notice in the cases of Samuel, Antiq. B. v. ch. iv. §1, and Daniel, Antiq. B. x. ch. xi. §3. See also Gen. xiv. 22, 23; 2 Kings, v. 15, 16, 26, 27, and Acts, viii. 17—24.

good things in times of peace, with victory and dominion in times of war. May the children of your enemies have an inclination to fight against you, and may they be so hardy as to come to arms, and to assault you in battle! For they will not return with victory, nor will their return be agreeable to their children and wives. To so great a degree of valour will you be raised by the providence of God, who is able to diminish the affluence of some, and to supply the wants of others."

5. Thus did Balaam speak by inspiration, as not being in his own power, but moved to say what he did by the divine spirit. But when Balak was displeased, and said, he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he was to come, as he and his confederates had invited him, by the promise of great presents; for whereas he came to curse their enemies, he had made an encomium upon them, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Balaam replied, "O Balak, if thou rightly considerest this whole matter, canst thou suppose that it is in our power to be silent, or to say any thing when the Spirit of God seizes upon us? for he puts such words as he pleases in our mouths, and such discourses as we are not ourselves conscious of. I well remember by what entreaties both you and the Midianites so joyfully brought me hither, and on that account I took this journey. It was my prayer, that I might not put any affront on you, as to what you desired of me. But God is more powerful than the purposes I had made to see you. For those that take upon them to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their own abilities, are entirely unable to do it, or to forbear to utter what God suggests to them, or to offer violence to his will. For when he prevents us, and enters into us, nothing that we say is our own. I then did not intend to praise this army, nor to go over the several good things which God intended to do their race. But since he was so favourable to them, and so ready to bestow upon them a happy life and eternal glory, he suggested a declaration of those things to me. But now, because it is my desire to oblige thee thyself, as well as the Midianites, whose entreaties it is not decent for me to reject, to go to; let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did before; that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to bind these men with curses." Which, when Balak had agreed to, God would not even, upon second sacrifices, consent to his cursing the Israelites.* Then fell Balaam upon his face, and foretold what calamities would befall the several kings of the nations, and the most eminent cities, some of which of old were not so much as inhabited; which events have come to pass among the several people concerning both in the foregoing ages and in this, till my own memory, both by sea and by land. From which completion of all these predictions that he made, one may easily guess that the rest will have their completion in time to come.

6. But Balak being very angry that the Israelites were not cursed, sent away Balaam, without thinking him worthy of any honour. Whereupon, when he was just upon his journey, in order to pass the Euphrates, he sent for Balak and for the princes of the Midianites, and spake thus to them: "O Balak, and you Midianites that are here present: for I am obliged, even without the will of God, to gratify you. It is true, no entire destruction can seize upon the nation of the Hebrews, neither by war, nor by plague, nor by scarcity of the fruits of the earth; nor can any other unexpected accident be their entire ruin: for the providence of God is concerned to preserve them from such a misfortune, nor will it permit any such calamity to come upon them, whereby they may all perish. But some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may still befall them. But after that they will flourish again, to the terror of those that brought those mischiefs upon them. So that if you have a mind

* Whether Josephus had in his copy but two attempts of Balaam in all to curse Israel, or whether by this his *twice offering sacrifice*, he meant *twice* beside that first time already mentioned, which yet is not very probable, cannot now be certainly determined. In the meantime all other copies have *three* such attempts of Balaam to curse them in the present history.

to gain a victory over them for a short space of time, you will obtain it by following my directions. Do you therefore set out the handsomest of such of your daughters* as are most eminent for beauty, and proper to force and conquer the modesty of those that behold them, and these decked and trimmed to the highest degree you are able. Then do you send them to be near the Israelites' camp, and give them in charge, that when the young men of the Hebrews desire their company, they allow it them. And when they see that they are enamoured of them, let them take their leaves; and if they entreat them to stay, let them not give their consent, till they have persuaded them to leave off their obedience to their own laws, and the worship of that God who established them, and to worship the gods of the Midianites and Moabites; for by this means God will be angry at them."† Accordingly, when Balaam had suggested this counsel to them, he went his way.

7. So when the Midianites had sent their daughters as Balaam had exhorted them, the Hebrew young men were allured by their beauty, and came to discourse with them, and besought them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny them their conversation. These daughters of the Midianites received their words gladly; and consented to it, and stayed with them. But when they had brought them to be enamoured of them, and their inclinations to them were grown to ripeness, they began to think of departing from them. Then it was that these men became greatly disconsolate at the women's departure; and they were urgent with them not to leave them; but begged they would continue there, and become their wives, and they promised them they should be owned as mistresses of all they had. This they said with an oath, and called God for the arbitrator of what they promised; and this with tears in their eyes, and all other such marks of concern as might show how miserable they thought themselves without them; and so might move their compassion for them. So the women, as soon as they perceived they had made them their slaves, and had caught them with their conversation, began to speak thus to them.

8. "O you illustrious young men! we have houses of our own at home, and great plenty of good things there, together with the natural affectionate love of our parents and friends. Nor is it out of our want of any such things that we come to discourse with you; nor did we admit of your invitation with design to prostitute the beauty of our body for gain; but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, that we might treat you with such honours as hospitality required. And now seeing you say that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled when you think we are departing, we are not averse to your entreaties. And if we may receive such assurance of your good will as we think can be alone sufficient, we will be glad to lead our lives with you, as your wives; but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us, and send us back to our parents, after an ignominious manner." And they desired that they would excuse them in their guarding against that danger. But the young men professed they would give them any assurance they should desire; nor did they at all contradict what they requested, so great was the passion they had for them. "If then," said they, "this be your resolution, since you make use of such customs‡ and conduct of life as are entirely different

* Such a large distinct account of this perversion of the Israelites by the Midianite women, of which our other copies gives us but short intimations, Numb. xxxi. 16; 2 Pet. ii. 15; Jud. ver. 11. Apoc. ii 14, is preserved, as Reland informs us, in the Samaritan Chronicle, in Philo, and in other writings of the Jews, as well as here by Josephus.

† This grand maxim, that *God's people of Israel could never be hurt, nor destroyed, but by drawing them to sin against God*, appears to be true, by the entire history of that people, both in the Bible and in Josephus; and is often taken notice of in them both. See in particular a most remarkable Ammonite testimony to this purpose, Judith, v. 5—21.

‡ What Josephus here puts into the mouths of these Midianite women, who came to entice the Israelites to lewdness and idolatry, viz. that their worship of the God of Israel, in opposition to their idol gods, implied their living according to the holy laws which the true God had given them by Moses in opposition to those impure laws which were observed under their false gods, well deserves our considera

from all other men; insomuch that your kinds of food are peculiar to yourselves, and your kinds of drink not common to others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for your wives, that you do withal worship our gods. Nor can there be any other demonstration of the kindness which you say you already have, and promise to have hereafter to us, than this, that you worship the same gods that we do. For has any one reason to complain, that now you are come into this country, you should worship the proper gods of the same country? especially while our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to nobody else but yourselves." So they said they must either come into such methods of divine worship as all others came into, or else they must look out for another world, wherein they may live by themselves, according to their own laws.

9. Now the young men were induced by the fondness they had for these women, to think they spake very well. So they gave themselves up to what they persuaded them, and transgressed their own laws; and supposing there were many gods, and resolving that they would sacrifice to them according to the laws of that country which ordained them, they both were delighted with their strange food, and went on to do every thing that the women would have them do, though in contradiction to their own laws. So far, indeed, that this transgression was already gone through the whole army of the young men; and they fell into a sedition that was much worse than the former, and into danger of the entire abolition of their own institutions. For when once the youth had tasted of these strange customs, they went with insatiable inclinations into them; and even where some of the principal men were illustrious on account of the virtues of their fathers, they also were corrupted together with the rest.

10. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon, accompanied with Cosbi, a Midianitish woman, who was the daughter of Sur, a man of authority in that country; and being desired by his wife to disregard the laws of Moses, and to follow those she was used to, he complied with her; and this both by sacrificing after a manner different from his own, and by taking a stranger to wife. When things were thus, Moses was afraid that matters should grow worse, and called the people to a congregation, but then accused nobody by name, as unwilling to drive those into despair who, by lying concealed, might come to repentance; but he said, that "They did not do what was either worthy of themselves or of their fathers, by preferring pleasure to God, and to the living according to his will; that it was fit they should change their courses while their affairs were still in a good state, and think that to be true fortitude which offers not violence to their laws, but that which resists their lusts. And besides that, he said, it was not a reasonable thing, when they had lived soberly in the wilderness, to act madly now when they were in prosperity; and that they ought not to lose, now they have abundance, what they had gained when they had little." And so did he endeavour, by saying this, to correct the young men, and to bring them to repentance for what they had done.

11. But Zimri arose up after him, and said, "Yes, indeed, Moses, thou art at liberty to make use of such laws as thou art so fond of; and hast by accustoming thyself to them, made them firm. Otherwise, if things had not been thus, thou hadst often been punished before now, and hadst known that the Hebrews are not easily put upon. But thou shalt not have me one of thy followers in thy tyrannical commands; for thou dost nothing else hitherto but, under pretence of laws and of God, wickedly impose on us slavery, and gain dominion to thyself; while thou deprivest us of the sweetness of life, which consists in acting according to our own wills, and is the right of freemen and of those that have

tion, and gives us a substantial reason for the great concern that was ever showed, under the law of Moses, to preserve the Israelites from idolatry, and in the worship of the true God; it being of no less consequence than, whether God's people should be governed by the holy laws of the true God, or by the impure laws derived from demons, under the pagan idolatry.

no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this man is harder upon the Hebrews than were the Egyptians themselves; as pretending to punish according to his laws every one's acting what is most agreeable to himself. But thou thyself better deservest to suffer punishment, who presumest to abolish what every one acknowledges to be what is good for him: and aimest to make thy single opinion to have more force than that of all the rest: and what I now do, and think to be right, I shall not hereafter deny to be according to my own sentiments. I have married, as thou sayst rightly, a strange woman; and thou hearest what I do from myself, as from one that is free; for truly I did not intend to conceal myself. I also own that I sacrifice to those gods to whom you do not think it fit to sacrifice, and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not, like one that lives under tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man. Nor shall any one find cause to rejoice who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself."

12. Now when Zimri had said these things, about what he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their peace; both out of fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring his insolence before the public any farther, or openly to contend with him: for he avoided that, lest many should imitate the impudence of his language, and thereby disturb the multitude. Upon this the assembly was dissolved. However, the mischievous attempt had proceeded farther, if Zimri had not been first slain; which came to pass on the following occasion: Phineas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries in the dignity of his father (for he was the son of Eleazar the high-priest, and the grandson of [Aaron] Moses's brother,) who was greatly troubled at what was done by Zimri, he resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him before his unworthy behaviour should grow stronger by impunity, and in order to prevent this transgression from proceeding farther, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was of so great magnanimity both in strength of mind and body, that when he undertook any very dangerous attempt he did not leave it off till he overcame it, and got an entire victory. So he came into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin, and with it he slew Cosbi also. Upon which all those young men that had a regard to virtue, and aimed to do a glorious action, imitated Phineas's boldness, and slew those that were found to be guilty of the same crime with Zimri. Accordingly many of those that had transgressed perished by the magnanimous valour of these young men. The rest all perished by a plague, which distemper God himself inflicted upon them. So that all those their kindred, who instead of hindering them from such wicked actions, as they ought to have done, had persuaded them to go on, were esteemed by God as partners in their wickedness, and died. Accordingly there perished out of the army, no fewer than fourteen [twenty-four] thousand* at this time.

13. This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites, concerning which expedition we shall speak presently, when we have first related what we have omitted. For it is but just not to pass over our legislator's due encomium, on account of his conduct here, because, although this Balaam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curse the Hebrews, and when he was hindered from doing it by divine providence, did still suggest that advice to them, by making use of which our enemies had well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews with their wiles, till some of them were deeply infected with their opinions; yet did he do him great honour by setting down his prophecies in writing. And while it was in his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, there being no one that could

* The mistake in all Josephus's copies, Greek and Latin, which have here 14,000, instead of 24,000 is so flagrant that our very learned editors, Bernard and Hudson, have put the latter number directly to the text. I choose rather to put it in brackets.

be a witness against him, and accuse him for so doing, he still gave his attestation to him, and did him the honour to make mention of him on this account. But let every one think of these matters as he pleases.

CHAP. VII.

How the Hebrews fought with the Midianites, and overcame them.

§ 1. Now Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the causes foremen tioned; in all twelve thousand, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed Phineas for their commander. Of which Phineas we made mention a little before, as he that had guarded the laws of the Hebrews, and had inflicted punishment upon Zimri, when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites perceived beforehand how the Hebrews were coming, and would suddenly be upon them. So they assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited the enemy's coming. When they were come, and they had joined battle with them, an immense multitude of the Midianites fell; nor could they be numbered, they were so very many. And among them fell all their kings, five in number, Evi, and Zur, and Reba, and Hur, and Rekem, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is till now so called by the whole Arabian nation, *Arecem*, from the name of the king that built it, but is, by the Greeks, called *Petra*. Now when the enemies were discomfited, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took a great prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they let the virgins alone, as Moses had commanded Phineas to do; who, indeed, came back, bringing with him an army that had received no harm, and a great deal of prey. Fifty-two thousand beeves, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses; for they were so wealthy that they were very luxurious. There were also led captive about thirty-two thousand virgins*. So Moses parted the prey into parts, and gave one fiftieth part to Eleazar and the two priests, and another fiftieth part to the Levites; and distributed the rest of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, as having obtained an abundance of good things by their valour; and there being no misfortune that attended them, or hindered their enjoyment of that happiness.

2. But Moses was now grown old, and appointed Joshua for his successor, both to receive directions from God as a prophet, and for a commander of the army, if they should at any time stand in need of such a one; and this was done by the command of God, that to him the care of the public should be committed.

* The slaughter of all the Midianite women that had prostituted themselves to the lewd Israelites, and the preservation of those that had not been guilty therein, the last of which were no fewer than 32,000, both here and Num. xxxvi. 15, 16, 17, 35, 40, 46, and both by the particular command of God, are highly remarkable, and show, that even in nations otherwise for their wickedness doomed to destruction, the innocent were sometimes particularly and providently taken care of, and delivered from that destruction. Which directly implies, that it was the wickedness of the nations of Canaan, and nothing else, that occasioned their excision. See Gen. xv. 16; 1 Sam. xv. 18, 33; *Constitut. Apost.* B. viii. c. 12, p. 402. In the first of which places the reason of the delay of the punishment of the Amorites is given, *Because their iniquity was not yet full.* In the second, Saul is ordered to *go and destroy the sinners the Amalekites*; plainly implying, that they were therefore to be destroyed because they were *sinners*, and not otherwise. In the third, the reason is given, why King Agag was not to be spared, viz. because of his former cruelty: *As thy sword hath made* [the Hebrew] *women childless, so shall thy mother be made childless among women by the Hebrews.* In the last place, the apostles, or their amanuensis, Clement, gives this reason for the necessity of the coming of Christ, that *Men had formerly perverted both the positive law and that of nature, and had cast out of their mind the memory of the flood, the burning of Sodom, the plagues of the Egyptians, and the slaughter of the inhabitants of Palestine*, as signs of the most amazing impenitence and insensibility under the punishments of horrid wickedness.

Now Joshua had been instructed in all those kinds of learning which concerned the laws and God himself, and Moses had been his instructor.

3. At this time it was that the two tribes of Gad and Reubel, and the half tribe of Manasseh, abounded in a multitude of cattle, as well as in all other kinds of prosperity; whence they had a meeting, and in a body came and besought Moses to give them, as their peculiar portion, that land of the Amorites which they had taken by right of war, because it was fruitful, and good for feeding of cattle. But Moses, supposing that they were afraid of fighting with the Canaanites, and invented this provision for their cattle a handsome excuse for avoiding that war, he called them arrant cowards, and said, "They had only contrived a decent excuse for that cowardice, and that they had a mind to live in luxury and ease, while all the rest were labouring with great pains to obtain the land they were desirous to have, and that they were not willing to march along, and undergo the remaining hard service, whereby they were under the Divine promise to pass over Jordan, and overcome those our enemies which God had showed them, and so obtain their land." But these tribes, when they saw that Moses was angry with them, and when they could not deny but he had a just cause to be displeased at their petition, made an apology for themselves, and said, "that it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their laziness, that they made this request to him, but that they might leave the prey they had gotten in places of safety, and thereby might be more expedite, and ready to undergo difficulties and to fight battles." They added this also, that, "when they had built cities wherein they might preserve their children, and wives, and possessions, if he would bestow them upon them, they would go along with the rest of their army." Hereupon Moses was pleased with what they said. So he called for Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua, and the chief of the tribes, and permitted these tribes to possess the land of the Amorites; but upon this condition, that they should join with their kinsmen in the war until all things were settled. Upon which condition they took possession of the country, and built them strong cities, and put into them their children, and their wives, and whatsoever else they had that might be an impediment to the labours of their future marches.

4. Moses also now built those ten cities which were to be of the number of the forty-eight [for the Levites;] three of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntarily, and fled to them; and he assigned the same time for their banishment with that of the life of that high priest under whom the slaughter and flight happened, after which death of the high priest he permitted the slayer to return home. During the time of his exile, the relations of him that was slain, may by this law kill the manslayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city to which he fled, though this permission was not granted to any other person. Now the cities which were set apart for this flight were these: Bezer, at the borders of Arabia; Ramoth, of the land of Gilead; and Golan, in the land of Bashan. There were to be also, by Moses's command, three other cities allotted for the habitation of these fugitives out of the cities of the Levites, but not till after they should be in possession of the land of Canaan.

5. At this time the chief men of the tribe of Manasseh came to Moses, and informed him, that there was an eminent man of their tribe dead, whose name was *Zelophehad*, who left no male children, but left daughters: and asked him, Whether these daughters might inherit his land or not? He made this answer, That if they shall marry into their own tribe, they shall carry their estate along with them; but if they dispose of themselves in marriage to men of another tribe, they shall leave their inheritance in their father's tribe. And then it was that Moses ordained, that every one's inheritence should continue in his own tribe.

CHAP. VIII.

The Polity settled by Moses; and how he disappeared from among Mankind.

§ 1. When forty years were completed, within thirty days, Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan, where the city Abila now stands, a place full of palm-trees. And all the people being come together, he spake thus to them:

2. "O you Israelites and fellow soldiers! who have been partners with me in this long and uneasy journey, since it is now the will of God, and the course of old age, at a hundred and twenty, requires it that I should depart out of this life; and since God has forbidden me to be a patron or an assistant to you in what remains to be done beyond Jordan, I thought it reasonable not to leave off my endeavours even now for your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of good things, and a memorial for myself when you shall be in the fruition of great plenty and prosperity. Come, therefore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be happy, and may leave an eternal prosperous possession thereof to your children after you, and then let me thus go out of the world; and I cannot but deserve to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already done for you, and because, when souls are about to leave the body, they speak with the sincerest freedom. O children of Israel! *there is but one source of happiness for all mankind*, the favour of God*; for he alone is able to give good things to those that deserve them, and to deprive those of them that sin against him; towards whom, if you behave yourselves according to his will, and according to what I, who well understand his mind, do exhort you to, you will both be esteemed blessed, and will be admired by all men, and will never come into misfortunes, nor cease to be happy; you will then preserve the possession of the good things you already have, and will quickly obtain those that you at present are in want of, only do you be obedient to those whom God would have you to follow. Nor do you prefer any other constitution of government before the laws now given you; neither do you disregard that way of divine worship which you now have, nor change it for any other form; and if you do this, you will be the most courageous of all men in undergoing the fatigues of war, and will not be easily conquered by any of your enemies; for while God is present with you to assist you, it is to be expected that you will be able to despise the opposition of all mankind; and great rewards of virtue are proposed for you, if you preserve that virtue through your whole lives. Virtue itself is indeed the principal and the first reward, and after that it bestows abundance of others; so that your exercise of virtue towards other men will make your own lives happy, and render you more glorious than foreigners can be, and procure you an undisputed reputation with posterity. These blessings you will be able to obtain, in case you hearken to and observe those laws which, by divine revelation, I have ordained for you; that is, in case you withal meditate upon the wisdom that is in them. I am going from you myself, rejoicing in the good things you enjoy; and I recommend you to the wise conduct of your law, to the becoming order of your polity, and to the virtues of your commanders, who will take care of what is for your advantage. And that God who has been till now your leader, and by whose good will I have myself been useful to you, will not put a period now to his providence over you; but as long as you desire to have him your protector in your pursuits after virtue, so long will you enjoy his care over you. Your high priest also, Eleazar, as well as Joshua, with the sen-

* Josephus here, in this one sentence, sums up his notion of Moses's very long and very serious exhortations in the book of Deuteronomy; and his words are so true and of such importance that they deserve to be had in constant remembrance both by Jews and Christians; "O children of Israel! there is but one source of happiness for all mankind, *the favour of God.*"

ate, and chief of your tribes, will go before you, and suggest the best advices to you; by following which advices, you will continue to be happy; to whom do you give ear without reluctance, as sensible that all such as know well how to be governed will also know how to govern, if they be promoted to that authority themselves. And do not you esteem liberty to consist in opposing such directions as your governors think fit to give you for your practice, as at present indeed you place your liberty in nothing else but abusing your benefactors; which error, if you can avoid for the time to come, your affairs will be in a better condition than they have hitherto been? Nor do you ever indulge such a degree of passion in these matters as you have oftentimes done when you have been very angry at me; for you know that I have been oftener in danger of death from you than from our enemies. What I now put you in mind of is not done in order to reproach you; for I do not think it proper, now I am going out of the world, to bring this to your remembrance, in order to leave you offended at me, since at the time when I underwent those hardships from you, I was not angry at you; but I do it in order to make you wise hereafter, and to teach you that this will be for your security; I mean, that you never be injurious to those that preside over you, even when you are become rich, as you will be to a great degree when you have passed over Jordan and are in possession of the land of Canaan. Since, when you shall have once proceeded so far by your wealth as to a contempt and disregard of virtue, you will also forfeit the favour of God; and when you have made him your enemy, you will be beaten in war, and will have the land which you possess taken away again from you by your enemies, and this with great reproaches upon your conduct. You will be scattered over the whole world, and will as slaves entirely fill both sea and land; and when once you have had the experience of what I now say, you will repent, and remember the laws you have broken, when it is too late. Whence I would advise you, if you intend to preserve these laws, to leave none of your enemies alive when you have conquered them, but to look upon it as for your advantage to destroy them all; lest, if you permit them to live, you taste of their manners, and thereby corrupt your own proper institutions. I also do farther exhort you, to overthrow their altars, and their groves, and whatsoever temples they have among them, and to burn all such their nation, and their very memory with fire; for by this means alone the safety of your own happy constitution can be firmly secured to you. And, in order to prevent your ignorance of virtue and the degeneracy of your nature into vice, I have also ordained you laws, by divine suggestion, and a form of government, which are so good that, if you regularly observe them, you will be esteemed of all men the most happy."

3. When he had spoken thus, he gave them the laws and the constitution of government written in a book. Upon which the people fell into tears, and appeared already touched with the sense that they should have a great want of their conductor, because they remembered what a number of dangers he had passed through, and what care he had taken of their preservation; they desponded about what would come upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never have another governor like him; and feared that God would then take less care of them when Moses was gone, who used to intercede for them. They also repented of what they had said to him in the wilderness when they were angry, and were in grief on those accounts, insomuch that the whole body of the people fell into tears with such bitterness that it was past the power of words to comfort them in their affliction. However, Moses gave them some consolation, and by calling them off the thought how worthy he was of their weeping for him, he exhorted them to keep to that form of government he had given them; and then the congregation was dissolved at that time.

4. Accordingly I shall now first describe this form of government, which was agreeable to the dignity and virtue of Moses; and shall thereby inform those that read these Antiquities what our original settlements were, and shall then

proceed to the remaining histories. Now those settlements are all still in writing, as he left them; and we shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor any thing besides what Moses left us, only we shall so far innovate as to digest the several kinds of laws into a regular system; for they were by him left in writing as they were accidentally scattered in their delivery, and as he upon inquiry had learned them of God. On which account I have thought it necessary to premise this observation beforehand, lest any of my own countrymen should blame me, as having been guilty of an offence herein. Now part of our constitution will include the laws that belong to our political state. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common conversation and intercourse one with another, I have reserved that for a discourse concerning our manner of life, and the occasions of those laws; which I propose to myself, with God's assistance, to write, after I have finished the work I am now upon.

5. When you have possessed yourselves of the land of Canaan, and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it, and when you have afterwards determined to build cities, if you will do what is pleasing to God, you will have a secure state of happiness. Let there be then one city of the land of Canaan, and this situate in the most agreeable place for its goodness, and very eminent in itself, and let it be that which God shall choose for himself by prophetic revelation. Let there also be one temple therein, and one altar, not reared of hewn stones, but of such as you gather together at random; which stones, when they are whited over with mortar, will have a handsome appearance, and be beautiful to the sight. Let the ascent to it be not by steps,* but by an acclivity of raised earth. And let there be neither an altar nor a temple in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one.

6. He that blasphemeth God, let him be stoned; and let him hang upon a tree all that day, and then let him be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner.

7. Let those that live as remote as the bounds of the land which the Hebrews shall possess, come to that city where the temple shall be, and this three times in a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and may entreat him for those they shall want hereafter; and let them by this means maintain a friendly correspondence with one another by such meetings and feastings together; for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same institutions of laws, not to be unacquainted with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by thus conversing together, and by seeing and talking with one another, and so renewing the memorials of this union; for if they do not thus converse together continually, they will appear like mere strangers to one another.

8. Let there be taken out of your fruits a tenth, besides that which you have allotted to give to the priests and Levites. This you may indeed sell in the country, but it is to be used in those feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city; for it is fit that you should enjoy those fruits of the earth which God gives you to possess, so as may be to the honour of the donor.

9. You are not to offer sacrifices out of the hire of a woman which is a harlot;† for the Deity is not pleased with any thing that arises from such abuses of nature; of which sort none can be worse than this prostitution of the body. In

* This law, both here and Exod. xx. 25, 26, of not going up to God's altar by ladder steps, but on an acclivity, seems not to have belonged to the altar of the tabernacle, which was in all but three cubits high, Exod. xxvii. 1, nor to that of Ezekiel, which was expressly to be gone up to by steps, xliii. 17, but rather to occasional altars of any considerable altitude and largeness; as also probably to Solomon's altar, to which it is here applied by Josephus, as well as to that in Zorobabel's and Herod's temple, which were, I think, all ten cubits high. See 2 Chron. iv. 1. and Antiq. B. viii. ch. iii. sect. 7. The reason why these temples, and these only, were to have this ascent on an acclivity, and not by steps, is obvious, that before the invention of stairs, such as we now use, decency could not be otherwise provided for in the loose garments which the priests wore, as the law required. See Lamy of the Tabernacle and Temple, p. 444.

† The hire of public or secret harlots was given to Venus in Syria, as Lucian informs us, p. 878, and against some such vile practice of the old idolators this law seems to have been made.

like manner no one may take the price of the covering of a bitch, either of one that is used in hunting or in keeping of sheep, and then sacrifice to God.

10. Let no one blaspheme* those gods which other cities esteem such; nor may any one steal what belongs to strange temples, nor take away the gifts that are dedicated to any god.

11. Let not any one of you wear a garment made of woollen and linen; for that is appointed to be for the priests alone.

12. When the multitude are assembled together into the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, let the high priest stand upon a high desk, whence he may be heard, and let him read the laws to all the people;† and let neither the women nor the children be hindered from hearing, no nor the servants neither; for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls, and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot them out; for by this means they will not be guilty of sin, when they cannot plead ignorance of what the laws have enjoined them. The laws also will have a great authority among them, as foretelling what they will suffer if they break them; and imprinting in their souls by this hearing what they command them to do, that so there may always be within their minds that intention of the laws which they have despised and broken, and have thereby been the causes of their own mischief. Let the children also learn the laws, as the first thing they are taught, which will be the best thing they can be taught, and will be the cause of their future felicity.

13. Let every one commemorate before God the benefits which he bestowed upon them at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every day, both when the day begins and when the hour of sleep comes on—gratitude being in its own nature a just thing, and serving not only by way of return for past, but also by way of invitation of future favours. They are also to inscribe the principal blessings they have received from God upon the doors,‡ and show the same remembrance of them on their arms; as also, they are to bear on their forehead, and their arm, those wonders which declare the power of God, and his good will towards them, that God's readiness to bless them may appear every where conspicuous about them.

14. Let there be seven men to judge in every city,§ and these such as have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness. Let every judge have two officers allotted him out of the tribe of Levi. Let those that are chosen to judge in the several cities be had in great honour; and let none be permitted to revile any others when these are present, nor to carry themselves in an insolent manner to them, it being natural that reverence towards those in high offices among men should procure men's fear and reverence towards God. Let those that judge be permitted to determine according as they think to be right, unless any one can show that they have taken bribes, to the

* The Apostolical Constitutions, B. ii. chap. xxvi. sect. 31, expound this law of Moses, Exod. xxii. 28. *Thou shalt not revile or blaspheme the gods*, or magistrates; which is a much more probable exposition than this of Josephus's of heathen gods, as here, and against Apion, B. ii..ch. iii. sect. 4.

† What book of the law was thus publicly read, see the note on Antiq. B. x. ch. v. sect. 5; and 1 Esd. ix. 39—55.

‡ Whether these phylacteries, and other Jewish memorials of the law here mentioned by Josephus and by Moses (beside the fringes on the borders of their garments, Numb. xv. 37,) were literally meant by God, I much question. That they have been long observed by the Pharisees and the rabbinical Jews is certain; however, the Karaites, who receive not the unwritten traditions of the elders, but keep close to the written law, with Jerom and Grotius, think they were not literally to be understood, as Barnard and Reland here take notice. Nor indeed do I remember that either in the more ancient books of the Old Testament, or in the books we call *Apocrypha*, there are any signs of such literal observations appearing among the Jews, though their real or mystical signification, i. e. the constant remembrance and observation of the laws of God by Moses, be frequently inculcated in all the sacred writings.

§ Here as well as elsewhere, sect. 38; of his Life, sect. 14; and Of the War, B. ii. ch. xx. sec. 5, are but *seven* judges appointed for small cities, instead of *twenty-three*, in the modern rabbins; which modern rabbins are always but of very little authority in comparison of our Josephus

perversion of justice, or can allege any other accusation against them, whereby it may appear that they have passed an unjust sentence; for it is not fit that causes should be openly determined out of regard to gain or to the dignity of the suitors, but that the judges should esteem what is right before all other things, otherwise God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those, the dread of whose power has occasioned the unjust sentence; for justice is the power of God. He therefore that gratifies those in great dignity supposes them more potent than God himself. But if these judges are unable to give a just sentence about the causes that come before them (which case is not unfrequent in human affairs,) let them send the cause undetermined to the holy city, and there let the high priest, the prophet, and the Sanhedrim determine as it shall seem good to them.

15. But let not a single witness be credited, but three, or two, at the least, and those such whose testimony is confirmed by their good lives. But let not the testimony of women* be admitted, on account of the levity and boldness of their sex. Nor let servants be admitted to give testimony, on account of the ignobility of their soul; since it is probable that they may not speak truth, either out of hope of gain or fear of punishment. But if any one be believed to have borne false witness, let him, when he is convicted, suffer all the very same punishments which he against whom he bore witness was to have suffered.

16. If a murder be committed in any place, and he that did it be not found, nor is there any suspicion upon one as if he had hated the man, and so had killed him, let there be a very diligent inquiry made after the man, and rewards proposed to any one who will discover him; but if still no information can be procured, let the magistrates and senate of those cities that lie near the place in which the murder was committed assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies; then let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto purchase an heifer and bring it to a valley, and to a place therein where there is no land ploughed or trees planted, and let them cut the sinews of the heifer; then the priests, and Levites, and senate of that city shall take water and wash their hands over the head of the heifer; and they shall openly declare that their hands are innocent of this murder, and that they have neither done it themselves nor been assisting to any that did it. They shall also beseech God to be merciful to them, that no such horrid act may any more be done in that land.

17. Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, is the best constitution; and may you never have any inclination to any other form of government; and may you always love that form, and have the laws for your governors, and govern all your actions according to them; for you need no supreme governor but God. But if you shall desire a king, let him be one of your own nation; let him be always careful of justice and other virtues perpetually; let him submit to the laws, and esteem God's commands to be his highest wisdom; but let him do nothing without the high priest, and the votes of the senators; let him not have a great number of wives, nor pursue abundance of riches, nor a multitude of horses, whereby he may grow too proud to submit to the laws. And if he affect any such things, let him be restrained, lest he become so potent that his state be inconsistent with your welfare.

18. Let it not be esteemed lawful to remove boundaries, neither our own nor of those with whom we are at peace. Have a care you do not take those landmarks away, which are, as it were, a divine and unshaken limitation of rights made by God himself to last for ever, since this going beyond limits, and gaining ground upon others, is the occasion of wars and seditions; for those that remove boundaries are not far off an attempt to subvert the laws.

* I have never observed elsewhere that, in the Jewish government, women were not admitted as legal witnesses in courts of justice. None of our copies of the Pentateuch say a word of it. It is very probable, however, that this was the exposition of the Scribes and Pharisees, and the practice of the Jews in the days of Josephus.

19. He that plants a piece of land whose trees produce fruits before the fourth year is not to bring thence any first fruits to God, nor is he to make use of that fruit himself, for it is not produced in its proper season; for when nature has a force put upon her at an unseasonable time, the fruit is not proper for God, nor for the master's use; but let the owner gather all that is grown on the fourth year, for then it is in its proper season. And let him that has gathered it carry it to the holy city, and spend that, together with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends, with the orphans, and the widows. But on the fifth year the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

20. You are not to sow a piece of land with seed which is planted with vines, for it is enough that it supply nourishment to that plant, and be not harassed by ploughing also. You are to plough your land with oxen, and not to oblige other animals to come under the same yoke with them, but to till your land with those beasts that are of the same kind with each other. The seeds are also to be pure, and without mixture, and not to be compounded of two or three sorts since nature does not rejoice in the union of things that are not in their own nature alike; nor are you to permit beasts of different kinds to gender together, for there is reason to fear that this unnatural abuse may extend from beasts of different kinds to men, though it takes its first rise from evil practices about such smaller things. Nor is any thing to be allowed by imitation, whereof any degree of subversion may creep into the constitution. Nor do the laws neglect small matters, but provide that even those may be managed after an unblamable manner.

21. Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also; but let them rather leave some handfuls for those that are in want of the necessaries of life, that it may be a support and a supply to them, in order to their subsistence. In like manner, when they gather their grapes, let them leave some smaller bunches for the poor; and let them pass over some of the fruits of the olive trees, when they gather them, and leave them to be partaken of by those that have none of their own; for the advantage arising from the exact collection of all will not be so considerable to the owners as will arise from the gratitude of the poor. And God will provide, that the land shall more willingly produce what shall be for the nourishment of its fruits, in case you do not merely take care of your own advantage, but have regard to the support of others also. Nor are you to muzzle the mouths of the oxen when they tread the ears of corn in the threshing-floor; for it is not just to restrain our fellow-labouring animals, and those that work in order to its production, of this fruit of their labours. Nor are you to prohibit those that pass by at the time when your fruits are ripe to touch them, but to give them leave to fill themselves full of what you have; and this, whether they be of your own country, or strangers, as being glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe; but let it not be esteemed lawful for them to carry any away. Nor let those that gather the grapes, and carry them to the wine-presses, restrain those whom they meet from eating of them; for it is unjust out of envy to hinder those that desire it to partake of the good things that come into the world according to God's will, and this while the season is at the height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if some out of bashfulness, are unwilling to touch these fruits, let them be encouraged to take of them; I mean, those that are Israelites, as if they were themselves the owners and lords, on account of the kindred there is between them. Nay, let them desire men that come from other countries to partake of these tokens of friendship which God has given in their proper season; for that is not to be deemed as idly spent which any one out of kindness communicates to another, since God bestows plenty of good things on men, not only for themselves to reap the advantage, but also to give to others in a way of generosity; and he is desirous by this means to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of Israel, and how freely he communicates happiness to them, while they

abundantly communicate out of their great superfluities to even these foreigners also. But for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be beaten with forty stripes save one,* by the public executioner; let him undergo this punishment, which is a most ignominious one for a free man, and this because he was such a slave to gain as to lay a blot upon his own dignity; for it is proper for you who have had the experience of the afflictions in Egypt, and of those in the wilderness to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances; and while you have had now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, to distribute of the same plenty, by the like sympathy, to such as stand in need of it.

22. Besides those two tithes which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals, you are to bring every third year a third tithe† to be distributed to those that want; to women also that are widows, and to children that are orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which is ripe first of all unto the temple; and when they have blessed God for that land which bare them, and which he had given them for a possession, when they have also offered those sacrifices which the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first fruits to the priests. But when any one hath done this, and hath brought the tithe of all that he hath, together with those first fruits that are for the Levites and for the festivals; and when he is about to go home, let him stand before the holy house, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered them from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good land and a large, and lets them enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he has openly testified that he hath fully paid the tithes [and other dues,] according to the laws of Moses, let them entreat God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him; and continue so to be to all the Hebrews, both by preserving the good things which he hath already given them, and by adding what it is still in his power to bestow upon them.

23. Let the Hebrews marry, at the age fit for it, virgins that are free and born of good parents. And he that does not marry a virgin, let him not corrupt another man's wife, and marry her, nor grieve her former husband. Nor let free men marry slaves, although their affections should strongly bias any of them so to do; for it is decent, and for the dignity of the persons themselves, to govern those their affections. And farther, no one ought to marry a harlot, whose matrimonial oblations, arising from the prostitution of her body, God will not receive; for by these means the disposition of the children will be liberal and virtuous; I mean, when they are not born of base parents, and of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If any one has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterwards find her so to be, let him bring his action, and accuse her, and let him make use of such indications‡ to prove his accusation, as he is furnished withal; and let the father or the brother of the damsel, or some one that is after them nearest of kin to her, defend her. If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favour, that she has not been guilty, let her live with her husband that accused her, and let him not have any farther power at all

* This penalty of *forty stripes save one*, here mentioned and sect. 23, was five times inflicted on St. Paul himself by the Jews, 2 Cor. xi. 24.

† Josephus's plain and express interpretation of this law of Moses, Deut. xiv. 28, 29; xxvi. 12, &c. that the Jews were bound every third year to pay three tithes, that to the Levites, that for sacrifices at Jerusalem, and this for the indigent, the widow, and the orphans, is fully confirmed by the practice of good old Tobit, even when he was a captive at Assyria, against the opinions of the Rabbins, Tobit, ch. i. sect. 6, 7, 8.

‡ These *tokens of virginity*, as the Hebrew and Septuagint style them, Deut. xxii. 15, 17, 20, seem to me very different from what our later interpreters suppose. They appear rather to have been such close linen garments as were never put off virgins after a certain age, till they were married, but before witnesses, and which, while they were entire, were certain evidences of such virginity. See these Antiq. B. vii. ch. viii. sect. 1; 2 Sam. xiii. 18; Isa. vi. 1. Josephus here determines nothing what were these particular tokens of virginity, or of corruption; perhaps he thought he could not easily describe them to the heathens, without saying what they might have thought a breach of modesty; which seeming breach of modesty laws cannot always wholly avoid.

to put her away, unless she give him very great occasions of suspicion, and such as can be no way contradicted. But for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to her father. But if the damsel be convicted as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she were lawfully married; but if she were the daughter of a priest, let her be burned alive. If any one has two wives, and if he greatly respect and be kind to one of them, either out of his affection to her, or for her beauty, or for some other reason, while the other is of less esteem with him; and if the son of her that is beloved be the younger by birth than another born of the other wife, but endeavours to obtain the right of primogeniture from his father's kindness to his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance (for that double portion is what I have allotted him in the laws,) let not this be permitted; for it is unjust that he who is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to him, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty; the man because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock; the woman because she was persuaded to yield herself to be corrupted, either for pleasure or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman when she is alone, and forces her, where nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him only be put to death. Let him that hath corrupted a virgin not yet espoused, marry her; but if the father of the damsel be not willing that she should be his wife, let him pay fifty shekels as the price of her prostitution. He that desires to be divorced from his wife for any cause* whatsoever, and many such causes happen among men, let him in writing give assurance that he will never use her as his wife any more; for by these means she may be at liberty to marry another husband, although before this bill of divorce be given, she is not to be permitted so to do; but if she be misused by him also, or if, when he is dead, her first husband would marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him. If a woman's husband die and leave her without children, let his brother marry her; and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance, for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fail, and the estate will continue among the kindred; and this will be for the solace of wives under their affliction, that they are to be married to the next relation of their former husband's. But if the brother will not marry her, let the woman come before the senate, and protest openly that this brother will not admit her for his wife, but will injure the memory of his deceased brother, while she is willing to continue in the family and to bear him children. And when the senate have inquired of him, for what reason it is that he is averse to this marriage, whether he gives a bad or a good reason, the matter must come to this issue, that the woman shall loose the sandals of the brother, and shall spit in his face, and say, "He deserves this reproachful treatment from her, as having injured the memory of the deceased." And then let him go away out of the senate, and bear this reproach upon him all his life long; and let her marry to whom she pleases, of such as seek her in marriage. But now, if any man take captive either a virgin or one that hath been married,† and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to bring her to bed to him, or to live with her as his wife, before she hath her head shaven and

* These words of Josephus are very like those of the Pharisees to our Saviour upon this very subject Matt. xix. 3. "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?"

† Here it is supposed that this captive's husband, if she were before a married woman, was dead before, or rather was slain in this very battle, otherwise it would have been adultery in him that married her

bath put on her mourning habit, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle, that by these means she may give vent to her sorrow for them, and after that may betake herself to feasting and matrimony; for it is good for him that takes a woman in order to have children by her, to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not merely to pursue his own pleasure, while he hath no regard to what is agreeable to her. But when thirty days are passed, as the time of mourning, for so many are sufficient to prudent persons for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage; but in case when he hath satisfied his lust, he be too proud to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his power to make her a slave, but let her go away whither she pleases, and have that privilege of a free woman.

24. As to those young men that despise their parents, and do not pay them honour, but offer them affronts, either because they are ashamed of them or think themselves wiser than they, in the first place, let their parents admonish them in words (for they are by nature of authority sufficient for becoming their judges,) and let them say thus to them: "That they cohabited together, not for the sake of pleasure nor for the augmentation of their riches, by joining both their stocks together, but that they might have children to take care of them in their old age, and might by them have what they then should want." And say farther to him, "That when thou wast born we took thee up with gladness, and gave God the greatest thanks for thee, and brought thee up with great care, and spared for nothing that appeared useful for thy preservation, and for thy instruction in what was most excellent. And now, since it is reasonable to forgive the sins of those that are young, let it suffice thee to have given so many indications of thy contempt of us, reform thyself, and act more wisely for the time to come; considering that God is displeased with those that are insolent towards their parents, because he is himself the father of the whole race of mankind, and seems to bear part of that dishonour which falls upon those that have the same name, when they do not meet with due returns from their children. And on such the law inflicts inexorable punishment; of which punishment mayst thou never have the experience!" Now if the insolence of young men be thus cured, let them escape the reproach which their former errors deserved, for by this means the lawgiver will appear to be good and parents happy, while they never behold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happens that these words and instructions conveyed by them in order to reclaim the man, appear to be useless, then the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth* by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and let him be stoned; and when he has continued there for one whole day, that all the people may see him, let him be buried in the night. And thus it is that we bury all whom the laws condemn to die upon any account whatsoever. Let our enemies that fall in battle be also buried; nor let any one dead body lie above ground, or suffer a punishment beyond what justice requires.

25. Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury, neither usury of what is eaten or what is drunken; for it is not justice to make advantage of the misfortunes of one of thy own countrymen; but when thou hast been assistant to his necessities, think it thy gain, if thou obtainest their gratitude to thee, and withal that reward which will come to thee from God, for thy humanity towards him.

26. Those who have borrowed either silver or any sorts of fruits, whether dry or wet, I mean this, when the Jewish affairs shall, by the blessing of God, be to their own mind, let the borrowers bring them again, and restore them with pleasure to those who lent them, laying them up, as it were, in their own treasuries, and justly expecting to receive them thence if they shall want them again. But

* See Herod the Great insisting on the execution of this law, with relation to two of his own sons, before the judges at Berytus, Antiq. B. xvi. chap. xi. sect. 2.

if they be without shame, and do not restore it, let not the lender go to the borrower's house, and take a pledge himself, before judgment be given concerning it, but let him require the pledge, and let the debtor bring it of himself, without the least opposition to him that comes upon him under the protection of the law. And if he that gave the pledge be rich, let the creditor retain it till what he lent be paid him again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it return it before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor may have it for a covering in his sleep, God himself naturally showing mercy to the poor. It is also not lawful to take a millstone, nor any utensil thereto belonging, for a pledge, that the debtors may not be deprived of instruments to get their food withal, and lest they be undone by their necessity.

27. Let death be the punishment for stealing a man; but he that hath purloined gold or silver, let him pay double. If any one kill a man that is stealing something out of his house, let him be esteemed guiltless, although the man were only breaking in at the wall. Let him that hath stolen cattle pay fourfold what is lost, excepting the case of an ox, for which let the thief pay fivefold. Let him that is so poor that he cannot pay what mulct is laid upon him, be his servant to whom he was adjudged to pay it.

28. If any one be sold to one of his own nation, let him serve him six years, and on the seventh let him go free; but if he have as on by a woman servant, in his purchaser's house, and if, on account of his good will to his master, and his natural affection to his wife and children, he will be his servant still, let him be set free only at the coming of the year of jubilee, which is the fiftieth year, and let him then take away with him his children and wife, and let them be free also.

29. If any one find gold or silver on the road, let him inquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, and then restore it to him again, as not thinking it right to make his own profit by the loss of another. And the same rule is to be observed in cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place. If the owner be not presently discovered, let him that is the finder keep it with himself, and appeal to God that he has not purloined what belongs to another.

30. It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is in distress, when in a storm it is fallen down in the mire, but to endeavour to preserve it, as having a sympathy with it in its pain.

31. It is also a duty to show the roads to those who do know not them, and not to esteem it a matter for sport, when we hinder others' advantages by setting them in a wrong way.

32. In like manner, let no one revile a person blind or dumb.

33. If men strive together, and there be no instrument of iron, let him that is smitten be avenged immediately, by inflicting the same punishment on him that smote him; but if, when he is carried home, he lie sick many days, and then die, let him that smote him escape punishment; but if he that is smitten escape death, and yet be at great expense for his cure, the smiter shall pay for all that has been expended during the time of his sickness, and for all that he has paid the physician. He that kicks a woman with child, so that the woman miscarry,* let him pay a fine in money, as the judges shall determine, as having diminished the multitude by the destruction of what was in her womb; and let money also be given the woman's husband by him that kicked her; but if she die of the stroke, let him also be put to death, the law judging it equitable, that life should go for life.

* Philo and others appear to have understood this law, Exodus xxi. 22, 23, better than Josephus, who seems to allow, that though the infant in the mother's womb, even after the mother were quick, and so the infant had a rational soul, were killed by the stroke upon the mother, yet if the mother escaped, the offender should only be fined, and not put to death; while the law seems rather to mean, that if the infant in that case be killed, though the mother escape, the offender must be put to death, and not only when the mother is killed, as Josephus understood it. It seems this was the exposition of the Pharisees in the days of Josephus.

34. Let no one of the Israelites keep any poison* that may cause death or any other harm; but if he be caught with it, let him be put to death, and suffer the very same mischief that he would have brought upon them for whom the poison was prepared.

35. He that maimeth any one, let him undergo the like himself, and be deprived of the same member of which he hath deprived the other,† unless he that is maimed will accept of money instead of it; for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he hath suffered, and permits him to estimate it, unless he will be more severe.

36. Let him that is the owner of an ox which pusheth with his horn kill him; but if he pushes and gores any one in the threshing-floor, let him be put to death by stoning; and let him not be thought fit for food; but if his owner be convicted as having known what his nature was, and hath not kept him up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox's having killed a man. But if the ox have killed a man-servant, or a maid-servant, let him be stoned; and let the owner of the ox pay thirty shekels‡ to the master of him that was slain; but if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that which smote the other, and that which was killed, be sold, and let the owners of them divide their price between them.

37. Let those that dig a well or a pit be careful to lay planks over them, and so keep them shut up, not in order to hinder any persons from drawing water, but that there may be no danger of falling into them; but if any one's beast fall into such a well or pit thus digged, and not shut up, and perish, let the owner pay its price to the owner of the beast. Let there be a battlement round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from rolling down and perishing.

38. Let him that has received any thing in trust for another take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing; and let no one invent any contrivance whereby to depive him that hath entrusted it with him of the same, and this whether he be a man or a woman, no not although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body; for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always act so as may procure him commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can lie concealed; but if he in whom the trust was reposed, without any deceit of his own, lose what he has entrusted withal, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God, that nothing hath been lost willingly, or with a wicked intention, and that he hath not made use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame; but if he hath made use of the least part of what was committed to him, and it be lost, let him be condemned to repay all that he had received, after the same manner as in these trusts it is to be if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labour for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages, as being sensible that God has allotted that wages to him instead of land and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the labourer of the immediate use of what he hath laboured for.

39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather to vouchsafe them commisseration, because they were born of wicked parents, than hatred, because they were born of bad ones.

* What we render a witch, according to our modern notions of witchcraft, Exod. xxii. 18, Philo and Josephus understood of a poisoner, or one who attempted, by secret and unlawful drugs or philtra, to take away the senses or the lives of men.

† This permission of redeeming this penalty with money is not in our copies, Exod. xxi. 24. 25; Lev. xxiv. 20; Deut. xix. 21.

‡ We may here note, that 30 shekels, the price our Saviour was sold for by Judas to the Jews, Matt. xxvi. 15; xxvii. 3; was the old value of a bought servant, or slave among the people.

Nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, while young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from what they have been instructed in, and this by their proud refusal of such instruction.

40. Let those that have made themselves eunuchs be had in detestation; and do you avoid any conversation with them who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of that fruit of generation which God has given to men for the increase of their kind. Let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they beforehand have lost what should procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have withal transfused that effeminacy to their body also. In like manner do you treat all that is of a monstrous nature when it is looked on; nor is it lawful to geld* either men or any other animals.

41. Let this be the constitution of your political laws in time of peace; and God will be so merciful as to preserve this excellent settlement free from disturbance. And may that time never come which may innovate any thing, and change it for the contrary. But since it must needs happen that mankind fall into troubles and dangers, either undesignedly or intentionally, come, let us make a few constitutions concerning them, that so being apprised beforehand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when you want them, and may not then be obliged to go to seek what is to be done, and so be unprovided, and fall into dangerous circumstances. May you be a laborious people, and exercise your souls in virtuous actions, and thereby possess and inherit the land without wars, while neither any foreigners make war upon it, and so afflict you, nor any internal sedition seize upon it, whereby you may do things that are contrary to your fathers, and so lose the laws which they have established. And may you continue in the observation of those laws which God hath approved of and hath delivered to you. Let all sort of warlike operations, whether they befall you now in your own time, or hereafter in the times of your prosperity, be done out of your own borders. But when you are about to go to war, send embassages and heralds to those who are your voluntary enemies; for it is a right thing to make use of words to them before you come to your weapons of war; and assure them thereby, that although you have a numerous army, with horses and weapons, and above these, a God merciful to you and ready to assist you, you do however desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which will indeed be our gain, but what they will have no reason to wish we should take to ourselves. And if they hearken to you, it will be proper for you to keep peace with them; but if they trust on their own strength, as superior to yours, and will not do you justice, lead your army against them, making use of God as your supreme commander, but ordaining for a lieutenant under him one that is of the greatest courage among you; for these different commanders, besides their being an obstacle to actions that are to be done on the sudden, are a disadvantage to those that make use of them. Lead an army pure, and of chosen men, composed of all such as have extraordinary strength of body and hardiness of soul; but do you send away the timorous part, lest they run away in the time of action, and so afford an advantage to your enemies. Do you also give leave to those that have lately built them houses, and have not yet lived in them a year's time; and to those that have planted them vineyards, and have not yet been partakers of their fruits, to continue in their own country; as well as those also who have betrothed or lately married them wives, lest they have such an affection for these things that they be too sparing of their lives, and by reserving themselves for these enjoyments, they become voluntary cowards [on account of their wives.]

* This law against castration, even of brutes, is said to be so rigorous elsewhere as to inflict death upon him that does it, which seems only a Pharisaical interpretation in the days of Josephus of that law, Lev. xxi. 20, and xxii 24; only we may hence observe, that the Jews could then have no oxen which are gelt, but only bulls and cows in Judea.

42. When you have pitched your camp, take care that you do nothing that is cruel. And when you are engaged in a siege, and want timber for the making of warlike engines, do not you render the land naked by cutting down trees that bear fruit, but spare them, as considering that they were made for the benefit of men; and that if they could speak, they would have a just plea against you; because, though they are not occasions of the war, they are unjustly treated, and suffer in it, and would, if they were able, remove themselves into another land. When you have beaten your enemies in battle, slay those that have fought against you; but preserve the others alive, that they may pay you tribute, excepting the nation of the Canaanites, for as to that people you must entirely destroy them.

43. Take care, especially in your battles, that no woman use the habit of a man, nor man the garment of a woman.

44. This was the form of political government which was left us by Moses. Moreover he had already delivered laws in writing,* in the fortieth year [after they came out of Egypt,] concerning which we will discourse in another book. But now on the following days (for he called them to assemble continually) he delivered blessings to them, and curses upon those that should not live according to the laws, but should transgress the duties that were determined for them to observe. After this, he read to them a poetic song, which was composed in hexameter verse; and left it to them in the holy book: it contained a prediction of what was to come to pass afterward. Agreeably whereto all things have happened all along, and do still happen to us; and wherein he has not at all deviated from the truth. Accordingly he delivered these books to the priests,† with the ark; into which he also put the ten commandments, written in two tables. He delivered to them the tabernacle also; and exhorted the people that when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injuries of the Amalakites, but make war against them, and inflict punishment upon them for what mischief they did them when they were in the wilderness; and that when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had destroyed the whole multitude of its inhabitants, as they ought to do, they should erect an altar that should face the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizim situate on the right hand, and that called Ebal on the left; and that the army should be so divided that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites and the priests. And that first, those that were upon Mount Gerizim, should pray for the best blessings upon those who were diligent about the worship of God, and the observation of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses had said to them; while the other wished them all manner of happiness also. And when these last put up the like prayers, the former praised them. After this, curses were denounced upon those that should transgress those laws, they answering one another alternately, by way of confirmation of what had been said. Moses also wrote their blessings and their curses, that they might learn them so thoroughly that they might never be forgotten by length of time. And when he was ready to die, he wrote these blessings and curses upon the altar‡ on each side of it; where he says also the people stood, and then sacrificed and offered burnt-offerings, though after that day they never offered upon it any other sacrifice; for it was not lawful so to do. These are the constitutions of Moses; and the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

45. On the next day Moses called the people together, with the women and children, to a congregation, so as the very slaves were present also that they might engage themselves to the observation of these laws by oath; and that duly considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either for favour

* These laws seem to be those abovementioned, sect. 4 of this chapter.

† What laws were now delivered to the priests, see the note on Antiq. B. iii. chap. 1, sect. 7.

‡ Of the exact place where this altar was to be built, whether nearer Mount Gerizim or Mount Ebal, according to Josephus, see Essay on the Old Testament, p. 168—171.

of their kindred, or out of fear of any one, or indeed for any motive whatsoever think any thing ought to be preferred to these laws, and so might transgress them. That in case any one of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their constitution of government, they should take vengeance upon them, both all in general, and each person in particular; and when they had conquered them, should overturn their city to the very foundations, and, if possible, should not leave the least footsteps of such madness. But that if they were not able to take such vengeance, they should still demonstrate that what was done was contrary to their wills. So the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

46. Moses taught them also by what means their sacrifices might be the most acceptable to God; and how they should go forth to war, making use of the stones* [in the high priest's breastplate] for their direction, as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was present. And when Moses had recapitulated whatsoever he had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars and in peace, and had composed them a body of laws, and procured them an excellent form of government, he foretold, as God had declared to him, "That if they transgressed that institution for the worship of God, they should experience the following miseries: Their land should be full of weapons of war from their enemies, and their cities should be overthrown, and their temple should be burned; that they should be sold for slaves to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions; that they would then repent, when that repentance would no way profit them under their sufferings. Yet, said he, will that God who founded your nation restore your cities to your citizens, with their temple also; and you shall lose these advantages not once only, but often."

47. Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to lead out the army against the Canaanites, by telling him that God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had blessed the whole multitude, he said, "Since I am going to my forefathers, and God has determined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks, while I am still alive and present with you, for that providence he hath exercised over you, which hath not only delivered us from the miseries we lay under, but hath bestowed a state of prosperity upon us; as also, that he hath assisted me in the pains I took, and in all the contrivances I had in my care about you, in order to better your condition, and hath on all occasions showed himself favourable to us; or rather he it was who first conducted our affairs, and brought them to a happy conclusion, by making use of me as a vicarious general under him, and as a minister in those matters, wherein he was willing to do you good. On which account I think it proper to bless that divine Power which will take care of you for the time to come, and this in order to repay that debt which I owe him, and to leave behind me a memorial that we are obliged to worship and honour him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all those he hath already bestowed upon us, or which, if he continue favourable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly a human legislator is a terrible enemy, when his laws are affronted, and are made to no purpose. And may you never experience that displeasure of God which will be the consequence of the neglect of these his laws, which he, who is your Creator, hath given you."

48. When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, and had foretold what would befall to every one of their tribes† afterward, with the addition of a bless-

* Dr. Bernard well observes here, how unfortunate this neglect of consulting the Urim was to Joshua himself, in the case of the Gibeonites, who put a trick upon him, and ensnared him, together with the rest of the Jewish rulers, with a solemn oath to preserve them, contrary to his commission to extirpate all the Canaanites root and branch; which oath he and the other rulers durst never break. See Scripture Politics, p. 55, 56; and this snare they were brought into, because they "did not ask counsel at the mouth of the Lord." Josh. ix. 14.

† Since Josephus assures us here, as is most naturally to be supposed, and as the Septuagint gives the text, Deut. xxxiii. 6; that Moses blessed every one of the tribes of Israel, it is evident that Simeon was not omitted in his copy, as it unhappily now is, both in our Hebrew and Samaritan copies.

ing to them, the multitude fell into tears, insomuch that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern they had when he was about to die. The children also lamented still more, as not able to contain their grief; and thereby declared, that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue and mighty deeds; and truly there seemed to be a strife between the young and the old, who should most grieve for him. The old grieved because they knew what a careful protector they were to be deprived of, and so lamented their future state; but the young grieved, not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may make a guess at the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was always persuaded that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since the undergoing it was agreeable to the will of God and the law of nature, yet what the people did so overbore him that he wept himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him weeping; but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bid them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that were near to him that they would not render his departure so lamentable. Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favour, to let him depart according as he himself desired, so they restrained themselves, though weeping still towards one another. All those who accompanied him were the senate, and Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua their commander. Now as soon as they were come to the mountain called *Abarim*, (which is a very high mountain situate over against Jericho, and one that affords to such as are upon it a prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan,) he dismissed the senate; and as he was going to embrace Eleazar and Joshua, and was still discoursing with them, a cloud stood over him on the sudden, and he disappeared in a certain valley, although he wrote in the holy books that he died, which was done out of fear lest they should venture to say, that because of his extraordinary virtue he went to God.

49. Now Moses lived in all one hundred and twenty years; a third part of which time, abating one month, he was the people's ruler. And he died on the last month of the year, which is called by the Macedonians *Dystrus*, but by us, *Adar*, on the first day of the month. He was one that exceeded all men that ever were, in understanding, and made the best use of what that understanding suggested to him. He had a very graceful way of speaking, in addressing himself to the multitude; and as to his other qualifications, he had such a full command of his passions, as if he hardly had any such in his soul, and only knew them by their names, as rather perceiving them in other men than in himself. He was also such a general of an army as is seldom seen, as well as such a prophet as was never known, and this to such a degree, that whatsoever he pronounced you would think you heard the voice of God himself. So the people mourned for him thirty days. Nor did ever any grief so deeply affect the Hebrews as did this upon the death of Moses; nor were those that had experienced his conduct the only persons that desired him, but those also that perused the laws he left behind him had a strong desire after him, and by them gathered the extraordinary virtue he was master of. And this shall suffice for the declaration of the manner of the death of Moses.

BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX YEARS

FROM THE DEATH OF MOSES TO THE DEATH OF ELI.

CHAP. I.

How Joshua, the Commander of the Hebrews, made War with the Canaanites, and overcame them, and destroyed them, and divided their Land by Lot to the Tribes of Israel.

§ 1. When Moses was taken away from among men, in the manner already described, and when all the solemnities belonging to the mourning for him were finished, and the sorrow for him was over, Joshua commanded the multitude to get themselves ready for an expedition. He also sent spies to Jericho, to discover what forces they had, and what were their intentions, but he put his camp in order, as intending soon to pass over Jordan at a proper season. And calling to him the rulers of the tribe of Reubel, and the governors of the tribe of Gad, and [the half tribe of] Manasseh, for half of this tribe had been permitted to have their habitation in the country of the Amorites, which was the seventh part of the land of Canaan,* he put them in mind what they promised Moses; and he exhorted them, that for the sake of the care that Moses had taken of them, who had never been weary of taking pains for them, no not when he was dying, and for the sake of the public welfare, they would prepare themselves and readily perform what they had promised: so he took fifty thousand of them, who followed him, and he marched from Abila to Jordan, sixty furlongs.

2. Now when he had pitched his camp, the spies came to him immediately, well acquainted with the whole state of the Canaanites, for at first, before they were at all discovered, they took a full view of the city Jericho without disturbance, and saw which parts of the walls were strong, and which parts were otherwise, and indeed insecure, and which of the gates were so weak as might afford an entrance to their army. Now those that met them took no notice of them when they saw them, and supposed they were only strangers, who used to be very curious in observing every thing in the city, and did not take them for enemies; but at even they retired to a certain inn that was near to the wall, whither they went to eat their supper; which supper when they had done, and were considering how to get away, information was given to the king as he was at supper, that there were some persons come from the Hebrews' camp to view the city as spies, and that they were in the inn kept by Rahab, and were

* The Amorites were one of the seven nations of Canaan. Hence Reland is willing to suppose that Josephus did not here mean that their land beyond Jordan was a seventh part of the whole land of Canaan, but meant the Amorites as a seventh nation. His reason is, that Josephus, as well as our Bible, generally distinguishes the land beyond Jordan from the land of Canaan; nor can it be denied, that in strictness they were different; yet after two tribes and a half of the twelve tribes came to inherit it, it might, in a general way altogether, be well included under the land of Canaan, or Palestine, or Judea; of which we have a clear example here before us in Josephus, whose words evidently imply, that taking the whole land of Canaan, or that inhabited by all the twelve tribes together, and parting it into seven parts, the part beyond Jordan was in quantity of ground one seventh part of the whole. And this well enough agrees to Reland's own map of that country, although this land beyond Jordan was so peculiarly fruitful and good for pasturage, as the two tribes and a half took notice, Numb. xxxii. 1, 4, 16, that it maintained about a fifth part of the whole people.

very solicitous that they might not be discovered, so he sent immediately some to them, and commanded to catch them, and bring them to him, that he might examine them by torture, and learn what their buisiness was there. As soon as Rahab understood that these messengers were coming, she hid the spies under the stalks of flax, which were laid to dry on the top of her house; and said to the messengers that were sent by the king, that certain unknown strangers had supped with her a little before sunsetting, and were gone away, who might easily be taken, if they were any terror to the city, or likely to bring any danger to the king: so these messengers being thus* deluded by the woman, and suspecting no imposition, went their ways, without so much as searching the inn, but they immediately pursued them along those roads which they most probably supposed them to have gone, and those particularly which led to the river, but could hear no tidings of them; so they left off the pains of any farther pursuit. But when the tumult was over, Rahab brought the men down and desired them, as soon as they should have obtained possession of the land of Canaan, when it would be in their power to make her amends for her preservation of them, to remember what danger she had undergone for their sakes for that if she had been caught concealing them, she could not have escaped a terrible destruction, she and all her family with her, and so bid them to go home; and desired them to swear to her, to preserve her and her family, when they should take the city and destroy all its inhabitants, as they had decreed to do for so far she said she had been assured by those divine miracles of which she had been informed. So these spies acknowledged that they owed her thanks for what she had done already, and withal swore to requite her kindness, not only in words, but in deeds; but they gave her this advice, that when she should perceive that the city was about to be taken, she should put her goods and all her family, by way of security, in her inn, and to hang out scarlet threads before her doors [or windows] that the commander of the Hebrews might know her house, and take care to do her no harm; for, said they, we will inform him of this matter, because of the concern thou hast had to preserve us. But if any one of thy family fall in the battle, do not thou blame us; and we beseech that God, by whom we have sworn, not then to be displeased with us, as though we had broken our oaths. So these men, when they had made this agreement, went away, letting themselves down by a rope from the wall, and escaped, and came and told their own people whatsoever they had done in their journey to this city. Joshua also told Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, what the spies had sworn to Rahab, who confirmed what had been sworn.

3. Now while Joshua the commander was in fear about their passing over Jordan, for the river ran with a strong current, and could not be passed over with bridges, for there never had been bridges laid over it hitherto, and while he suspected that if he should attempt to make a bridge, that the enemies would not afford him time to perfect it, and for ferry boats they had none, God promised so to dispose of the river that they might pass over it, and that by taking away the main part of its waters. So Joshua, after two days, caused the army and the whole multitude to pass over in the manner following: the priests went first of all, having the ark with them; then went the Levites, bearing the tabernacle and the

* It plainly appears by the history of these spies, and the innkeeper Rahab's deception of the king of Jericho's messengers, by telling them what was false in order to save the lives of the spies, and yet the great commendation of her faith and good works in the New Testament, Heb. xi. 3; James, ii 25, as well as by many other parallel examples both in the Old Testament and in Josephus, that the best men did not then scruple to deceive those public enemies, who might justly be destroyed; as also might deceive ill men in order to save life, and deliver themselves from the tyranny of their unjust oppressors, and this by telling direct falsehoods; I mean all this where no oath was demanded of them, otherwise they never durst venture on such a procedure. Nor was Josephus himself of any other opinion or practice, as I shall remark in the note on Antiq. B. ix. chap. iv. sect. 3, and observe, that I still call this woman Rahab, an *inn-keeper*, not a *harlot*, the whole history both in our copies, and especially in Josephus, implying no more. It was indeed so frequent a thing, that women who were inn-keepers were also harlots, or mamtainers of harlots, that the word commonly used for real harlots was usually given them. See Dr. Bernard's note here, and Judges, xi. 1, and Antiq. B. v. ch. vii. sect. 8.

vessels that belonged to the sacrifices; after which the entire multitude followed according to their tribes, having their children and their wives in the midst of them, as being afraid for them lest they should be borne away by the stream. But as soon as the priests had entered the river first, it appeared fordable, the depth of the water being restrained, and the sand appearing at the bottom, because the current was neither so strong nor so swift as to carry it away by its force, so they all passed over the river without fear, finding it to be in the very same state as God had foretold he would put it in; but the priests stood still in the midst of the river till the multitude should be passed over, and should get to the shore in safety; and when all were gone over, the priests came out also, and permitted the current to run freely as it used to do before. Accordingly the river, as soon as the Hebrews were come out of it, arose again presently, and came to its own proper magnitude as before.

4. So the Hebrews went on farther fifty furlongs, and pitched their camp at the distance of ten furlongs from Jericho. But Joshua built an altar of those stones which all the heads of the tribes, at the command of the prophet, and taken out of the deep, to be afterwards a memorial of the division of the stream of this river, and upon it offered sacrifice to God; and in that place celebrated the passover, and had great plenty of all the things which they wanted hitherto, for they reaped the corn of the Canaanites, which was now ripe, and took other things as prey, for then it was that their former food, which was manna, and of which they had eaten forty years, failed them.

5. Now while the Israelites did this, and the Canaanites did not attack them, but kept themselves quiet within their own walls, Joshua resolved to besiege them. So on the first day of the feast [of the passover] the priests carried the ark, round about which was some part of the armed men, to be a guard to it. These priests went forward, blowing with their seven trumpets; and exhorted the army to be of good courage, and went round about the city, with the senate following them; and when the priests had only blown with the trumpets, for they did nothing more at all, they returned to the camp. And when they had done this for six days, on the seventh Joshua gathered the armed men and all the people together, and told them this good tiding, that the city should now be taken, since God would on that day give it them, by the falling down of the walls, and this of their own accord, and without their labour. However, he charged them to kill every one they should take, and not to abstain from the slaughter of their enemies, either for weariness or for pity, and not to fall on the spoil, and be thereby diverted from pursuing their enemies, as they ran away; but to destroy all the animals and to take nothing for their own peculiar advantage. He commanded them also to bring together all the silver and gold, that it might be set apart as first fruits unto God out of this glorious exploit, as having gotten them from the city they first took; only that they should save Rahab and her kindred alive, because of the oath which the spies had sworn to her.

6. When he had said this, and had set his army in order, he brought it against the city. So they went round the city again, the ark going before them, and the priests encouraging the people to be zealous in the work; and when they had gone round it seven times, and had stood still a little, the wall fell down, while no instruments of war, nor any other force, was applied to it by the Hebrews.

7. So they entered into Jericho, and slew all the men that were therein, while they were affrighted at the surprising overthrow of the walls, and their courage was become useless, and they were not able to defend themselves; so they were slain, and their throats cut, some in the ways, and others as caught in their houses; nothing afforded them assistance, but they all perished, even to the women and the children, and the city was filled with dead bodies, and not one person escaped. They also burnt the whole city and the country about it; but they saved alive Rahab, with her family, who had fled to her inn. And when she was brought to him, Joshua owned to her that they owed her thanks for her preservation of the

spies. So he said he would not appear to be behind her in his benefaction to her; whereupon he gave her certain lands immediately, and had her great esteem ever afterwards.

8. And if any part of the city escaped the fire, he overthrew it from the foundation; and he denounced a curse* against its inhabitants, if any one should desire to rebuild it, how, upon his laying the foundation of the walls, he should be deprived of his eldest son, and, upon finishing it, he should lose his youngest son. But what happened hereupon we shall speak of hereafter.

9. Now there was an immense quantity of silver and gold, and besides those, of brass also, that was heaped together out of the city when it was taken, no one transgressing the decree, nor purloining for their own peculiar advantage; which spoils Joshua delivered to the priests, to be laid up among their treasures. And thus did Jericho perish.

10. But there was one *Achar*,† the son [of Charmi, the son] of Zebedias, of the tribe of Judah, who, finding a royal garment woven entirely of gold, and a piece of gold that weighed‡ two hundred shekels, and thinking it a very hard case, that what spoils he, by running some hazard, had found, he must give away, and offer it to God, who stood in no need of it, while he that wanted it must go without it, made a deep ditch in his own tent, and laid them up therein, as supposing he should not only be concealed from his fellow-soldiers, but from God himself also.

11. Now the place where Joshua pitched his camp was called *Gilgal*, which denotes *liberty*;§ for since now they had passed over Jordan, they looked on themselves as freed from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians, and in the wilderness.

12. Now a few days after the calamity that befell Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take Ai, a city situate above Jericho; but upon sight of the people of Ai, with them they were driven back, and lost thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, it made them very sad, and exceeding disconsolate, not so much because of the relation the men that were destroyed bare to them, though those that were destroyed were all good men, and deserved their esteem, as by the despair it occasioned; for while they believed that they were already, in effect, in possession of the land, and should bring back the army out of the battles without loss, as God had promised beforehand, they now saw unexpectedly their enemies bold with success; so they put sackcloth over their garments, and continued in tears and lamentation all the day, without the least inquiry after food, but laid what had happened greatly to heart.

13. When Joshua saw the army so much afflicted, and possessed with forebodings of evil as to their whole expedition, he used freedom with God, and said, "We are not come thus far out of any rashness of our own, as though we thought

* Upon occasion of this devoting of Jericho to destruction, and the exemplary punishment of Achar, who broke that *cherem* or *anathema*, and of the punishment of the future breaker of it, Heil, 1 Kings, xvi. 34; as also of the punishment of Saul, for breaking the like *cherem* or anathema, against the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv; we may observe what was the true meaning of that law, Lev. xxvi. 28. "None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed; but shall surely be put to death," i. e. whenever any of the Jews' public enemies had been, for their wickedness, solemnly devoted to destruction, according to the divine command, as were generally the seven wicked nations of Canaan, and those sinners the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. 18, it was utterly unlawful to permit those enemies to be redeemed, but they were to be all utterly destroyed. See also Numb. xxi. 2, 3.

† That the name of this thief was not *Achan*, as in the common copies, but *Achar*, as here in Josephus, and in the Apostolical Constitut. B. vii. ch. ii. and elsewhere, is evident by the allusion to that name in the curse of Joshua, "Why hast thou troubled us? The Lord shall trouble thee:" where the Hebrew words allude only to the name *Achar*, but not to *Achan*. Accordingly this valley of Achar, or Achor, was, and is a known place, a little north of Gilgal, so called from the days of Joshua till this day. See Josh. vii. 26; Isa. lxv. 10; Hos. ii. 15; and Dr. Bernard's notes here.

‡ Here Dr. Bernard very justly observes, that a few words are dropped out of Josephus's copies, on account of the repetition of the word *shekels*, and that it ought to be read thus: "A piece of gold that weighed 50 shekels, and one of silver that weighed 200 shekels," as in our other copies, Josh. vii. 21.

§ I agree here with Dr. Bernard, and approve of Josephus's interpretation of Gilgal for *liberty*. See Josh. v. 9.

ourselves able to subdue this land with our own weapons, but at the instigation of Moses thy servant for this purpose, because thou hast promised us by many signs, that thou wouldst give us this land for a possession, and that thou wouldst make our army always superior in war to our enemies, and accordingly some success has already attended upon us, agreeably to thy promises, but because we have now unexpectedly been foiled, and have lost some men out of our army, we are grieved at it, as fearing what thou hast promised us, and what Moses foretold us, cannot be depended on by us; and our future expectation troubles us the more, because we have met with such a disaster in this our first attempt. But do thou, O Lord, free us from these suspicions, for thou art able to find a cure for these disorders, by giving us victory, which will both take away the grief we are in at present, and prevent our distrust as to what is to come."

14. These intercessions Joshua put up to God, as he lay prostrate on his face; whereupon God answered him, "That he should rise up, and purify his host from the pollution which was got into it; that things consecrated to me have been impudently stolen from me; and that this has been the occasion why this defeat had happened to them; and that when they should search out, and punish the offender, he would ever take care they should have the victory over their enemies." This Joshua told the people; and calling for Eleazar the high priest, and the men in authority, he cast lots, tribe by tribe; and when the lot showed that this wicked action was done by one of the tribe of Judah, he then again proposed the lot to the several families thereto belonging, so the truth of this wicked action was found to belong to the family of Zachar, and when the inquiry was made, man by man, they took Achar, who, upon God's reducing him to a terrible extremity, could not deny the fact. So he confessed the theft and produced what he had taken in the midst of them, whereupon he was immediately put to death; and attained no more than to be buried in the night, in a disgraceful manner, and such as was suitable to a condemned malefactor.

15. When Joshua had thus purified the host, he led them against Ai; and having by night laid an ambush round about the city, he attacked the enemies as soon as it was day; but as they advanced boldly against the Israelites, because of their former victory, he made them believe he retired, and by that means drew them a great way from the city, they still supposing that they were pursuing their enemies, and despised them, as though the case had been the same with that in the former battle; after which Joshua ordered his forces to turn about, and placed them against their front. He then made the signals agreed upon to those that lay in ambush, and so excited them to fight; so they ran suddenly into the city, the inhabitants being upon the walls, nay, others of them being in perplexity, and coming to see those that were without the gates. Accordingly these men took the city, and slew all that they met with; but Joshua forced those that came against him to come to a close fight, and discomfited them, and made them run away; and when they were driven towards the city, and thought it had not been touched, as soon as they saw it was taken, and perceived it was burned, with their wives and children, they wandered about in the fields in a scattered condition, and were no way able to defend themselves, because they had none to support them. Now when this calamity was come upon the men of Ai, there were a great number of children, and women, and servants, and an immense quantity of furniture. The Hebrews also took herds of cattle and a great deal of money, for this was a rich country. So when Joshua came to Gilgal, he divided all these spoils among the soldiers.

16. But the Gibeonites, who inhabited very near to Jerusalem, when they saw what miseries had happened to the inhabitants of Jericho, and to those of Ai, and suspected that the like sore calamity would come as far as themselves, they did not think fit to ask for mercy of Joshua, for they supposed they should find little mercy from him, who made war that he might entirely destroy the nation of the Canaanites, but they invited the people of Cephirah and Kiriathjearim, who

were their neighbours, to join a league with them; and told them, that neither could they themselves avoid the danger they were all in, if the Israelites should prevent them, and seize upon them. So when they had persuaded them, they resolved to endeavour to escape the forces of the Israelites. Accordingly, upon their agreement to what they proposed, they sent ambassadors to Joshua, to make a league of friendship with him, and those such of the citizens as were best approved of, and most capable of doing what was most advantageous to the multitude. Now these ambassadors thought it dangerous to confess themselves to be Canaanites, but thought they might, by this contrivance, avoid the danger, namely, by saying that they bore no relation to the Canaanites at all, but dwelt at a very great distance from them; and they said further, that they came a long way on account of the reputation he had gained for his virtue; and as a mark of the truth of what they said, they showed him the habit they were in; for that their clothes were new when they came out, but were greatly worn by the length of time they had been in their journey; for indeed they took torn garments, on purpose that they might make him believe so. So they stood in the midst of the people, and said, that they were sent by the people of Gibeon, and of the circumjacent cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, to make such a league of friendship with them, and this on such conditions as were customary among their forefathers; for when they understood, that by the favour of God, and his gift to them, they were to have the possession of the land of Canaan bestowed upon them, they said, that they were very glad to hear it, and desired to be admitted into the number of their citizens. Thus did these ambassadors speak; and showing them the marks of their long journey, they entreated the Hebrews to make a league of friendship with them. Accordingly, Joshua believing what they said, that they were not of the nation of the Canaanites, entered into friendship with them; and Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, sware to them that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would attempt nothing that should be unfair against them, the multitude also assenting to the oaths that were made to them. So these men, having obtained what they desired by deceiving the Israelites, went home; but when Joshua led his army to the country at the bottom of the mountains of this part of Canaan, he understood that the Gibeonites dwelt not far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the stock of the Canaanites, so he sent for their governors, and reproached them with the cheat they had put upon him; but they alleged on their own behalf, that they had no other way to save themselves but that, and were therefore forced to have recourse to it. So he called for Eleazar the high priest, and for the senate, who thought it right to make them public servants, that they might not break the oath they had made to them; and they ordained them to be so. And this was the method by which these men found safety and security under the calamity that was ready to overtake them.

17. But the king of Jerusalem took it to heart that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua; so he called upon the kings of the neighbouring nations to join together, and make war against them. Now, when the Gibeonites saw these kings, which were four, besides the king of Jerusalem, and perceived that they had pitched their camp at a certain fountain not far from their city, and were getting ready for the siege of it, they called upon Joshua to assist them; for such was their case, as to expect to be destroyed by these Canaanites, but to suppose they should be saved by those that came for the destruction of the Canaanites, because of the league of friendship that was between them. Accordingly Joshua made haste with his whole army to assist them; and marching day and night, in the morning he fell upon the enemies as they were going up to the siege; and when he had discomfited them, he followed them, and pursued them down the descent of the hills. The place is called *Beth-horon;* where he also understood that God assisted him, which he declared by thunder and thunderbolts, as also by the falling of hail larger than usual. Moreover it happened that the day was

lengthened,* that the night might not come on too soon, and be an obstruction to the zeal of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies, insomuch that Joshua took the kings, which were hidden in a certain cave at Makkedah, and put them to death. Now that the day was lengthened at this time, and was longer than ordinary, is expressed in the books† laid up in the temple.

18. These kings which made war with, and were ready to fight the Gibeonites, being thus overthrown, Joshua returned again to the mountainous parts of Canaan; and when he had made a great slaughter of the people there, and took their prey, he came to the camp at Gilgal. And now there went a great fame abroad among the neighbouring people of the courage of the Hebrews, and those that heard what a number of men were destroyed were greatly affrighted at it. So the kings that lived about Mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and those Canaanites that dwelt in the plain country, with auxiliaries out of the land of the Philistines, pitched their camp at Beroth, a city of the Upper Galilee, not far from Cadesh, which is itself also a place in Galilee. Now the number of the whole army was three hundred thousand armed footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand chariots, so that the multitude of the enemies affrighted both Joshua himself and the Israelites; and they, instead of being full of hope of good success, were superstitiously timorous, with the great terror with which they were stricken. Whereupon God upbraided them with the fear they were in, and asked them whether they desired a greater help than he could afford them; and promised them that they should overcome their enemies; and withal charged them to make their enemies' horses useless, and to burn their chariots. So Joshua became full of courage upon these promises of God, and went out suddenly against the enemies; and after five days' march, he came upon them, and joined battle with them, and there was a terrible fight, and such a number were slain as could not be believed by those that heard it. He also went on in the pursuit a great way, and destroyed the entire army of the enemies, few only excepted, and all the kings fell in the battle; insomuch that when there wanted men to be killed, Joshua slew their horses, and burned their chariots, and passed all over their country without opposition, no one daring to meet him in battle; but he still went on, taking their cities by siege, and again killing whatever he took.

19. The fifth year was now past, and there was not one of the Canaanites remained any longer, excepting some that had retired to places of great strength. So Joshua removed his camp to the mountainous country, and placed the tabernacle in the city of Shiloh, for that seemed a fit place for it, because of the beauty of its situation, until such time as their affairs would permit them to build a temple; and from thence he went to Shechem, together with all the people, and raised an altar, where Moses had beforehand directed; then did he divide the army, and placed one half of them on Mount Gerizim, and the other half on Mount Ebal,‡ on which mountain the altar was; he also placed there the tribe of Levi, and the priests. And when they had sacrificed, and denounced the [blessings and the] curses, and had left them engraven upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh.

* Whether this lengthening of the day, by the standing still of the sun and moon were physical and real, by the miraculous stoppage of the diurnal motion of the earth for about half a revolution, or whether only apparent, by aerial *phosphori* imitating the sun and moon as stationary so long, while clouds and the night hid the real ones, and this parhelion, or mock sun, affording sufficient light for Joshua's pursuit and complete victory (which aerial *phosphori* in other shapes have been more than ordinarily common of late years,) cannot now be determined; philosophers and astronomers will naturally incline to this latter hypothesis. In the mean time, the fact itself was mentioned in the book of Jasher, now lost, Josh. x. 13; and is confirmed by Isaiah, xxviii. 21; by Habaccuc, iii. 11, and by the father of Sirach, Eccles. xlvi. 4, in the 18th Psalm of Solomon, ver. ult. it is also said of the luminaries, with relation, no doubt, to this and the like miraculous standing still and going back, in the days of Joshua and Hezekiah, "They have not wandered from the day that he created them; they have not forsaken their way from ancient generations, unless it were when God enjoined them [so to do] by the command of his servants." Ant. Authent. Rec. part. i. p. 154.

† Of the books laid up in the temple, see the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. i. sect. 7.

‡ Of the situation of this altar, see Essay on the Old Testament, p. 170, 171.

20. And now Joshua was old, and saw that the cities of the Canaanites were not easily to be taken, not only because they were situate in such strong places, but because of the strength of the walls themselves, which being built round about, the natural strength of the places on which the cities stood seemed capable of repelling their enemies from besieging them, and of making those enemies despair of taking them; for when the Canaanites had learned that the Israelites came out of Egypt in order to destroy them, they were busy all that time in making their cities strong. So he gathered the people together to a congregation at Shiloh; and when they with great zeal and haste were come thither, he observed to them what prosperous successes they had already had, and what glorious things had been done, and those such as were worthy of that God who enabled them to do those things, and worthy of the virtue of those laws which they followed. He took notice also, that thirty-one of those kings that ventured to give them battle were overcome, and every army, how great soever it were, that confided in their own power, and fought with them, was utterly destroyed so that not so much as any of their posterity remained. And as for the cities, since some of them were taken, but the others must be taken in length of time by long sieges, both on account of the strength of their walls, and of the confidence the inhabitants had in them thereby, he thought it reasonable that those tribes that came along with them from beyond Jordan, and had partaken of the dangers they had undergone, being their own kindred, should now be dismissed and sent home, and should have thanks for the pains they had taken together with them. As also, he thought it reasonable that they should send one man out of every tribe, and he such as had the testimony of extraordinary virtue, who should measure the land faithfully, and without any fallacy or deceit should inform them of its real magnitude.

21. Now Joshua, when he had thus spoken to them, found that the multitude approved of his proposal. So he sent men to measure their country, and sent with them some geometricians, who could not easily fail of knowing the truth, on account of their skill in that art. He also gave them a charge to estimate the measure of that part of the land that was most fruitful, and what was not so good; for such is the nature of the land of Canaan, that one may see large plains, and such as are exceeding fit to produce fruit, which yet, if they were compared to other parts of the country, might be reckoned exceedingly fruitful, yet if it be compared with the fields about Jericho, and to those that belong to Jerusalem, will appear to be of no account at all. And although it so falls out, that these people have but a very little of this sort of land, and that it is for the main mountainous also, yet does it not come behind other parts, on account of its exceeding goodness and beauty; for which reason Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by estimation of its goodness, rather than the largeness of its measure, it often happening that one acre of some sort of land was equivalent to a thousand other acres. Now the men that were sent, which were in number ten, travelled all about, and made an estimation of the land, and in the seventh month came to him to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle.

22. So Joshua took both Eleazar and the senate, and with them the heads of the tribes, and distributed the land to the nine tribes, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, appointing the dimensions to be according to the largeness of each tribe. So when he had cast lots, Judah had assigned him by lot the upper part of Judea, reaching as far as Jerusalem, and its breadth extended to the lake of Sodom. Now in the lot of this tribe there were the cities of Ascalon and Gaza. The lot of Simeon, which was the second, included that part of Idumea, which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia. As to the Benjamites, their lot fell so, that its length reached from the river Jordan to the sea, but in breadth it was bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel; and this lot was the narrowest of all, by reason of the goodness of the land, for it included Jericho and the city of Jerusalem. The

tribe of Ephraim had by lot the land that extended in length from the river Jordan to Gezer, but in breadth as far as from Bethel till it end at the great plain. The half tribe of Manasseh had the land from Jordan to the city Dora, but its breadth was at Bethsham, which is now called *Scythopolis* And after these was Issachar, which had its limits in length, Mount Carmel and the river, but its limit in breadth was Mount Tabor. The tribe of Zebulon's lot included the land which lay as far as the lake of Gennesareth, and that which belonged to Carmel and the sea. The tribe of Aser had that part which was called the *Valley*, for such it was, and all that part which lay over against Sidon. The city Arce belonged to their share, which is also named *Actipus*. The Naphthalites received the eastern parts, as far as the city of Damascus and the Upper Galilee, unto Mount Libanus, and the fountains of Jordan which rise out of that mountain; that is, out of that part of it whose limits belong to the neighbouring city Arce. The Danites' lot included all that part of the valley which respects the sun-setting, and were bounded by Azotus and Dora; as also they had all Jamnia and Gath, from Ekron to that mountain where the tribe of Judah begins.

23. After this manner did Joshua divide the six nations that bear the name of the sons of Canaan, with their land, to be possessed by the nine tribes and a half, for Moses had prevented him, and had already distributed the land of the Amorites, which itself was so called also from one of the sons of Canaan, to the two tribes and a half, as we have showed already. But the parts about Sidon, as also those that belonged to the Arkites, and the Amathites and the Aradians, were not yet regularly disposed of.

24. But now was Joshua hindered by his age from executing what he intended to do (as did those that succeeded him in the government, take little care of what was for the advantage of the public,) so he gave it in charge to every tribe to leave no remainder of the race of the Canaanites in the land that had been divided to them by lot; that Moses had assured them beforehand, and they might rest fully satisfied about it, that their own security and their observation of their own laws depended wholly upon it. Moreover, he enjoined them to give thirty-eight cities to the Levites, for they had already received ten in the country of the Amorites; and three of these he assigned to those that fled from the manslayers, who were to inhabit there; for he was very solicitous that nothing should be neglected which Moses had ordained. These cities were, of the tribe of Judah, Hebron; of that of Ephraim, Shechem; and of that of Naphthali, Cadesh, which is a place of the Upper Galilee. He also distributed among them the rest of the prey not yet distributed, which was very great, whereby they had an affluence of great riches, both all in general, and every one in particular; and this of gold, and of vestments, and of other furniture, besides a multitude of cattle, whose number could not be told.

25. After this was over, he gathered the army together to a congregation; and spake thus to those tribes that had their settlement in the land of the Amorites beyond Jordan, for 50,000 of them had armed themselves, and had gone to the war along with them: "Since that God, who is the Father and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has now given us this land for a possession, and promised to preserve us in the enjoyment of it as our own for ever; and since you have with alacrity offered yourselves to assist us when we wanted that assistance on all occasions, according to his command, it is but just, now all our difficulties are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should trespass on your alacrity to help us no longer, that so if we should again stand in need of it, we may readily have it on any future emergency, and not tire you out so much now as may make you slower in assisting us another time. We therefore return you our thanks for the dangers you have undergone with us; and we do it not at this time only, but we shall always be thus disposed; and be so good as to remember our friends, and to preserve in mind what advantages we have had from them, and how you have put off the enjoyments of your own happiness for our sakes,

and have laboured for what we have now, by the good will of God, obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity till you had afforded us that assistance. However, you have, by joining your labour with ours, gotten great plenty of riches, and will carry home with you much prey, with gold and silver, and, what is more than all these, our good will towards you, and a mind willingly disposed to make a requital of your kindness to us, in what case soever you shall desire it, for you have not omitted any thing which Moses beforehand required of you, nor have you despised him because he was dead and gone from you, so that there is nothing to diminish that gratitude which we owe to you. We therefore dismiss you joyful to your own inheritances; and we entreat you to suppose, that there is no limit to be set to the intimate relation that is between us; and that you will not imagine that because this river is interposed between us, that you are of a different race from us, and not Hebrews, for we are all the posterity of Abraham, both we that inhabit here, and you that inhabit there; and it is the same God that brought our forefathers and yours into the world, whose worship and form of government we are to take care of, which he has ordained, and are most carefully to observe; because while you continue in those laws, God will also show himself merciful and assisting to you; but if you imitate the other nations, and forsake those laws, he will reject your nation." When Joshua had spoken thus, and saluted them all, both those in authority, one by one, and the whole multitude in common, he himself stayed where he was, but the people conducted those tribes on their journey, and that not without tears in their eyes; and indeed they hardly knew how to part one from the other.

26. Now when the tribe of Reubel, and that of Gad, and as many of the Manassites as followed them were passed over the river, they built an altar on the banks of Jordan, as a monument to posterity, and a sign of the relation to those that should inhabit on the other side. But when those on the other side heard that those who had been dismissed had built an altar, but did not hear with what intention they built it, but supposed it to be by way of innovation, and for the introduction of strange gods, they did not incline to disbelieve it, but thinking this defamatory report, as if it were built for divine worship, was credible, they appeared in arms, as though they would avenge themselves on those that built the altar; and they were about to pass over the river, and to punish them for their subversion of the laws of their country; for they did not think it fit to regard them on account of their kindred, or the dignity of those that had given the occasion, but to regard the will of God, and the manner wherein he desired to be worshipped, so these men put themselves in array for war. But Joshua, and Eleazar the high priest, and the senate restrained them; and persuaded them first to make trial by words of their intention, and afterwards, if they found that their intention was evil, then only to proceed to make war upon them. Accordingly they sent as ambassadors to them, Phineas, the son of Eleazar, and ten more persons that were in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was in their mind when, upon passing over the river, they had built an altar upon its banks. But as soon as these ambassadors were passed over, and were come to them, and a congregation was assembled, Phineas stood up and said, "That the offence they had been guilty of was of too heinous a nature to be punished by words alone, or by them only to be amended for the future; yet that they did not so look at the heinousness of their transgression as to have recourse to arms, and to a battle for their punishment immediately, but that, on account of their kindred, and the probability there was that they might be reclaimed, they took this method of sending an ambassage to them, that when we have learned the true reasons by which you have been moved to build this altar, we may neither seem to have been too rash in assaulting you by our weapons of war, if it prove that you made the altar for justifiable reasons, and may then justly punish you if the accusation prove true; for we can hardly suppose that you, who have been acquainted with the will of God, and have been hear-

ers of those laws which he himself hath given us, now you are separated from us, and gone to that patrimony of yours, which you, through the grace of God and that providence he exercises over you, have obtained by lot, can forget him, and can leave that ark, and that altar which is peculiar to us, and can introduce strange gods, and imitate the wicked practices of the Canaanites. Now this will appear to have been a small crime, if you repent now, and proceed no farther in your madness, but pay a due reverence to, and keep in mind the laws of your country; but if you persist in your sins, we will not grudge our pains to preserve our laws, but we will pass over Jordan and defend them, and defend God also, and shall esteem of you as of men no way differing from the Canaanites, but shall destroy you in the like manner as we destroy them; for do not you imagine that, because you are got over the river, that you are got out of the reach of God's power; you are every where in places that belong to him and impossible it is to overrun his power and the punishment he will bring on men thereby: but if you think that your settlement here will be any obstruction to your conversion to what is good, nothing need hinder us from dividing the land anew, and leaving this old land to be for the feeding of sheep; but you will do well to return to your duty, and to leave off these new crimes; and we beseech you by your children and wives, not to force us to punish you. Take therefore, such measures in this assembly, as supposing that your own safety and the safety of those that are dearest to you, is therein concerned; and believe that it is better for you to be conquered by words, than to continue in your purpose, and to experience deeds and war therefore."

27. When Phineas had discoursed thus, the governors of the assembly, and the whole multitude, began to make an apology for themselves concerning what they were accused of, and they said, "That they neither would depart from the relation they bare to them; nor had they built the altar by way of innovation; that they owned one and the same common God with all the Hebrews, and that brazen altar which was before the tabernacle, on which they would offer their sacrifices; that as to the altar they had raised, on account of which they were thus suspected, it was not built for worship, but that it might be a sign and a monument of our relation to you for ever, and a necessary caution to us to act wisely, and to continue in the laws of our country, but not a handle for transgressing them, as you suspect; and let God be our authentic witness that this was the occasion of our building this altar: whence we beg you will have a better opinion of us, and do not impute such a thing to us as would render any of the posterity of Abraham well worthy of perdition, in case they attempt to bring in new rites, and such as are different from our usual practices."

28. When they had made this answer, and Phineas had commended them for it, he came to Joshua, and explained before the people what answer they had received; now Joshua was glad that he was under no necessity of setting them in array, or of leading them to shed blood, and make war against men of their own kindred; and accordingly he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for the same. So Joshua, after that, dissolved this great assembly of the people, and sent them to their own inheritances, while he himself lived in Shechem. But in the twentieth year after this, when he was very old, he sent for those of the greatest dignity in the several cities, with those in authority, and the senate, and as many of the common people as could be present; and when they were come, he put them in mind of all the benefits God had bestowed on them, which could not but be a great many, since, from a low estate, they were advanced to so great a degree of glory and plenty; and exhorted them to take notice of the intentions of God, which had been so gracious towards them; and told them, that the Deity would continue their friend by nothing else but their piety; and that it was proper for him, now he was about to depart out of this life, to leave such an admonition to them, and he desired that they would keep in memory this his exhortation to them.

29. So Joshua, when he had thus discoursed to them, died, having lived a hundred and ten years; forty of which he lived with Moses, in order to learn what might be for his advantage afterwards. He also became their commander after his death for twenty-five years. He was a man that wanted not wisdom nor eloquence to declare his intentions to the people, but very eminent on both accounts. He was of great courage and magnanimity, in action and in dangers, and very sagacious in procuring the peace of the people, and of great virtue at all proper seasons. He was buried in the city Timnah, of the tribe of Ephraim.* About the same time died Eleazar the high priest, leaving the high priesthood to his son Phineas. His monument also and sepulchre are in the city Gabatha.

CHAP. II.

How, after the Death of Joshua, their Commander, the Israelites transgressed the Laws of their Country, and experienced great afflictions; and when there was a Sedition arisen, the Tribe of Benjamin was destroyed, excepting only Six Hundred Men.

§ 1. After the death of Joshua and Eleazar, Phineas prophesied† that according to God's will, they should commit the government to the tribe of Judah, and that this tribe should destroy the race of the Canaanites; for then the people were concerned to learn what was the will of God. They also took to their assistance the tribe of Simeon, but upon this condition, that when those that had been tributary to the tribe of Judah should be slain, they should do the like for the tribe of Simeon.

2. But the affairs of the Canaanites were at this time in a flourishing condition, and they expected the Israelites with a great army at the city Bezek, having put the government into the hands of Adonibezek, which name denotes the *Lord of Bezek*, for Adoni, in the Hebrew tongue, is called *Lord*. Now they hoped to have been too hard for the Israelites, because Joshua was dead. But when the Israelites had joined battle with them, I mean the two tribes before mentioned, they fought gloriously, and slew above ten thousand of them, and put the rest to flight; and in the pursuit they took Adonibezek, who, when his fingers and toes were cut off by them, said, "Nay, indeed, I was not always to lie concealed from God, as I find by what I now endure, while I have not been ashamed to do the same to seventy-two kings."‡ So they carried him alive as far as Jerusa-

* Since not only Procopius and Suidas, but an earlier author, Moses Chorenensis, p. 52, 53, and perhaps from his original author, Mariba Catina, one as old as Alexander the Great, sets down the famous inscription at Tangier concerning the old Canaanites driven out of Palestine by Joshua, take it here in that author's own words: "We are those exiles that were governors of the Canaanites, but have been driven away by Joshua the robber, and are come to inhabit here:" See the note there. Nor is it unworthy of our notice, what Moses Chorenensis adds, p. 53, and this upon a diligent examination, viz. that "one of those eminent men among the Canaanites came at the same time into Armenia, and founded the Genthunian family or tribe, and that this was confirmed by the manners of the same family or tribe, as being like those of the Canaanites."

† By *prophesying*, when spoken of a high priest, Josephus, both here and frequently elsewhere, means no more than consulting God by Urim, which the reader is still to bear in mind upon all occasions. And if St. John, who was contemporary with Josephus, and of the same country, made use of this style, when he says, that "Caiphas, being high priest that year, prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation, and not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad," xi. 51, 52, he may possibly mean that this was revealed to the high priest by an extraordinary voice from between the cherubims, when he had his breastplate, or Urim and Thummim on, before or in the most holy place of the temple, which was no other than the oracle of Urim and Thummim, Of which above in the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 9.

‡ This great number of seventy-two *reguli*, or *small kings*, over whom Adonibezek had tyrannized, and for which he was punished according to the *lex talionis*, as well as the thirty-one kings of Canaan, subdued by Joshua, and named in one chapter, Josh. xii. and thirty-two kings, or royal auxiliaries to Benhadad, king of Syria, I King xx. 1; Antiq. b. viii. ch. xiv. sect. 1; intimate to us what was the ancient form of government among several nations before the monarchies began, viz. that every city or large

lem; and when he was dead they buried him in the earth, and went on in still taking the cities; and when they had taken the greatest part of them, they besieged Jerusalem; and when they had taken the lower city, which was not under a considerable time, they slew all the inhabitants; but the upper city was not to be taken without great difficulty, through the strength of its walls, and the nature of the place.

3. For which reason they removed their camp to Hebron; and when they had taken it, they slew all the inhabitants. There were till then left the race of giants who had bodies so large, and countenances so entirely different from other men, that they were surprising to the sight, and terrible to the hearing. The bones of these men are still shown to this very day, unlike to any credible relations of other men. Now they gave this city to the Levites as an extraordinary reward, with the suburbs of two thousand cities; but the land thereto belonging they gave as a free gift to Caleb, according to the injunctions of Moses. This Caleb was one of the spies which Moses sent into the land of Canaan. They also gave land for habitation to the posterity of Jethro the Midianite, who was the father-in-law to Moses, for they had left their own country, and followed them, and accompanied them, in the wilderness.

4. Now the tribes of Judah and Simeon took the cities which were in the mountainous part of Canaan, as also Askelon and Ashod, of those that lay near the sea; but Gaza and Ekron escaped them; for they, lying in a flat country, and having a great number of chariots, they sorely galled those that attacked them. So these tribes, when they were grown very rich, by this war, retired to their own cities, and laid aside their weapons of war.

5. But the Benjamites, to whom belonged Jerusalem, permitted its inhabitants to pay tribute; so they all left off, the one to kill, and the other to expose themselves to danger, and had time to cultivate the ground. The rest of the tribes imitated that of Benjamin, and did the same; and contenting themselves with the tributes that were paid them, permitted the Canaanites to live in peace.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim, when they besieged Bethel, made no advance, nor performed any thing worthy of the time they spent, and of the pains they took about that siege, yet did they persist in it, still sitting down before the city, though they endured great trouble thereby. But after some time, they caught one of the citizens that came to them to get necessaries, and they gave him some assurances that, if he would deliver up the city to them, they would preserve him and his kindred; so he sware, that upon those terms he would put the city into their hands. Accordingly he that thus betrayed the city was preserved, with his family; and the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and retained the city for themselves.

7. After this, the Israelites grew effeminate as to fighting any more against their enemies, but applied themselves to the cultivation of the land, which producing them great plenty and riches, they neglected the regular disposition of their settlement, and indulged themselves in luxury and pleasures; nor were they any longer careful to hear the laws that belonged to their political government. Whereupon God was provoked to anger, and put them in mind, first, how con-

town with its neighbouring villages, was a distinct government by itself; which is the more remarkable, because this was certainly the form of ecclesiastical government that was settled by the apostles, and preserved throughout the Christian church in the first ages of Christianity. Mr. Addison is of opinion that "it would certainly be for the good of mankind, to have all the mighty empires and monarchies of the world cantoned out into petty states and principalities, which, like so many large families, might lie under the observation of their proper governors, so that the care of the prince might extend itself to every individual person under his protection; though he despairs of such a scheme being brought about, and thinks that, if it were, it would quickly be destroyed." Remarks on Italy, 4to. p. 151. Nor is it unfit to be observed here, that the Armenian records, though they give us the history of thirty-nine of their ancientest heroes or governors after the flood, before the days of Sardanapalis, had no proper king till the fortieth Parsæus. See Moses Chorenensis, p. 55. And that Almighty God does not approve of such absolute or tyrannical monarchies, any one may learn that reads Deut. xvii. 14—20, and 1 Sam. viii. 1—22; although, if such kings are set up as own him for their supreme King, and aim to govern according to his laws he hath admitted of them, and protected them and their subjects in all generations.

trary to his directions they had spared the Canaanites, and, after that, how those Canaanites, as opportunity served, used them very barbarously. But the Israelites, though they were in heaviness at these admonitions from God, yet were they still very unwilling to go to war; and since they got large tributes from the Canaanites, and were indisposed for taking pains by their luxury, they suffered their aristocracy to be corrupted also, and did not ordain themselves a senate, nor any such magistrates as their laws had formerly required, but they were very much given to cultivating their fields in order to get wealth; which great indolence of theirs brought a terrible sedition upon them, and they proceeded so far as to fight one against another, from the following occasion.

8. There was a Levite,* a man of a vulgar family, that belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and dwelt therein; this man married a wife from Bethlehem, which is a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Now he was very fond of his wife, and overcome with her beauty; but he was unhappy in this, that he did not meet with the like return of affection from her, for she was averse to him, which did more inflame his passion for her, so that they quarrelled one with another perpetually; and at last the woman was so disgusted at these quarrels that she left her husband, and went to her parents in the fourth month. The husband being very uneasy at this her departure, and that, out of his fondness for her, came to his father and mother-in-law, and made up their quarrels, and was reconciled to her, and lived with them there four days, as being kindly treated by her parents. On the fifth day he resolved to go home, and went away in the evening; for his wife's parents were loath to part with their daughter, and delayed the time till the day was gone. Now they had one servant that followed them, and an ass on which the woman rode; and when they were near Jerusalem, having gone already thirty furlongs, the servant advised them to take up their lodgings somewhere, lest some misfortune should befall them if they traveled in the night, especially since they were not far off enemies, that season often giving reason for suspicion of dangers from even such as are friends; but the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to take up his lodging among strangers; for the city belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs farther, and so to take their lodgings in some Israelite city. Accordingly he obtained his purpose, and came to Gibeah, a city of the tribe of Benjamin, when it was just dark; and while no one that lived in the market place invited him to lodge with him, there came an old man out of the field, one that was indeed of the tribe of Ephraim, but resided in Gibeah, and met him, and asked him, Who he was? and for what reason he came thither so late; and why he was looking out for provisions for supper when it was dark? To which he replied that he was a Levite, and was bringing his wife from her parents, and was going home, but he told him his habitation was in the tribe of Ephraim: so the old man, as well because of their kindred, as because they lived in the same tribe, and also because they had thus accidentally met together, took him into lodge with him. Now certain young men, of the inhabitants of Gibeah, having seen the woman in the market-place, and admiring her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, as contemning the weakness and fewness of the old man's family; and when the old man desired them to go away, and not to offer any violence or abuse there, they desired him to yield them up the strange woman, and then he should have no harm done to him. And when the old man alleged, that the Levite was of his kindred, and that they would be guilty of horrid wickedness if they suffered themselves to be overcome by their pleasures, and so offend against their laws, they despised his righteous admonition, and laughed him to scorn. They also threatened to kill

* Josephus's early date of this history before the beginning of the judges, or when there was no king in Israel, Judges, xix. 1, is strongly confirmed by the large number of Benjamites both in the days of Asa and Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xiv. 8, and xvi. 17, who yet were here reduced to 600 men; nor can these numbers be at all supposed genuine, if they were reduced so late as the end of the Judges, where our other copies place this reduction.

him if he became an obstacle to their inclinations; whereupon, when he found himself in great distress, and yet was not willing to overlook his guests, and see them abused, he produced his own daughter to them, and told them, that it was a smaller breach of the law to satisfy their lust upon her than to abuse his guests, supposing that he himself should by this means prevent any injury to be done to those guests. When they no way abated of their earnestness for the strange woman, but insisted absolutely on their desires to have her, he entreated them not to perpetrate any such act of injustice; but they proceeded to take her away by force, and indulging still more the violence of their inclinations, they took the woman away to their house; and when they had satisfied their lust upon her the whole night, they let her go about day break. So she came to the place where she had been entertained, under great affliction at what had happened, and was very sorrowful upon occasion of what she had suffered, and durst not look her husband in the face for shame, for she concluded that he would never forgive her for what she had done, so she fell down and gave up the ghost; but her husband supposed that his wife was only fast asleep, and thinking nothing of a more melancholy nature had happened, endeavoured to raise her up, resolving to speak comfortably to her, since she did not voluntarily expose herself to these men's lust, but was forced away to their house; but as soon as he perceived she was dead, he acted as prudently as the greatness of his misfortunes would admit, and laid his dead wife up on the beast, and carried her home; and cutting her limb by limb into twelve pieces, he sent them to every tribe, and gave it in charge to those that carried them, to inform the tribes of those that were the causes of his wife's death, and of the violence they had offered to her.

9. Upon this the people were greatly disturbed at what they saw, and at what they heard, as never having had the experience of such a thing before; so they gathered themselves to Shiloh, out of a prodigious and a just anger, and assembling in a great congregation before the tabernacle, they immediately resolved to take arms, and to treat the inhabitants of Gibeah as enemies; but the senate restrained them from doing so, and persuaded them, that they ought not so hastily to make war upon people of the same nation with them, before they discoursed with them by words concerning the accusation laid against them, it being part of their law, that they should not bring an army against foreigners themselves when they appear to have been injurious, without sending an embassage first, and trying thereby whether they will repent or not; and accordingly they exhorted them to do what they ought to do in obedience to their laws, that is, to send to the inhabitants of Gibeah, to know whether they would deliver up the offenders to them, and if they deliver them up, to rest satisfied with the punishment of those offenders, but if they despise the message that was sent them, to punish them, by taking up arms against them. Accordingly they sent to the inhabitants of Gibeah, and accused the young men of the crimes committed in the affair of the Levite's wife, and required of them those that had done what was contrary to the law, that they might be punished, as having justly deserved to die for what they had done; but the inhabitants of Gibeah would not deliver up the young men, and though it too reproachful for them, out of fear of war, to submit to other men's demands upon them, vaunting themselves to be no way inferior to any in war, neither in their number nor in courage. The rest of their tribe were also making great preparation for war, for they were insolently mad as also to resolve to repel force by force.

10. When it was related to the Israelites, what the inhabitants of Gibeah had resolved upon, they took their oath that no one of them would give his daughter in marriage to a Benjamite, but make war with greater fury against them than we have learned our forefathers made war against the Canaanites, and sent out presently an army of four hundred thousand against them, while the Benjamites' army was twenty-five thousand and six hundred; five hundred of which was excellent at slinging stones with their left hands, insomuch that when battle was joined at Gibeah the Benjamites beat the Israelites, and of them there fell t

thousand men; and probably more had been destroyed had not the night come on and prevented it, and broken off the fight; so the Benjamites returned to the city with joy, and the Israelites returned to their camp in a great fright at what had happened. On the next day, when they fought again, the Benjamites beat them, and eighteen thousand of the Israelites were slain, and the rest deserted their camp out of fear of a great slaughter. So they came to Bethel,* a city that was near their camp, and fasted on the next day; and besought God by Phineas the high priest, that his wrath against them might cease, and that he would be satisfied with these two defeats, and give them the victory and power over their enemies. Accordingly God promised them so to do by the prophesying of Phineas.

11. When therefore they had divided the army into two parts, they laid the one half of them in ambush about the city Gibeah by night, while the other half attacked the Benjamites, who retiring upon the assault, the Benjamites pursued them, while the Hebrews retired by slow degrees, as very desirous to draw them entirely from the city, and the other followed them as they retired, till both the old men and young men that were left in the city, as too weak to fight, came running out together with them, as willing to bring their enemies under. However, when they were a great way from the city the Hebrews ran away no longer, but turned back to fight them, and lift up the signal they had agreed on to those that lay in ambush, who rose up, and with a great noise fell upon the enemy. Now, as soon as ever they perceived themselves to be deceived, they knew not what to do, and when they were driven into a certain hollow place which was in a valley, they there shot at by those that encompassed them, till they were all destroyed, excepting six hundred, which formed themselves into a close body of men, and forced their passage through the midst of their enemies, and fled to the neighbouring mountains, and, seizing upon them, remained there; but the rest of them, being about twenty-five thousand, were slain. Then did the Israelites burn Gibeah, and slew the women, and the males that were under age; and did the same also to the other cities of the Benjamites. And indeed they were enraged to that degree that they sent twelve thousand men out of the army and gave them orders to destroy Jabesh Gilead, because it did not join with them in fighting against the Benjamites. Accordingly those that were sent slew the men of war, with the children and wives, excepting four hundred virgins. To such a degree had they proceeded in their anger, because they not only had the suffering of the Levite's wife to avenge, but the slaughter of their own soldiers.

12. However, they afterward were sorry for the calamity they had brought upon the Benjamites, and appointed a fast on that account, although they supposed those men had suffered justly for their offence against the laws, so they recalled by their ambassadors those six hundred which had escaped. These had seated themselves on a certain rock called *Rimmon*, which was in the wilderness; so the ambassadors lamented not only the disaster that had befallen the Benjamites, but themselves also, by this destruction of their kindred, and persuaded them to take it patiently, and to come and unite with them, and not, so far as in them lay, to give their suffrage to the utter destruction of the tribe of Benjamin, and said to them, "We give you leave to take the whole land of Benjamin to yourselves, and as much prey as you are able to carry away with you." So these men with sorrow confessed, that what had been done was according to the decree of God, and had happened for their own wickedness, and assented to those that invited them, and came down to their own tribe. The Israelites also gave them the four hundred virgins of Jabesh Gilead for wives: but as to the remain-

* Josephus seems here to have made a small mistake, when he took the Hebrew word *Beth-El*, which denotes *the house of God*, or the tabernacle, Judg. xx. 18, for the proper name of a place *Bethel*, it no way appearing that the tabernacle was ever at Bethel; only so far it is true, that Shiloh, the place of the tabernacle in the days of the Judges, was not far from Bethel.

ing two hundred, they deliberated about it how they might compass wives enough for them, and that they might have children by them; and whereas they had before the war began taken an oath, that no one would give his daughter to wife to a Benjamite, some advised them to have no regard to what they had sworn, because the oath had not been taken advisedly and judiciously, but in a passion, and thought that they should do nothing against God, if they were able to save a whole tribe which was in danger of perishing, and that perjury was then a sad and dangerous thing, not when it is done out of necessity, but when it is done with a wicked intention. But when the senate were affrighted at the very name of perjury, a certain person told them, that he could show them a way whereby they might procure the Benjamites wives enough, and yet keep their oath. They asked him what this proposal was? He said, "that three times in a year, when we meet in Shiloh, our wives and our daughters accompany us, let then the Benjamites be allowed to steal away, and marry such women as they can catch, while we will neither incite them nor forbid them; and when their parents take it ill, and desire us to inflict punishment upon them, we will tell them, that they were themselves the cause of what had happened, by neglecting to guard their daughters, and that they ought not to be over angry at the Benjamites, since that anger was permitted to rise too high already." So the Israelites were persuaded to follow this advice, and decreed, that the Benjamites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival was coming on, these two hundred Benjamites lay in ambush before the city, by two and three together, and waited for the coming of the virgins, in the vineyards and other places where they could lie concealed. Accordingly the virgins came along playing, and suspected nothing of what was coming upon them, and walked after an unguarded manner, so those that lay scattered in the road rose up, and caught hold of them: by this means these Benjamites got them wives and fell to agriculture, and took good care to recover their former happy state. And thus was this tribe of the Benjamites, after they had been in danger of entirely perishing, saved in the manner forementioned by the wisdom of the Israelites; and accordingly it presently flourished, and soon increased to be a multitude, and came to enjoy all other degrees of happiness. And such was the conclusion of this war.

CHAP. III.

How the Israelites after this Misfortune grew wicked, and served the Assyrians, and how God delivered them by Othniel, who ruled over them Forty Years.

§ 1. Now it happened, that the tribe of Dan suffered in like manner with the tribe of Benjamin; and it came to do so on the occasion following: When the Israelites had already left off the exercise of their arms for war, and were intent upon their husbandry, the Canaanites despised them, and brought together an army, not because they expected to suffer by them, but because they had a mind to have a sure prospect of treating the Hebrews ill when they pleased, and might thereby for the time to come dwell in their own cities the more securely; they prepared therefore their chariots, and gathered their soldiery together, their cities also combined together, and drew over to them Askelon and Ekron, which were within the tribe of Judah, and many more of those that lay in the plain. They also forced the Danites to fly into the mountainous country, and left them not the least portion of the plain country to set their foot on. Since then these Danites were not able to fight them, and had not land enough to sustain them, they sent five of their men into the midland country to see for a land to which they might remove their habitation: So these men went as far as the neighbour-

hood of Mount Libanus, and the fountains of the lesser Jordan, at the great plain of Sidon, a day's journey from the city; and when they had taken a view of the land, and found it to be good and exceeding fruitful, they acquainted their tribe with it, whereupon they made an expedition with the army, and built there the city Dan, of the same name with the son of Jacob, and of the same name with their own tribe.

2. The Israelites grew so indolent, and unready of taking pains, that misfortunes came heavier upon them, which also proceeded in part from their contempt of the divine worship; for when they had once fallen off from the regularity of their political government, they indulged themselves farther in living according to their own pleasure, and according to their own will, till they were full of the evil doings that were common among the Canaanites. God therefore was angry with them, and they lost that their happy state, which they had obtained by innumerable labours, by their luxury: for when Chushan, king of the Assyrians, had made war against them, they lost many of their soldiers in the battle, and when they were besieged, they were taken by force; nay, there were some who, out of fear, voluntarily submitted to him, and though the tribute laid upon them was more than they could bear, yet did they pay it, and underwent all sort of oppression for eight years; after which time they were freed from them in the following manner.

3. There was one whose name was Othniel, the son of Kenez, of the tribe of Judah, an active man, and of great courage. He had an admonition from God not to overlook the Israelites in such a distress as they were now in, but to endeavour boldly to gain them their liberty; so when he had procured some to assist him in this dangerous undertaking (and few they were, who, either out of shame at their present circumstances, or out of a desire of changing them, could be prevailed on to assist him,) he first of all destroyed that garrison which Chushan had set over them: but when it was perceived that he had not failed in his first attempt, more of the people came to his assistance; so they joined battle with the Assyrians, and drove them entirely before them, and compelled them to pass over Euphrates. Hereupon Othniel, who had given such proofs of his valour, received from the multitude authority to judge the people: and when he had ruled over them forty years, he died.

CHAP. IV.

How our People served the Moabites Eighteen Years, and were then delivered from Slavery by one Ehud, who retained the Dominion Eighty Years.

§ 1. When Othniel was dead, the affairs of the Israelites fell again into disorder: and while they neither paid to God the honour due to him nor were obedient to the laws, their afflictions increased, till Eglon, king of the Moabites, did so greatly despise them on account of the disorders of their political government, that he made war upon them and overcame them in several battles, and made the most courageous to submit, and entirely subdued their army, and ordered them to pay him tribute. And when he had built him a royal palace at Jericho,* he omitted no method whereby he might distress them, and indeed he reduced them to poverty for eighteen years. But when God had once taken pity of the Israel-

* It appears by the sacred history, Judg. i. 16; iii. 13, that Eglon's pavilion or palace, was at the city of palm trees, as the place where Jericho had stood is called after its destruction by Joshua, that is, at or near the demolished city. Accordingly, Josephus says it was at Jericho or rather in that fine country of palm trees, upon or near to the same spot of ground on which Jericho had formerly stood and on which it was rebuilt by Hiel, 1 Kings, xvi. 34. Our other copies that avoid its proper name, Jericho, and call it the *city of palm trees* only, speak here more accurately than Josephus

ites, on account of their afflictions, and was moved to compassion by their supplications put up to him, he freed them from the hard usage they had met with under the Moabites. This liberty he procured for them in the following manner.

2. There was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Ehud, the son of Gera, a man of very great courage in bold undertakings, and of a very strong body fit for hard labour, but best skilled in using his left hand, in which was his whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with Eglon, and that by means of presents, with which he obtained his favour, and insinuated himself into his good opinion, whereby he was also beloved of those that were about the king. Now, when on a time he was bringing presents to the king, and had two servants with him, he put a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him: it was then summer time, and the middle of the day, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the heat, and because they were gone to dinner. So the young man when he had offered his presents to the king, who then resided in a small parlour that stood conveniently to avoid the heat, he fell into discourse with him, for they were now alone, the king having bid his servants that attended him to go their ways, because he had a mind to talk with Ehud. He was now sitting on his throne; and fear seized upon Ehud lest he should miss his stroke and not give him a deadly wound, so he raised himself up, and said he had a dream to impart to him by the command of God; upon which the king leaped out of his throne for joy of the dream; so Ehud smote him to the heart, and leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. Now the king's servants were very still, as supposing that the king had composed himself to sleep.

3. Hereupon Ehud informed the people of Jericho privately of what he had done, and exhorted them to recover their liberty; who heard him gladly, and went to their arms, and sent messengers over the country, that should sound trumpets of rams' horns, for it was our custom to call the people together by them. Now the attendants of Eglon were ignorant of what misfortune had befallen him for a great while; but towards the evening, fearing some uncommon accident had happened, they entered into his parlour, and when they found him dead, they were in great disorder, and knew not what to do; and before the guards could be got together, the multitude of the Israelites came upon them, so that some of them were slain immediately, and some were put to flight, and ran away toward the country of Moab, in order to save themselves. Their number was above ten thousand. The Israelites seized upon the ford of Jordan, and pursued them, and slew them, and many of them they killed at the ford, nor did one of them escape out of their hands: and by this means it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from slavery under the Moabites. Ehud also was on this account dignified with the government over all the multitude, and died after he had held the government eighty years.* He was a man worthy of commendation, even besides what he deserved for the forementioned act of his. After him Shamgar, the son of Anath, was elected for their governor, but died in the first year of his government.

* These 80 years for the government of Ehud are necessary to Josephus's usual large numbers between the Exodus and the building of the temple, of 592 or 612 years, but not to the smallest number of 480 years, 1 Kings, vi. 1, which lesser number Josephus seems sometimes to have followed. And since in the beginning of the next chapter it is said by Josephus, that here was hardly a breathing time for the Israelites before Jabin came and enslaved them, it is highly probable that some of the copies in his time had here only 8 years instead of 80; as had that of Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolyc*, L. iii. and the most probably from his copy of Josephus

CHAP. V.

How the Canaanites brought the Israelites under Slavery for Twenty Years: after which they were delivered by Barak and Deborah, who ruled over them for Forty Years.

§ 1. And now it was that the Israelites, taking no warning by their former misfortunes to amend their manners, and neither worshipping God nor submitting to the laws, were brought into slavery by Jabin, the king of the Canaanites, and that before they had a short breathing time after the slavery under the Moabites; for this Jabin came out of Hazor, a city that was situate over the lake Semechonitis, and had in pay three hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, with no fewer than three thousand chariots. Sisera was the commander of all his army, and was the principal person in the king's favour. He so sorely beat the Israelites when they fought with him that he ordered them to pay tribute.

2. So they continued to undergo that hardship for twenty years, as not good enough of themselves to grow wise by their misfortunes. God was willing also hereby the more to subdue their obstinacy and ingratitude towards himself. So when at length they were become penitent, and were so wise as to learn that their calamities arose from their contempt of the laws, they besought Deborah, a certain prophetess among them (which name in the Hebrew tongue signifies a *Bee*,) to pray to God to take pity on them, and not to overlook them, now they were ruined by the Canaanites. So God granted them deliverance, and chose them a general, Barak, one that was of the tribe of Naphtali (now Barak, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies *lightning*.)

3. So Deborah sent for Barak, and bid him choose him out ten thousand young men, to go against the enemy, because God had said, that that number was sufficient, and promised them victory. But when Barak said, that he would not be the general unless she would also go as a general with him, she had indignation at what he said, and replied, "Thou, O Barak, deliverest up meanly that authority which God hath given thee, into the hand of a woman, and I do not reject it." So they collected ten thousand men, and pitched their camp at Mount Tabor, where, at the king's command Sisera met them, and pitched his camp not far from the enemy; whereupon the Israelites, and Barak himself, were so affrighted at the multitude of those enemies that they were resolved to march off, had not Deborah retained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy that very day, for that they should conquer them, and God would be their assistance.

4. So the battle began; and when they were come to a close fight, there came down from heaven a great storm, with a vast quantity of rain and hail, and the wind blew the rain in the face of the Canaanites, and so darkened their eyes, their arrows and slings were of no advantage to them; nor would the coldness of the air permit the soldiers to make use of their swords, while this storm did not so much incommode the Israelites, because it came in their backs. They also took such courage, upon the apprehension that God was assisting them, that they fell upon the very midst of their enemies, and slew a great number of them, so that some of them fell by the Israelites, some fell by their own horses, which were put into disorder, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. At last Sisera, as soon as he saw himself beaten, fled away, and came to a woman whose name was *Jael*, a Kenite, who received him, when he desired to be concealed; and when he asked for somewhat to drink, she gave him sour milk, of which he drank so unmeasurably that he fell asleep; but when he was asleep, Jael took an iron nail, and drove it through his temples with a hammer, into the floor: and when Barak came a little afterward, she showed Sisera nailed to the ground. And thus was this victory gained by a woman, as Deborah had fore

told. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor; and when he met with him, he slew him: and when the general was fallen, Barak overthrew the city to the foundation, and was the commander of the Israelites for forty years.

CHAP. VI.

How the Midianites and other Nations fought against the Israelites and beat them and afflicted their Country for Seven Years. How they were delivered by Gideon, who ruled over the Multitude for Forty Years.

§ 1. Now when Barak and Deborah were dead, whose deaths happened about the same time, afterwards the Midianites called the Amalekites and Arabians to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and were too hard for those that fought against them; and when they had burnt the fruits of the earth, they carried off the prey. Now when they had done this for three years, the multitude of the Israelites retired to the mountains, and forsook the plain country. They also made themselves hollows under ground, and caverns, and preserved therein whatsoever had escaped their enemies; for the Midianites made expeditions in harvest-time, but permitted them to plough the land in winter, that so when the others had taken the pains, they might have fruits for them to carry away. Indeed there ensued a famine, and a scarcity of food, upon which they betook themselves to their supplications to God, and besought him to save them.

2. Gideon also, the son of Joasha, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his sheaves of corn privately, and threshed them at the wine-press, for he was too fearful of their enemies to thresh them openly in the threshing-floor. At this time somewhat appeared to him in the shape of a young man, and told him, "That he was a happy man, and beloved of God." To which he immediately replied, "A mighty indication of God's favour to me, that I am forced to use this wine-press instead of a threshing-floor!" But the appearance exhorted him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of their liberty. He answered, That "it was impossible for him to recover it, because the tribe to which he belonged was by no means numerous, and because he was but young himself, and too inconsiderable to think of such great actions." But the other promised him, that God would supply what he was defective in, and would afford the Israelites victory under his conduct.

3. Now, therefore, as Gideon was relating this to some young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men got ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him, That "mankind were too fond of themselves, and were enemies to such as excelled in virtue. Now that they might not pass God over, but ascribe the victory to him, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power because they were a great army, and able of themselves to fight their enemies, but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, he advised him to bring his army about noon in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those that bent down on their knees, and so drank, to be men of courage, but for all those that drank tumultuously, that he should esteem them to do it out of fear, and as in dread of their enemies." And when Gideon had done as God had suggested to him, there were found three hundred men that took water with their hands tumultuously, so God bid him take these men and attack the enemy. Accordingly they pitched their camp at the river Jordan, as ready the next day to pass over it.

4. But Gideon was in great fear, for God had told him beforehand, that he should set upon his enemies in the night-time: but God being willing to free him from his fear, bid him take one of his soldiers, and go near to the Midianites' tents, for that he should from that very place have his courage raised, and grow

bold. So he obeyed, and went and took his servant Phurah with him; and as he came near to one of the tents he discovered that those that were in it were awake, and that one of them was telling to his fellow-soldier a dream of his own, and that so plainly, that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this: He thought he saw a barley cake, such a one as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers. Now the other soldier explained this vision to mean the destruction of the army, and told them what his reason was which made him so to conjecture, viz. that the seed called *barley* was all of it allowed to be of the vilest sort of seed, and that the Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the people of Asia, agreeably to the seed of barley, and that what seemed to look big among the Israelites was this Gideon and the army that was with him: and since thou sayest thou didst see the cake over-turning our tents, I am afraid lest God hath granted the victory over us to Gideon.

5. When Gideon had heard this dream, good hope and courage came upon him; and he commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and told them of this vision of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready to perform what he should enjoin them: so Gideon divided his army into three parts, and brought it about the fourth watch of the night, each part containing a hundred men: they all bore empty pitchers, and lighted lamps in their hands, that their onset might not be discovered by their enemies. They had also each of them a ram's horn in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet. The enemies' camp took up a large space of ground; for it happened they had a great many camels: and as they were divided into different nations, so they were all contained in one circle. Now when the Hebrews did as they were ordered beforehand, upon their approach to their enemies, and on the signal given, sounded with the rams' horn, and brake their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with their lamps, and a great shout, and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," a disorder and a fright seized upon the other men while they were half asleep, for it was night-time, as God would have it; so that a few of them were slain by their enemies, but the greatest part by their own soldiers, on account of the diversity of their language, and when they were once put into disorder, they killed all that they met with, as thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there was a great slaughter made. And as the report of Gideon's victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a certain valley, encompassed with torrents, a place which these could not get over; so they encompassed them, and slew them all, with their kings, Oreb and Zeeb. But the remaining captains led those soldiers that were left, which were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off the Israelites. However, Gideon did not grudge his pains, but pursued them with all his army, and joining battle with them, cut off the whole enemies' army, and took the other leaders, Zebah and Zalmuna, and made them captives. Now there were slain in this battle of the Midianites, and of their auxiliaries the Arabians, about a hundred and twenty thousand, and the Hebrews took a great prey, gold and silver, and garments, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon was come to his own country of Ophrah, he slew the kings of the Midianites.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the good success of Gideon, that they resolved to make war against him, accusing him because he did not tell them of his expedition against their enemies. But Gideon, as a man of temper, and that excelled in every virtue, pleaded, "That it was not the result of his own authority or reasoning, that made him attack the enemy without them, but that it was the command of God, and still the victory belonged to them as well as those in the army." And by this method of cooling their passions, he brought more advantage to the Hebrews than by the success he had against these enemies, for he thereby delivered them from a sedition which was arising

among them; yet did this tribe afterwards suffer the punishment of this their injurious treatment of Gideon, of which we will give an account in due time.

7. Hereupon Gideon would have laid down the government, but was overpersuaded to take it, which he enjoyed forty years, and distributed justice to them, as the people came to him in their differences; and what he determined was esteemed valid by all. And when he died, he was buried in his own country of Ophrah

CHAP. VII.

That the Judges who succeeded Gideon made War with the adjoining Nations for a long Time.

§ 1. Now Gideon had seventy sons that were legitimate, for he had many wives, but he had also one that was spurious by his concubine Drumah, whose name was *Abimelech*, who, after his father's death retired to Shechem to his mother's relations, for they were of that place: and when he had got money of such of them as were eminent for many instances of injustice, he came with them to his father's house, and slew all his brethren, except Jotham, for he had the good fortune to escape and be preserved; but Abimelech made the government tyrannical, and constituted himself a lord, to do what he pleased, instead of obeying the laws, and he acted most rigidly against those that were the patrons of justice.

2. Now, when on a certain time there was a public festival at Shechem, and all the multitude was there gathered together, Jotham his brother, whose escape we before related, went up to Mount Gerizzim, which hangs over the city Shechem, and cried out so as to be heard by the multitude, who were attentive to him. He desired they would consider what he was going to say to them; so when silence was made, he said, "That when the trees had a human voice, and there was an assembly of them gathered together, they desired that the fig-tree would rule over them; but when that tree refused so to do, because it was contented to enjoy that honour which belonged peculiarly to the fruit it bare, and not that which should be derived to it from abroad, the trees did not leave off their intentions to have a ruler, so they thought proper to make the offer of that honour to the vine; but when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words which the fig tree had used before, and excused itself from accepting the government: and when the olive tree had done the same, the brier, whom the trees had desired to take the kingdom (it is a sort of wood good for firing,) it promised to take the government, and to be zealous in the exercise of it, but that then they must sit down under its shadow, and if they should plot against it to destroy it, the principle of fire that was in it should destroy them. He told them, that what he had said was no laughing matter: for that when they had experienced many blessings from Gideon, they overlooked Abimelech, when he overruled all, and had joined with them in slaying his brethren: and that he was no better than a fire himself." So when he had said this, he went away, and lived privately in the mountains for three years, out of fear of Abimelech.

3. A little while after this festival the Shechemites, who had now repented themselves of having slain the sons of Gideon, drove Abimelech away, both from their city and their tribe; whereupon he contrived how he might distress their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather their fruits, for fear Abimelech should do them some mischief. Now it happened that there had come to them a man of authority, one Gaal, that sojourned with them, having his armed men and his kinsmen with him, so the Shechemites desired that he would allow them a guard during their vintage, whereupon he ac

cepted of their desires, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them at the head of his soldiery: so they gathered their fruit with safety; and when they were at supper in several companies, they then ventured to curse Abimelech openly, and the magistrates laid ambushes in places about the city, and caught many of Abimelech's followers, and destroyed them.

4. Now there was one Zebul, a magistrate of the Shechemites, that had entertained Abimelech. He sent messengers, and informed him, how much Gaal had irritated the people against him, and excited him to lay ambushes before the city, for that he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would leave it in his power to be revenged on him, and when that was once done, he would bring him to be reconciled to the city. So Abimelech laid ambushes, and himself lay with them. Now Gaal abode in the suburbs, taking little care of himself; and Zebul was with him. Now as Gaal saw the armed men coming on, he said to Zebul, that some armed men were coming; but the other replied, they were only shadows of huge stones; and when they were come nearer, Gaal perceived what was the reality, and said, they were not shadows, but men lying in ambush. Then said Zebul, Didst not thou reproach Abimelech for cowardice? why dost thou not then show how very courageous thou art thyself, and go and fight him? So Gaal, being in disorder, joined battle with Abimelech, and some of his men fell; whereupon he fled into the city, and took his men with him. But Zebul managed his matters so in the city that he procured them to expel Gaal out of the city, and this by accusing him of cowardice in this action with the soldiers of Abimelech. But Abimelech, when he had learned that the Shechemites were again coming out to gather their grapes, placed ambushes before the city, and when they were come out, the third part of his army took possession of the gates to hinder the citizens from returning in again, while the rest pursued those that were scattered abroad, and so there was slaughter every where; and when he had overthrown the city to the very foundations, for it was not able to bear a siege, and had sown its ruins with salt, he proceeded on with his army till all the Shechemites were slain. As for those that were scattered about the country, and so escaped the danger, they were gathered together unto a certain strong rock, and settled themselves upon it, and prepared to build a wall about it: and when Abimelech knew their intentions, he prevented them, and came upon them with his forces, and laying faggots of dry wood round the place, he himself bringing some of them, and by his example encouraging the soldiers to do the same. And when the rock was encompassed round about with these faggots, they set them on fire, and threw in whatsoever by nature caught fire the most easily; so a mighty flame was raised, and nobody could fly away from the rock, but every man perished, with their wives and children, in all about fifteen hundred men, and the rest were a great number also. And such was the calamity which fell upon the Shechemites; and men's grief on their account had been greater than it was, had they not brought so much mischief on a person who son who had so well deserved of them, and had they not themselves esteemed this as a punishment for the same.

5. Now Abimelech, when he had affrighted the Israelites, with the miseries he had brought upon the Shechemites, seemed openly to affect greater authority than he now had, and appeared to set no bounds to his violence, unless it were with the destruction of all. Accordingly he marched to Thebes, and took the city on the sudden; and there being a great tower therein, whereunto the whole multitude fled, he made preparation to besiege it. Now as he was rushing with violence near the gates, a woman threw a piece of millstone upon his head, upon which Abimelech fell down; and desired his armour-bearer to kill him, lest his death should be thought to be the work of a woman; who did what he was bid to do. So he underwent this death as a punishment for the wickedness he had perpetrated against his brethren, and his insolent barbarity to the Shechemites. Now the calamity that happened to those Shechemites was according to the pre-

diction of Jotham. However, the army that was with Abimelech, upon his fall was scattered abroad, and went to their own homes.

6. Now it was that Jair the Gileadite,* of the tribe of Manasseh, took the government. He was a man happy in other respects also, but particularly in his children, who were of a good character. They were thirty in number, and very skilful in riding on horses, and were entrusted with the government of the cities of Gilead. He kept the government twenty-two years, and died an old man; and he was buried in Camon, a city of Gilead.

7. And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were managed uncertainly, and tended to disorder, and to the contempt of God and of the laws. So the Ammonites and Philistines had them in contempt, and laid waste the country with a great army; and when they had taken all Perea, they were so insolent as to attempt to gain the possession of all the rest; but the Hebrews, being now amended by the calamities they had undergone, betook themselves to supplications to God; and brought sacrifices to him, beseeching him not to be too severe upon them, but to be moved by their prayers to leave off his anger against them. So God became more merciful to them, and was ready to assist them.

8. When the Ammonites had made an expedition into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but wanted a commander. Now there was one whose name was Jephtha, who, both on account of his father's virtue, and on account of that army which he maintained at his own expenses, was a potent man: the Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance, and promised him the dominion over them all his lifetime. But he did not admit of their entreaty; and accused them, that they did not come to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and this in an open manner by his brethren; for they cast him off, as not having the same mother with the rest, but born of a strange mother, that was introduced among them by his father's fondness, and this they did out of a contempt of his inability [to vindicate himself.] So he dwelt in the country of Gilead, as it is called, and received all that came to him, let them come from what place soever, and paid them wages. However, when they pressed him to accept the dominion, and swore that they would grant him the government over them all his life, he led them to the war.

9. And when Jephtha had taken immediate care of their affairs, he placed his army at the city Mispeh, and sent a message to the Ammonite [king,] complaining of his unjust possession of their land. But that king sent a contrary message; and complained of the Exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired him to go out of the land of the Amorites, and yield it up to him, as at first his paternal inheritance. But Jephtha returned this answer, "That he did not justly complain of his ancestors about the land of the Amorites, and ought rather to thank them that they left the land of the Ammonites to them, since Moses could have taken it also; and that neither would he recede from that land of their own, which God had obtained for them, and they had now inhabited [above] three hundred years, but would fight with them about it."

10. And when he had given them this answer, he sent the ambassadors away. And when he had prayed for victory, and had vowed to perform sacred offices; and if he came home in safety, to offer in sacrifice what living creatures soever should first meet him†, he joined in battle with the enemy, and gained a great victory, and in his pursuit slew the enemies all along as far as the city Minnith. He then passed over to the land of the Ammonites, and overthrew many of their

* Our present copies of Josephus all omit Tola among the Judges, though the other copies have him next after Abimelech, and allot twenty-three years to his administration, Judges, x. 1, 2; yet do all Josephus's commentators conclude, that in Josephus's sum of the years of the Judges his twenty-three years are included: hence we are to confess, that somewhat has been here lost out of his copies.

† Josephus justly condemns Jephtha, as do the Apostolical Constitutions, B. vii. ch. xxxvii. for his rash vow, whether it were for sacrificing his daughter, as Josephus thought, or for dedicating her who was his only child, to perpetual virginity, at the tabernacle or elsewhere, which I rather suppose,

cities, and took their prey, and freed his own people from that slavery which they had undergone for eighteen years. But as he came back, he fell into a calamity no way correspondent to the great actions he had done; for it was his daughter that came to meet him; she was also an only child and a virgin; upon this Jephtha heavily lamented the greatness of his affliction, and blamed his daughter for being so forward in meeting him, for he had vowed to sacrifice her to God. However, this action that was to befal her was not ungrateful to her, since she should die upon occasion of her father's victory, and the liberty of her fellow citizens, she only desired her father to give her leave for two months, to bewail her youth with her fellow-citizens; and then she agreed that at the fore-mentioned time he might do with her according to his vow. Accordingly when that time was over, he sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering, offering such an oblation as was neither comformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, not weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice.

11. Now the tribe of Ephraim fought against him, because he did not take them along with him in his expedition against the Ammonites, but because he alone had the prey, and the glory of what was done to himself. As to which he said first, that they were not ignorant how his kindred had fought against him, and that when they were invited, they did not come to his assistance, whereas they ought to have come quickly, even before they were invited. And in the next place, they were going to act unjustly; for while they had not courage enough to fight their enemies, they came hastily against their own kindred: and he threatened them, that, with God's assistance, he would inflict a punishment upon them, unless they would grow wiser. But when he could not persuade them, he fought with them with those forces which he sent for out of Gilead, and he made a great slaughter among them; and when they were beaten, he pursued them, and seized on the passages of Jordan by a part of his army which he had sent before, and slew about forty-two thousand of them.

12. So when Jephtha had ruled six years he died, and was buried in his own country, Sebee, which is a place in the land of Gilead.

13. Now when Jephtha was dead, Ibzan took the government, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city of Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all which he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording, or deserved a memorial. So he died an old man, and was buried in his own country.

14. When Ibzan was dead after this manner, neither did Helon who succeeded him in the government, and kept it ten years, do any thing remarkable; he was of the tribe of Zebulon.

15. Abdon, also the son of Hilel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and born at the city of Pyrathon, was ordained their supreme governor after Helon. He is only recorded to have been happy in his children; for the public affairs were then so peaceable, and in such security, that neither did he perform any glorious action. He had forty sons, and by them left thirty grandchildren; and he marched in state, with these seventy, who were all very skilful in riding horses, and he left them all alive after him. He died an old man; and obtained a magnificent burial in Pyrathon

If he had vowed her for a sacrifice she ought to have been redeemed, Lev. xxvii. 1—8; but of the sense of ver. 28, 29, as relating not to things vowed to God, but devoted to destruction, see the note on Antiq. B. v. ch. i. sect. 8.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Fortitude of Samson, and what Mischiefs he brought upon the Philistines.

§ 1. After Abdon was dead, the Philistines overcame the Israelites, and received tribute of them for forty years; from which distress they were delivered after this manner.

2. There was one Manoah, a person of such great virtue that he had few men his equals, and without dispute the principal person of his country. He had a wife celebrated for her beauty, and excelling her contemporaries. He had no children; and being uneasy at his want of posterity, he entreated God to give them seed of their own bodies to succeed them; and with that intent he came constantly into the suburbs,* together with his wife, which suburbs were in the great plain. Now he was fond of his wife to a degree of madness, and on that account was unmeasurably jealous of her. Now when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her; it was an angel of God, and resembled a young man, beautiful and tall, and brought her the good news, that she should have a son, born by God's providence, that should be a goodly child, of great strength, by whom, when he was grown up to man's estate, the Philistines should be afflicted. He exhorted her also not to poll his hair, and that he should avoid all other kinds of drink (for so had God commanded,) and be entirely contented with water. So the angel, when he had delivered that message, went his way, his coming having been by the will of God.

3. Now the wife informed her husband, when he came home, of what the angel had said, who showed so great an admiration of the beauty and tallness of the young man that had appeared to her, that her husband was astonished, and out of himself for jealousy, and such suspicions as are excited by that passion: but she was desirous to have her husband's unreasonable sorrow taken away; accordingly she entreated God to send the angel again that he might be seen by her husband. So the angel came again by the favour of God, while they were in the suburbs, and appeared to her when she was alone, without her husband. She desired the angel to stay so long till she might bring her husband; and that request being granted, she goes to call Manoah. When he saw the angel he was not yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife: but when he said it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he then requested of him to tell him who he was, that when the child was born they might return him thanks, and give him a present. He replied, that he did not want any present, for that he did not bring them the good news of the birth of a son, out of the want of any thing. And when Manoah had entreated him to stay, and partake of his hospitality, he did not give his consent. However, he was persuaded, at the earnest request of Manoah, to stay so long as while he brought him one mark of his hospitality: so he slew a kid of the goats, and bid his wife boil it. When all was ready, the angel enjoined them to set the loaves and the flesh, but without the vessels, upon the rock; which when they had done, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, which, upon the breaking out of a flame, was consumed, together with the loaves. And the angel ascended openly, in their sight, up to heaven, by means of the smoke, as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that some danger would come to them from this sight of God, but his wife bid him be of good courage, for that God appeared to them for their benefit.

4. So the woman proved with child, and was careful to observe the injunctions that were given her, and they called the child, when he was born, *Samson*, which

* I can discover no reason why Manoah and his wife came so constantly into the suburbs to pray for children, but because there was a synagogue or place of devotion in those suburbs

name signifies one that is *strong*. So the child grew apace, and it appeared evidently that he would be a prophet,* both by the moderation of his diet, and the permission of his hair to grow.

5. Now when he once came with his parents to Timnath, a city of the Philistines, when there was a great festival, he fell in love with a maid of that country, and he desired of his parents that they would procure him the damsel for his wife; but they refused so to do, because she was not of the stock of Israel; yet because this marriage was of God, who intended to convert it to the benefit of the Hebrews, he overpersuaded them to procure her to be espoused to him. And as he was continually coming to her parents, he met a lion, and though he was naked, he received his onset, and strangled him with his hands, and cast the wild beast into a woody piece of ground on the inside of the road.

6. And when he was going another time to the damsel, he lighted upon a swarm of bees making their combs in the breast of that lion, and taking three honeycombs away, he gave them, together with the rest of his presents, to the damsel. Now the people of Timnath, out of a dread of the young man's strength, gave him, during the time of the wedding-feast (for he then feasted them all,) thirty of the most stout of their youth, in pretence to be his companions, but in reality to be a guard upon him, that he might not attempt to give them any disturbance. Now as they were drinking merrily, and playing, Samson said, as was usual at such times, "Come, if I propose you a riddle, and you can expound it in these seven days time, I will give you every one, a linen shirt and a garment, as the reward of your wisdom." So they being very ambitious to obtain the glory of wisdom, together with the gains, desired him to propose his riddle: he said, "that a great devourer produced sweet food out of itself, though itself were very disagreeable." And when they were not able, in three days time, to find out the meaning of the riddle, they desired the damsel to discover it by the means of her husband, and tell it them, and they threatened to burn her if she did not tell it them. So when the damsel entreated Samson to tell it her, he at first refused to do it, but when she lay hard at him, and fell into tears, and made his refusal to tell it a sign of his unkindness to her, he informed her of his slaughter of a lion, and how he found bees in his breast, and carried away three honeycombs, and brought them to her. Thus he suspecting nothing of deceit, informed her of all, and she revealed it to those that desired to know it. Then on the seventh day, whereon they were to expound the riddle proposed to them, they met together before sun-setting, and said, "Nothing is more disagreeable than a lion to those that light on it, and nothing is sweeter than honey to those that make use of it." To which Samson made this rejoinder: "Nothing is more deceitful than a woman, for such was the person that discovered my interpretation to you." Accordingly he gave them the presents he had promised them, making such Askelonites as met him upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced this his wife, and the girl despised his anger, and was married to his companion, who made the former match between them.

7. At this injurious treatment Samson was so provoked that he resolved to punish all the Philistines, as well as her: so it being then summer-time, and the fruits of the land being almost ripe enough for reaping, he caught three hundred foxes, and joining lighted torches to their tails, he sent them into the fields of the Philistines, by which means the fruits of the fields perished. Now when the Philistines knew that this was Samson's doing, and knew also for what cause he did it, they sent their rulers to Timnath, and burned his former wife, and her relations, who had been the occasion of their misfortunes.

8. Now when Samson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country,

* Here by a *prophet* Josephus seems only to mean one that was born by a particular providence, lived after the manner of a Nazarite devoted to God, and was to have an extraordinary commission and strength from God for the judging and avenging his people Israel, without any proper prophetic revelations at all.

ne dwelt at Etam, which is a strong rock of the tribe of Judah; for the Philistines at that time made an expedition against that tribe: but the people of Judah said, that they did not act justly with them, in inflicting punishments upon them while they paid their tribute, and this only on account of Samson's offences. They answered, that in case they would not be blamed themselves, they must deliver up Sampson, and put him into their power. So they, being desirous not to be blamed themselves, came to the rock with three thousand armed men, and complained to Samson of the bold insults he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring calamity upon the whole nation of the Hebrews; and they told him they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to them, and put him into their power, so they desired him to bear this willingly. Accordingly when he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than only to deliver him into his enemies' hands, he came down from the rock, and put himself into the power of his countrymen. Then did they bind him with two cords, and led him on, in order to deliver him to the Philistines; and when they came to a certain place which is now called *The Jawbone*, on account of the great action there performed by Samson, though of old it had no particular name at all, the Philistines, who had pitched their camp not far off, came to meet them with joy and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired; but Samson broke his bonds asunder, and catching up the jawbone of an ass that lay down at his feet, fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with his jawbone, slew a thousand of them, and put the rest to flight and into great disorder.

9. Upon this slaughter Samson was too proud of what he had performed, and said that this did not come to pass by the assistance of God, but that his success was to be ascribed to his own courage; and vaunted himself, that "it was out of a dread of him, that some of his enemies fell, and the rest ran away upon his use of the jawbone." But when a great thirst came upon him, he considered that human courage is nothing, and bare his testimony that all is to be ascribed to God, and besought him that he would not be angry at any thing he had said, nor give him up into the hands of his enemies, but afford him help under his affliction, and deliver him from the misfortunes he was under. Accordingly God was moved with his entreaties, and raised him up a plentiful fountain of sweet water at a certain rock; whence it was that Samson called the place *The Jawbone*,* and so it is called to this day.

10. After this fight Samson had the Philistines in contempt, and came to Gaza, and took up his lodgings in a certain inn. When the rulers of Gaza were informed of his coming thither, they seized upon the gates, and placed men in ambush about them, that he might not escape without being perceived. But Samson, who was acquainted with their contrivances against him, arose about midnight, and ran by force upon the gates, with their posts and beams and the rest of their wooden furniture, and carried them away on his shoulders, and bare them to the mountain that is over Hebron, and there laid them down.

11. However, he at length transgressed† the laws of his country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners; which thing was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman that was a harlot, among the Philistines; her name was *Delilah*, and he lived with her. So those that administered the public affairs of the Philistines, came to her, and with promises induced her to get out of Samson what was the cause of that his strength, by which he became unconquerable to his enemies. Accordingly, when they were drinking, and had the like conversation together, she pretended to admire the actions he had done, and contrived to get out of him by

* This fountain called *Lehi*, or the Jawbone, is still in being as travellers assure us, and was known by this very name in the days of Josephus, and has been known by the same name in all these past ages. See Antiq. B. vii. ch. xii. sect. 4.

† See this justly observed in the Apostolical Constitutions, B. vii. ch. xxxvii. that Samson's prayer was not heard, but that it was before this his transgression.

subtility, by what means he so much excelled others in strength. Samson, in order to delude Delilah, for he had not yet lost his senses, replied, that if he were bound with seven such green withes of a vine as might still be wreathed, he should be weaker than any other man. The woman said no more then, but told this to the rulers of the Philistines, and hid certain of the soldiers in ambush within the house, and when he was disordered in drink, and asleep, she bound him as fast as possible with the withes, and then upon her awakening him, she told him some of the people were upon him; but he broke the withes, and endeavoured to defend himself, as though some of the people were upon him. Now this woman, in the constant conversation Samson had with her, pretended that she took it very ill that he had such little confidence in her affections to him, that he would not tell her what she desired, as if she would not conceal what she knew it was for his interest to have concealed. However, he deluded her again, and told her, that if they bound him with seven cords, he should lose his strength. And when, upon doing this, she gained nothing, he told her the third time, that his hair should be woven into a web; but when upon doing this, the truth was not yet discovered, at length Samson, upon Delilah's prayer (for he was doomed to fall into some affliction,) was desirous to please her, and told her, That "God took care of him, and that he was born by his providence, and that thence it is that I suffer my hair to grow, God having charged me never to poll my head, and thence my strength is according to the increase and continuance of my hair." When she had learned thus much, and had deprived him of his hair, she delivered him up to his enemies, when, he was not strong enough to defend himself from their attempts upon him; so they put out his eyes, and bound him, and had him led about among them.

12. But in process of time Samson's hair grew again. And there was a public festival among the Philistines, when the rulers, and those of the most eminent character, were feasting together (now the room wherein they were had its roof supported by two pillars,) so they sent for Samson, and he was brought to their feast, that they might insult him in their cups. Hereupon he, thinking it one of the greatest misfortunes, if he should not be able to revenge himself when he was thus insulted, persuaded the boy that led him by the hand, that he was weary and wanted to rest himself, and desired he would bring him near the pillars; and as soon as he came to them, he rushed with force against them, and overthrew the house by overthrowing its pillars, with three thousand men in it, who were all slain, and Samson with them. And such was the end of this man, when he had ruled over the Israelites twenty years. And indeed this man deserves to be admired for his courage and strength, and magnanimity at his death, and that his wrath against his enemies went so far as to die himself with them. But as for his being ensnared by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist the temptations to that sin; but we ought to bear him witness, that in all other respects he was one of extraordinary virtue. But his kindred took away his body, and buried it in Sarasat, his own country, with the rest of his family.

CHAP. IX.

How under Eli's Government of the Israelites, Booz married Ruth, from whom came Obed, the Grandfather of David.

§ 1. Now after the death of Samson, Eli the high priest was governor of the Israelites. Under him, when the country was afflicted with a famine, Elimelech of Bethlehem, which is a city of the tribe of Judah, being not able to support his family under so sore a distress, took with him Naomi his wife, and the children that were born to him by her, Chilion and Mahlon, and removed his habitation into the land of Moab; and upon the happy prosperity of his affairs there, he took for his sons wives of the Moabites, Orphah for Chilion, and Ruth for Mahlon

But in the compass of ten years, both Elimelech, and a little while after him, the sons died; and Naomi, being very uneasy at these accidents, and not able to bear her lonesome condition, now those that were dearest to her were dead, on whose account it was that she had gone away from her own country, she returned to it again, for she had been informed it was now in a flourishing condition. However, her daughters-in-law were not able to think of parting with her, and when they had a mind to go out of the country with her, she could not dissuade them from it, but when they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had had with her sons, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also; and seeing her own affairs were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were, and not to think of leaving their own country, and partaking with her of that uncertainty under which she must return. Accordingly Orphah stayed behind, but she took Ruth along with her, as not to be persuaded to stay behind her, but would take her fortune with her, whatsoever it should prove.

2. When Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to Bethlehem, Booz, who was near of kin to Elimelech, entertained her; and when Naomi was so called by her fellow citizens, according to her true name, she said, "You might more truly call me Mara." Now Naomi signifies in the Hebrew tongue, *happiness*, and Mara, *sorrow*. It was now reaping time; and Ruth, by the leave of her mother-in-law, went out to glean, that they might get a stock of corn for their food. Now it happened that she came into Booz's field; and after some time Booz came thither, and when he saw the damsel, he inquired of his servant that was set over the reapers concerning the girl. The servant had a little before inquired about all her circumstances, and told them to his master, who kindly embraced her, both on account of her affection to her mother-in-law and her remembrance of that son of hers, to whom she had been married, and wished that she might experience a prosperous condition; so he desired her not to glean, but to reap what she was able, and gave her leave to carry it home. He also gave a charge to that servant who was over the reapers, not to hinder her when she took it away, and bid him give her dinner, and make her drink, when he did the like to the reapers. Now what corn Ruth received of him she kept for her mother-in-law, and came to her in the evening, and brought the ears of corn with her, and Naomi had kept for her a part of such food as her neighbours had plentifully bestowed upon her. Ruth also told her mother-in-law what Booz had said to her; and when the other had informed her that he was near of kin to them, and perhaps was so pious a man as to make some provision for them, she went out again on the days following to gather the gleanings with Booz's maid-servants.

3. It was not many days before Booz, after the barley was winnowed, slept in his threshing-floor. When Naomi was informed of this circumstance, she contrived it so that Ruth should lie down by him, for she thought it might be for their advantage, that he should discourse with the girl. Accordingly she sent the damsel to sleep at his feet, who went as she bade her, for she did not think it consistent with her duty to contradict any command of her mother-in-law's. And at first she lay concealed from Booz as he was fast asleep; but when he awakened about midnight, and perceived a woman lying by him, he asked who she was; and when she told him her name, and desired, that he whom she owned for her lord would excuse her, he then said no more, but in the morning before the servants began to set about their work he awakened, and bid her take as much barley as she was able to carry, and go to her mother-in-law before any body there should see that she had lain down by him, because it was but prudent to avoid any reproach that might arise on that account, especially when there had been nothing done that was ill. But as to the main point she aimed at, the matter should rest here, "He that is nearer of kin than I am shall be asked whether he wants to take thee to wife; if he says he does, thou shalt follow him; but if he refuse it, I will marry thee according to the law."

4. When she had informed her mother-in-law of this, they were very glad of it, out of the hope they had that Booz would make provision for them. Now, about noon, Booz went down into the city, and gathered the senate together, and when he had sent for Ruth, he called for her kinsman also; and when he was come, he said, "Dost thou retain the inheritance of Elimelech and his sons?" He confessed that he did retain it, and that he did as he was permitted to do by the laws, because he was their nearest kinsman. Then said Booz, "Thou must not remember the laws by halves, but do every thing according to them; for the wife of Mahlon is come hither, whom thou must marry, according to the laws, in case thou wilt retain their fields." So the man yielded up both the field and the wife to Booz, who was himself of kin to those that were dead, as alleging that he had a wife already, and children also; so Booz called the senate to witness, and bid the woman to loose his shoe, and spit in his face, according to the law; and when this was done, Booz married Ruth, and they had a son within a year's time. Naomi was herself a nurse to this child; and by the advice of the woman called him *Obed*, as being to be brought up in order to be *subservient* to her in her old age, for Obed in the Hebrew dialect signifies a *servant*. The son of Obed was Jesse, and David was his son, who was king, and left his dominions to his sons for one and twenty generations. I was therefore obliged to relate this history of Ruth, because I had a mind to demonstrate the power of God, who, without difficulty can raise those that are of ordinary parentage to dignity and splendour, to which he advanced David, though he were born of such mean parents.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the Birth of Samuel; and how he foretold the Calamity that befel the Sons of Eli.

§ 1. And now, upon the ill state of the affairs of the Hebrews, they made war again upon the Philistines. The occasion was this; Eli the high priest had two sons, Hophni and Phineas. These sons of Eli were guilty of injustice towards men, and of impiety towards God, and abstained from no sort of wickedness. Some of their gifts they carried off, as belonging to the honourable employment they had, others they took away by violence. They also were guilty of impurity with the women that came to worship God [at the tabernacle,] obliging some to submit to their lust by force, and enticing others by bribes; nay, the whole course of their lives was no better than tyranny. Their father therefore was angry at them for such their wickedness, and expected that God would suddenly inflict his punishments upon them for what they had done. The multitude took it heinously also. And as soon as God had foretold what calamity would befall Eli's sons, which he did both to Eli himself, and to Samuel the prophet, who was yet but a child, he openly showed his sorrow for his sons' destruction.

2. I will first despatch what I have to say about the prophet Samuel, and after that will proceed to speak of the sons of Eli, and the miseries they brought on the whole people of the Hebrews. Elcanah, a Levite, one of a middle condition among his fellow-citizens, and one that dwelt at Ramathaim, a city of the tribe of Ephraim, married two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. He had children by the latter, but he loved the other best, although she were barren. Now Elcanah came with his wives to the city Shiloh to sacrifice, for there it was that the tabernacle of God was fixed, as we have formerly said. Now, when after he had sacrificed, he distributed at that festival portions of the flesh to his wives and children; and when Hannah saw the other wife's children sitting round about their mother, she fell into tears, and lamented herself on account of her barrenness and lonesomeness; and suffering her grief to prevail over her husband's consolations to her, she went to the tabernacle to beseech God to give her seed and

to make her a mother; and to vow to consecrate the first son she should bear to the service of God, and this in such a way that his manner of living should not be like that of ordinary men. And as she continued at her prayers a long time, Eli the high priest, for he sat there before the tabernacle, bid her go away, thinking she had been disordered with wine; but when she said she had drunk water, but was in sorrow for want of children, and was beseeching God for them, he bid her be of good cheer, and told her that God would send her children.

3. So she came to her husband full of hope, and ate her meal with gladness; and when they had returned to their own country she found herself with child, and they had a son born to them, to whom they gave the name of Samuel, which may be styled one that was *asked of God*. They therefore came to the tabernacle to offer sacrifice for the birth of the child, and brought their tithes with them; but the woman remembered the vow she had made concerning her son, and delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God, that he might become a prophet. Accordingly his hair was suffered to grow long, and his drink was water. So Samuel dwelt, and was brought up in the temple. But Elcanah had other sons by Hannah, and three daughters.

4. Now when Samuel was twelve years old he began to prophesy; and when he was once asleep, God called to him by his name, but he supposing he had been called by the high priest, came to him; but when the high priest said, he did not call him, God did so thrice. Eli was then so far illuminated, that he said to him, "Indeed, Samuel, I was silent now as well as before; it is God that calls thee; do thou, therefore, signify it to him, and say, I am here ready." So when he heard God speak again, he desired him to speak and to deliver what oracles he pleased to him, for he would not fail to perform any ministration whatsoever he should make use of him in; to which God replied, "Since thou art here ready, learn what miseries are coming upon the Israelites, such indeed as words cannot declare, nor faith believe; for the sons of Eli shall die on one day, and the priesthood shall be transferred into the family of Eleazar, and Eli hath loved his sons more than he hath loved my worship, and to such a degree as is not for their advantage." Which message Eli obliged the prophet by oath to tell him, for otherwise he had no inclination to afflict him by telling it. And now Eli had a far more sure expectation of the perdition of his sons; but the glory of Samuel increased more and more, it being found by experience, that whatsoever he prophesied came to pass accordingly.*

CHAP. XI.

Herein is declared what befell the Sons of Eli, the Ark, and the People; and how Eli himself died miserably.

§ 1. About this time it was that the Philistines made war against the Israelites, and pitched their camp at the city Aphek. Now when the Israelites had expected them a little while, the very next day they joined battle, and the Philistines were conquerors, and slew above four thousand of the Hebrews, and pursued the rest of their multitude to their camp.

2. So the Hebrews, being afraid of the worst, sent to the senate, and to the high priest, and desired that they would bring the ark of God, that by putting themselves in array when it was present with them, they might be too hard for their enemies, as not reflecting that he who had condemned them to endure these calamities was greater than the ark, and for whose sake it was that this ark

* Although there had been a few occasional prophets before, yet was this Samuel the first of a constant succession of Prophets in the Jewish nation, as is implied in St. Peter's words, Acts, iii. 24, "Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel, and those that followed after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of those days." See also Acts, xiii. 20; the other were rather sometimes called *righteous men*, Matt. x. 41; xiii. 17

came to be honoured. So the ark came, and the sons of the high priest with it, having received a charge from their father, that if they pretended to survive the taking of the ark, they should come no more into his presence; for Phineas officiated already as high priest, his father having resigned his office to him by reason of his great age. So the Hebrews were full of courage, as supposing that by the coming of the ark they should be too hard for their enemies; their enemies also were greatly concerned, and were afraid of the ark's coming to the Israelites; however the upshot did not prove agreeable to the expectations of both sides, but when the battle was joined, that victory which the Hebrews expected was gained by the Philistines, and that defeat the Philistines were afraid of fell to the lot of the Israelites, and thereby they found that they had put their trust in the ark in vain, for they were presently beaten as soon as they came to a close fight with their enemies, and lost about thirty thousand men, among which were the sons of the high priest; but the ark was carried away by the enemies.

3. When the news of this defeat came to Shiloh, with that of the captivity of the ark (for a certain young man, a Benjamite, who was in the action, came as a messenger thither), the whole city was full of lamentations. And Eli the high priest, who sat upon a high throne at one of the gates, heard their mournful cries, and supposed that some strange thing had befallen his family; so he sent for the young man; and when he understood what had happened in the battle, he was not much uneasy as to his sons, or what was told him withal about the army, as having beforehand known by divine revelation that those things would happen, and having himself declared them beforehand, for what sad things come unexpectedly they distress men the most: but as soon as the ark was carried captive by their enemies, he was very much grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently from what he expected; so he fell down from his throne, and died, having in all lived ninety-eight years, and of them retained the government forty.

4. On the same day his son Phineas's wife died also, as not able to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of her husband's death as she was in labour. However she bare a son at seven months, which lived, and to which they gave the name of *Icabod*, which name signifies *disgrace*, and this because the army received a *disgrace* at this time.

5. Now Eli was the first of the family of Ithamar, the other son of Aaron, that had the government, for the family of Eleazar officiated as high priest at first, the son still receiving that honour from the father which Eleazar bequeathed to his son Phineas, after whom Abiezer his son took the honour, and delivered it to his son whose name was *Bukki*, from whom his son Ozi received it; after whom Eli, of whom we have been speaking, had the priesthood, and so he and his posterity until the time of Solomon's reign; but then the posterity of Eleazar resumed it.

BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS

FROM THE DEATH OF ELI TO THE DEATH OF SAUL.

CHAP. I.

The Destruction that came upon the Philistines, and upon their Land, by the Wrath of God, on account of their having carried the Ark away captive; and after what Manner they sent it back to the Hebrews.

§ 1. When the Philistines had taken the ark of the Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they carried it to the city Ashdod, and put it by their own god, who was called *Dagon*,* as one of their spoils; but when they went into his temple the next morning to worship their god, they found him paying the same worship to the ark, for he lay along, as having fallen down from the basis whereon he had stood: so they took him up and set him on his basis again, and were much troubled at what had happened; and as they frequently came to Dagon and found him still lying along, in a posture of adoration to the ark, they were in very great distress and confusion. At length God sent a very destructive disease upon the city and country of Ashdod, for they died of the dysentery or flux, a sore distemper, that brought death upon them very suddenly; for before the soul could, as usual in easy deaths, be well loosed from the body, they brought up their entrails, and vomited up what they had eaten, and what was entirely corrupted by the disease. And as to the fruits of their country, a great multitude of mice arose out of the earth and hurt them, and spared neither the plants nor the fruits. Now while the people of Ashdod were under these misfortunes, and were not able to support themselves under their calamities, they perceived that they suffered thus because of the ark, and that the victory they had gotten, and their having taken the ark captive, had not happened for their good; they therefore sent to the people of Askelon, and desired that they would receive the ark among them. This desire of the people of Ashdod was not disagreeable to those of Askelon, so they granted them that favour. But when they had gotten the ark, they were in the same miserable condition, for the ark carried along with it the disasters that the people of Ashdod had suffered, to those who received it from them. Those of Askelon also sent it away from themselves to others: nor did it stay among those others neither, for since they were pursued by the same disasters they still sent it to the neighbouring cities; so that the ark went round, after this manner, to the five cities of the Philistines, as though it exacted these disasters as a tribute to be paid it for its coming among them.

2. When those that had experienced these miseries were tired out with them and when those that heard of them were taught thereby not to admit the ark among them, since they paid so dear a tribute for it, at length they sought for some contrivance and method how they might get free from it; so the governors of the five cities, Gath, and Ekron, and Askelon, as also of Gaza and Ashdod, met together, and considered what was fit to be done; and at the first they thought proper to send the ark back to its own people, as allowing that God had

* *Dagon*, a famous maritime god or *idol*, is generally supposed to have been like a *man* above the navel, and like a *fish* beneath it.

avenged its cause; that the miseries they had undergone came along with it, and that these were sent on their cities upon its account and together with it. However, there were those that said, they should not do so, nor suffer themselves to be deluded, as ascribing the cause of their miseries to it, because it could not have such power and force upon them; for had God had such a regard to it, it would not have been delivered into the hands of men: So they exhorted them to be quiet, and to take patiently what had befallen them, and to suppose there was no other cause of it but nature, which at certain revolutions of time produces such mutations in the bodies of men, in the earth, in plants, and in all things that grow, out of the earth. But the counsel that prevailed over those already described was that of certain men, who were believed to have distinguished themselves in former times for their understanding and prudence, and who, in their present circumstances, seemed above all the rest to speak properly. These men said it was not right either to send the ark away, or to retain it, but to dedicate five golden images, one for every city, as a thank-offering to God, on account of his having taken care of their preservation, and having kept them alive when their lives were likely to be taken away by such distempers as they were not able to bear up against. They also would have them make five golden mice* like those that had devoured and destroyed their country, to put them in a bag, and lay them upon the ark; and to make them a new cart also for it, and to yoke milch kine to it,† but to shut up their calves; and keep them from them, lest by following after them they should prove a hindrance to their dams, and that the dams might return the faster out of a desire of their calves; then to drive these milch kine that carried the ark, and leave it at a place where three ways met, and to leave it to the kine to go along which of those ways they pleased, that in case they went the way to the Hebrews, and ascended to their country, they should suppose that the ark was the cause of their misfortunes; but if they turned into another road, they said, "We will pursue after it, and conclude that it has no such force in it."

3. So they determined that these men spake well; and they immediately confirmed their opinion by doing accordingly; and when they had done as hath been already described, they brought the cart to a place where three ways met, and left it there, and went their ways; but the kine went the right way, and as if some persons had driven them while the rulers of the Philistines followed after them, as desirous to know where they would stand still, and to whom they would go. Now there was a certain village of the tribe of Judah, whose name was *Bethshemesh*, and to that village did the kine go; and though there was a great and a good plain before them to proceed in, they went no farther, but stopped the cart there. This was a sight to those of that village, and they were very glad; for it being then summer-time, and all the inhabitants being then in their fields gathering in their fruits, they left off the labours of their hands for joy, as soon as they saw the ark, and ran to the cart, and taking the ark down, and the vessel that had the images in it, and the mice, they set them upon a certain rock which was in the plain; and when they had offered a splendid sacrifice to God, and feasted, they offered the cart and the kine as a burnt offering: And when the lords of the Philistines saw this, they returned back.

4. But now it was that the wrath of God overtook them, and struck seventy

* Spanheim informs us here, that upon the coins of Tenedos, and those of other cities, a *field mouse* is engraven, together with *Apollo Smintheus*, or *Apollo, the driver away of field mice*, on account of his being supposed to have freed certain tracts of ground from those mice; which coins show how great a judgment such mice have sometimes been, and how the deliverance from them was then esteemed the effect of a divine power; which observations are highly suitable to this history.

† The device of the Philistines, of having a yoke of kine to draw this cart into which they put the ark of the Hebrews, is greatly illustrated by Sanconiathe's account, under his ninth generation, that Agreus, or Agrotes the *husbandman*, had a much worshipped statue and temple, *carried about by one or more yoke of oxen, or kine, in Phœnicia*, in the neighbourhood of these Philistines. See Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, p. 27, and 247, and Essay on the Old Testament, Append. p. 172

persons* dead of the village of Bethshemesh, who not being priests, and so not worthy to touch the ark, had approached to it. Those of that village wept for those that thus suffered, and made such a lamentation as was naturally to be expected on so great a misfortune that was sent from God, and every one mourned for his own relation. And since they acknowledged themselves unworthy of the ark's abode with them, they sent to the public senate of the Israelites, and informed them that the ark was restored by the Philistines; which when they knew, they brought it away to Kirjathjearim, a city in the neighbourhood of Bethshemesh. In this city lived one *Abinadab*, by birth a Levite, and who was greatly commended for his righteous and religious course of life, so they brought the ark to his house, as to a place fit for God himself to abide in, since therein did inhabit a righteous man. His sons also ministered to the divine service of the ark, and were the principal curators of it for twenty years, for so many years, it continued in Kirjathjearim, having been but four months with the Philistines.

CHAP. II.

The Expedition of the Philistines against the Hebrews, and the Heorews' Victory under the conduct of Samuel the Prophet, who was their General.

§ 1. Now while the city of Kirjathjearim had the ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about his worship. So Samuel the prophet, seeing how ready they were to do their duty, thought this a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition about the recovery of their liberty, and of the blessings that accompanied the same. Accordingly he used such words to them as he thought were most likely to excite that inclination, and to persuade them to attempt it: "O you Israelites," said he "to whom the Philistines are still grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be gracious, it behoves you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper methods to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to get clear of your lords and masters, while you still do what will procure your continuance under them: Be righteous then, and cast wickedness out of your souls, and by your worship supplicate the divine Majesty with all your hearts, and persevere in the honor you pay to him; for if you act thus, you will enjoy prosperity; you will be freed from your slavery, and will get the victory over your enemies; which blessings it is not possible you should attain, neither by weapons of war nor by the strength of your bodies, nor by the multitude of your assistants; for God has not promised to grant these blessings by those means, but by being good and righteous men; and if you will he such, I will be security to you for the performance of God's promises." When Samuel had said thus, the multitude applauded his discourse, and were pleased with his exhortation to them, and gave their consent to resign themselves up to do what was pleasing to God. So Samuel gathered them together to a certain city called *Mizpeh*, which signifies in the Hebrew tongue a *watch tower*; there they drew water and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers."

2. This their assembly did not escape the notice of the Philistines: so when they had learned that so large a company had met together, they fell upon the Hebrews with a great army and mighty forces, as hoping to assault them when they did not expect it, nor were prepared for it. This thing affrighted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror; so they came running to Samuel,

* These 70 men, being not so much as Levites, touched the ark in a rash or profane manner, and were slain by the hand of God for such their rashness and profaneness, according to the divine threatenings, Num. iv. 15, 20; but how our other copies came to add such an incredible number as 50,000 in this city town, or small city, I know not. See Dr. Wall's critical notes on 1 Sam. vi. 19

and said, that "their souls were sunk by their fears, and by the former defeat they had received, and that thence it was that we lay still, lest we should excite the power of our enemies against us. Now while thou hast brought us hither to offer up our prayers and sacrifices, and take oaths [to be obedient,] our enemies are making an expedition against us, while we are naked and unarmed; wherefore we have no other hope of deliverance but that by thy means, and by the assistance God shall afford us upon thy prayers to him, we shall obtain deliverance from the Philistines." Hereupon Samuel bid them be of good cheer, and promised them that God would assist them; and taking a sucking lamb, he sacrificed it for the multitude, and besought God to hold his protecting hand over them when they should fight with the Philistines, and not to overlook them, nor suffer them to come under a second misfortune. Accordingly God hearkened to his prayers, and accepting their sacrifices with a gracious intention, and such as was disposed to assist them, he granted them victory and power over their enemies. Now while the altar had the sacrifice of God upon it, and had not yet consumed it wholly by its sacred fire, the enemies' army marched out of their camp, and was put in order of battle, and this in hope that they should be conquerors, since the Jews* were caught in distressed circumstances, as neither having their weapons with them, nor being assembled there in order to fight. But things so fell out that they would hardly have been credited though they had been foretold by any body; for, in the first place, God disturbed the enemies with an earthquake, and moved the ground under them to such a degree, that he caused it to tremble, and made them to shake, insomuch that by its trembling, he made some unable to keep their feet, and made them fall down, and by opening its chasms, he caused that others should be hurried down into them: after which he caused such a noise of thunder to come among them, and made fiery lightning shine so terribly round about them that it was ready to burn their faces; and he so suddenly shook their weapons out of their hands that he made them fly and return home naked. So Samuel with the multitude pursued them to Bethcar, a place so called; and there he set up a stone as a boundary of their victory and their enemies' flight, and called it the *Stone of power*, as a signal of that *power* God had given them against their enemies.

3. So the Philistines, after this stroke, made no more expeditions against the Israelites, but lay still out of fear, and out of remembrance of what had befallen them: and what courage the Philistines had formerly against the Hebrews, that after this victory was transferred to the Hebrews. Samuel also made an expedition against the Philistines, and slew many of them, and entirely humbled their proud hearts, and took from them that country which, when they were formerly conquerors in battle, they had cut off from the Jews, which was the country that extended from the borders of Gath, to the city of Ekron: but the remains of the Canaanites were at this time in friendship with the Israelites.

CHAP. III.

How Samuel, when he was so infirm with old Age that he could not take Care of the public Affairs, entrusted them to his Sons; and how upon the evil Administration of the Government by them, the Multitude were so angry that they required to have a King to govern them, although Samuel was much displeased thereat.

§ 1. BUT Samuel the prophet, when he had ordered the affairs of the people after a convenient manner, and had appointed a city for every district of them, he commanded them to come to such cities, to have the controversies that they

* This is the first place, so far as I remember, in these Antiquities, where Josephus begins to call his nation *Jews*, he having hitherto usually, if not constantly, called them either *Hebrews* or *Israelites*. The second place soon follows, chap. iii. sect. 5.

had one with another determined in them, he himself going over those cities twice in a year, and doing them justice; and by that means he kept them in very good order for a long time.

2. But afterwards he found himself oppressed with old age, and not able to do what he used to do, so he committed the government and the care of the multitude to his sons; the elder of which was called Joel, and the name of the younger was Abiah. He also enjoined them to reside and judge the people, the one at the city Bethel, and the other at Beersheba, and divided the people into districts that should be under the jurisdiction of each of them. Now these men afford us an evident example and demonstration, how some children are not of the like dispositions with their parents, but sometimes perhaps good and moderate, though born of wicked parents, and sometimes showing themselves to be wicked, though born of good parents; for these men, turning aside from their father's good courses, and taking a course that was contrary to them, perverted justice for the filthy lucre of gifts and bribes, and made their determinations not according to truth, but according to bribery, and turned aside to luxury, and a costly way of living, so that as in the first place, they practised what was contrary to the will of God, so did they, in the second place, what was contrary to the will of the prophet their father, who had taken a great deal of care, and made a very careful provision that the multitude should be righteous.

3. But the people, upon these injuries offered to their former constitution and government by the prophet's sons, were very uneasy at their actions, and came running to the prophet, who then lived at the city Ramah, and informed him of the transgressions of his sons; and said that "as he was himself old already, and too infirm by that age of his to oversee their affairs in the manner he used to do, so they begged of him, and entreated him to appoint some person to be king over them, who might rule over the nation, and avenge them of the Philistines, we ought to be punished for their former oppressions." These words greatly afflicted Samuel, on account of his innate love of justice, and his hatred to kingly government, for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as what made the men that used it of a divine and happy disposition; nor could he either think of eating or sleeping, out of his concern and torment of mind at what they had said, but all the night long did he continue awake, and resolved these notions in his mind.

4. While he was thus disposed, God appeared to him, and comforted him, saying, "That he ought not to be uneasy at what the multitude desired, because it was not he but Himself whom they so insolently despised, and would not have to be alone their King: that they had been contriving these things from the very day that they came out of Egypt; that however in no long time they would sorely repent of what they did, which repentance yet could not undo what was thus done for futurity: that they would be sufficiently rebuked for their contempt and the ungrateful conduct they have used towards me, and towards the prophetic office. So I command thee to ordain them such a one as I shall name beforehand to be their king, when thou hast first described what mischiefs kingly government will bring upon them, and openly testified before them unto what a great change of affairs they are hasting."

5. When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was to ordain them a king, but he said that he was first to describe to them what would follow, what treatment they would receive from their kings, and with how many mischiefs they must struggle. "For know ye," said he, "that, in the first place, they will take your sons away from you, and they will command some of them to be drivers of their chariots, and some to be their horsemen, and the guards of their body, and others of them to be runners before them, and captains of thousands and captains of hundreds; they will also make them their artificers, makers of armour, and of chariots, and of instruments; they will make them their husbandmen also, and the curators of their

own fields, and the diggers of their own vineyards; nor will there be any thing which they will not do at their commands, as if they were slaves bought with money. They will also appoint your daughters to be confectioners, and cooks, and bakers; and these will be obliged to do all sorts of work, which women slaves, that are in fear of stripes and torments, submit to. They will, besides this, take away your possessions, and bestow them upon their eunuchs and the guards of their bodies, and will give the herds of your cattle to their own servants; and to say briefly all at once, you, and all that is yours, will be servants to your king, and will become no way superior to his slaves: and when you suffer thus, you will thereby be put in mind of what I now say. And when you repent of what you have done, you will beseech God to have mercy upon you, and to grant you a quick deliverance from your kings; but he will not accept your prayers, but will neglect you, and permit you to suffer the punishment your evil conduct has deserved."

6. But the multitude was still so foolish as to be deaf to these predictions of what would befall them: and too peevish to suffer a determination which they had injudiciously once made to be taken out of their mind, for they could not be turned from their purpose; nor did they regard the words of Samuel, but peremptorily insisted on their resolution, and desired him to ordain them a king immediately, and not to trouble himself with fears of what would happen hereafter; for that it was necessary they should have with them one to fight the battles, and to avenge them of their enemies, and that it was no way absurd, when their neighbours were under kingly government, that they should have the same form of government also. So when Samuel saw that what he had said had not diverted them from their purpose, but that they continued resolute, he said, "Go you every one home for the present; when it is fit, I will send for you, as soon as I shall have learned from God who it is that he will give you for your king."

CHAP. IV.

The Appointment of a King over the Israelites, whose name was Saul; and this by the Command of God.

§ 1. THERE was one of the tribe of Benjamin, a man of a good family and of a virtuous disposition; his name was Kish. He had a son, a young man, of a comely countenance, and of a tall body, but his understanding and his mind were preferable to what was visible in him; they called him Saul. Now this Kish had some fine she asses that were wandered out of the pasture wherein they fed, for he was more delighted with these than with any other cattle he had; so he sent out his son, and one servant with him, to search for the beasts; but when he had gone over his own tribe in search after the asses, he went to other tribes, and when he found them not there neither, he determined to go his way home, lest he should occasion any concern to his father about himself. But when his servant that followed him, as they were near the city Ramah, that there was a true prophet in that city, and advised him to go to him, for that by him they should know the upshot of the affair of their asses, he replied, That if they should go to him, they had nothing to give him as a reward for his prophecy, for their subsistence money was spent. The servant answered, that he had still the fourth part of a shekel, and he would present him with that; for they were mistaken out of ignorance, as not knowing that the prophet received no such reward.* So they went to him, and when they were before the gates, they lighted upon certain maidens that were going to fetch water, and they asked them which was the prophet's house? They showed them which it was; and bid them make haste before he sat down to supper, for he had invited many guests to a feast, and that he used to sit down

* Of this great mistake of Saul's and his servant's, as if a true prophet of God would accept of a gift or present, for foretelling what was desired of him; see the note on B. iv. ch. vi. sect. 2.

before those that were invited. Now Samuel had then gathered many together to feast with him on this very account; for while he every day prayed to God to tell him beforehand, whom he would make king, he had informed him of this man the day before, for that he would send a certain young man, out of the tribe of Benjamin, about this hour of the day; and he sat on the top of the house in expectation of that time's being come. And when the time was completed, he came down and went to supper; so he met with Saul, and God discovered to him that this was he who should rule over them. Then Saul went up to Samuel and saluted him, and desired him to inform him which was the prophet's house? for he said he was a stranger and did not know it. When Samuel had told him that he was himself the person, he led him in to supper, and assured him that the asses were found which he had been to seek, and that the greatest of good things were assured to him; he replied, "Sir, I am too inconsiderable to hope for any such thing, and of a tribe too small to have kings made out of it, and of a family smaller than several other families; but thou tellest me this in jest, and makest me an object of laughter when thou discoursest with me of greater matters than what I stand in need of." However, the prophet led him unto the feast, and made him sit down, him and his servant that followed him, above the other guests that were invited, which were seventy in number;* and he gave order to the servants to set the royal portion before Saul. But when the time of going to bed was come, the rest rose up, and every one of them went home, but Saul stayed with the prophet, he and his servant, and slept with him.

2. But as soon as it was day, Samuel raised up Saul out of his bed, and conducted him homeward; and when he was out of the city, he desired him to cause his servant to go before, but to stay behind himself, for that he had somewhat to say to him, when nobody else was present. Accordingly Saul sent away his servant that followed him; then did the prophet take a vessel of oil, and poured it upon the head of the young man, and kissed him, and said, "Be thou a king, by the ordination of God, against the Philistines, and for avenging the Hebrews for what they have suffered by them; of this thou shalt have a sign which I would have thee take notice of; as soon as thou art departed hence, thou wilt find three men upon the road, going to worship God at Bethel, the first of which thou wilt see carrying three loaves of bread, the second carrying a kid of the goats, and the third will follow them carrying a bottle of wine. These men will salute thee, and speak kindly to thee, and will give thee two of their loaves, which thou shalt accept of. And thence thou shalt come to a place called *Rachel's Monument*, where thou shalt meet with those that will tell thee thy asses are found; after this, when thou comest to Gabatha, thou shalt overtake a company of prophets, and thou shalt be seized with the divine spirit,† and prophesy along with them, untill every one that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, Whence is it that the son of Kish has arrived at this degree of happiness? And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee: then do thou salute thy father, and thy kindred. Thou shalt also come when I send for thee to Gilgal, that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these blessings." When Samuel had said this, and foretold these things, he sent the young man away. Now all things fell out to Saul according to the prophecy of Samuel.

3. But as soon as Saul came into the house of his kinsman Abner, whom indeed he loved better than the rest of his relations, he was asked by him concerning his journey, and what accidents happened to him therein; and he concealed none of the other things from him, no, not his coming to Samuel the

* It seems to me not improbable, that these 70 guests of Samuel, as here with himself at the head of them, were a Jewish Sanhedrim, and that hereby Samuel intimated to Saul that these 71 were to be his constant counsellors, and that he was not to act like a sole monarch, but with the advice and direction of these 71 members of that Jewish Sanhedrim upon all occasions, which we never read yet that he consulted afterward.

† An instance of this divine fury we have after this in Saul, chap. v. sect. 2, 3. 1 Sam. xi. 6. See the like, Judg. iii. 10; vi. 34; xi. 9; xiii. 25; and xiv. 6.

prophet, nor how he told him the asses were found: but he said nothing to him about the kingdom, and what belonged thereto, which he thought would procure him envy, and when such things are heard, they are not easily believed; nor did he think it prudent to tell those things to him, although he appeared very friendly to him, and one whom he loved above the rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, what human nature really is, that no one is a firm friend, neither among our intimates, nor of our kindred, nor do they preserve that kind of disposition when God advances men to great prosperity, but they are still ill-natured and envious to those that are in eminent stations.

4. Then Samuel called the people together to the city Mispeh, and spake to them in the words following, which he said he was to speak by the command of God: that "when he had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies into subjection, they were become unmindful of his benefits, and rejected God that he should not be their King, as not considering that it would be most for their advantage to be presided over by the best of Beings, for God is the best of beings; and they chose to have a man for their king; while kings will use their subjects as beasts, according to the violence of their own wills and inclinations, and other passions, as wholly carried away by the lust of power, but will not endeavour so to preserve the race of mankind as his own workmanship and creation, which for that very reason, God would take care of. But since you have come to a fixed resolution, and this injurious treatment of God has quite prevailed over you, dispose yourselves by your tribes and sceptres, and cast lots."

5. When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon the tribe of Benjamin, and when the lot was cast for the families of this tribe, that which was called *Matri* was taken; and when the lot was cast for the single persons of that family, Saul, the son of Kish, was taken for their king. When the young man knew this, he prevented [their sending for him], and immediately went away and hid himself. I suppose it was because he would not have it thought that he willingly took the government upon him; nay, he showed such a degree of command over himself, and of modesty, that while the greatest part are not able to contain their joy, even in the gaining of small advantages, but presently show themselves publicly to all men, this man did not only show nothing of that nature, when he was appointed to be the lord of so many, and so great tribes, but crept away, and concealed himself out of the sight of those he was to reign over, and made them seek him, and that with a good deal of trouble. So when the people were at a loss, and solicitous, because Saul disappeared, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was, and to produce him before them. So when they had learned of God the place where Saul was hidden, they sent men to bring him, and when he was come, they set him in the midst of the multitude. Now he was taller than any of them, and his stature was very majestic.

6. Then said the prophet, God gives you this man to be your king: see how he is higher than any of the people, and worthy of this dominion. So as soon as the people had made acclamation, *God save the King*, the prophet wrote down what would come to pass in a book, and read it in the hearing of the king, and laid up the book in the tabernacle of God, to be a witness to future generations of what he had foretold. So when Samuel had finished this matter, he dismissed the multitude, and came himself to the city Ramah, for it was his own country. Saul also went away to Gibeah, where he was born: and many good men there were who paid him the respect that was due to him, but the greater part were ill men, who despised him, and derided the others, who neither did bring him presents, nor did they in affection, or even in words, regard to please him.

CHAP. V.

Saul's Expedition against the Nation of the Ammonites, and Victory over them and the spoils he took from them.

§ 1. After one month, the war which Saul had with Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, obtained him respect from all the people; for this Nahash had done a great deal of mischief to the Jews that lived beyond Jordan by the expedition he had made against them with a great and warlike army. He also reduced their cities into slavery, and that not only by subduing them for the present, which he did by force and violence; but weakened them by subtility and cunning, that they might not be able afterward to get clear of the slavery they were under to him; for he put out the right eyes* of those that either delivered themselves to him upon terms or were taken by him in war; and this he did, that when their left eyes were covered by their shields, they might be wholly useless in war. Now when the king of the Ammonites had served those beyond Jordan in this manner, he led his army agninst those that were called Gileadites; and having pitched his camp at the metropolis of his enemies, which was the city of Jabesh, he sent ambassadors to them, commanding them either to deliver themselves up, on condition to have their right eyes plucked out, or to undergo a siege, and to have their cities overthrown. He gave them their choice, whether they would cut off a small number of their body, or universally perish. However the Gileadites were so affrighted at these offers, that they had not courage to say any thing to either of them, neither that they would deliver themselves up, nor that they would fight him: but they desired that he would give them seven days respite, that they might send ambassadors to their countrymen, and entreat their assistance, and if they came to assist them, they would fight; but if that assistance were impossible to be obtained from them, they said they would deliver themselves up to suffer whatever he pleased to inflict upon them.

2. So Nahash, contemning the multitude of the Gileadites, and the answer they gave, allowed them a respite, and gave them leave to send to whomsoever they pleased for assistance. So they immediately sent to the Israelites, city by city, and informed them what Nahash had threatened to do to them, and what great distress they were in. Now the people fell into tears and grief, at the hearing of what the ambassadors from Jabesh said, and the terror they were in permitted them to do nothing more. But when the messengers were come to the city of king Saul, and declared the dangers in which the inhabitants of Jabesh were, the people were in the same affliction as those in the other cities, for they lamented the calamity of those related to them. And when Saul was returned from his husbandry into the city, he found his fellow citizens weeping; and when upon inquiry, he had learned the cause of the confusion and sadness they were in, he was seized with a divine fury, and sent away the ambassadors from the inhabitants of Jabesh, and promised them to come to their assistance on the third day, and to beat their enemies before sunrising, that the sun, upon its rising, might see that they had already conquered, and were freed from the fears they were under; but he bid some of them stay to conduct them the right way to Jabesh.

3. So being desirous to turn the people to this war against the Ammonites by fear of the losses they should otherwise undergo, and that they might the more suddenly be gathered together, he cut the sinews of his oxen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come with their armour to Jordan the next day, and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should lead them.

* Take here Theodoret's note, cited by Dr. Hudson: "He that exposes his shield to the enemy with his left hand, thereby hides his left eye, and looks at the enemy with his right eye: he therefore that plucks out that eye makes men useless in war."

So they came together, out of fear of the losses they were threatened with, at the appointed time. And the multitude were numbered at the city Bezek. And he found the number of those that were gathered together, besides that of the tribe of Judah, to be seven hundred thousand, while those of that tribe were seventy thousand. So he passed over Jordan, and proceeded in marching all that night, thirty furlongs, and came to Jabesh before sunrising. So he divided the army into three companies; and fell upon their enemies on every side on the sudden, and when they expected no such thing; and joining battle with them, they slew a great many of the Ammonites; as also their king Nahash. This glorious action was done by Saul; and was related with great commendation of him to all the Hebrews; and he thence gained a wonderful reputation for his valour: for although there were some of them that contemned him before, they now changed their minds, and honoured him, and esteemed him as the best of men; for he did not content himself with having saved the inhabitants of Jabesh only, but he made an expedition into the country of the Ammonites, and laid it all waste, and took a large prey, and so returned to his own country most gloriously. So the people were greatly pleased at these excellent performances of Saul's, and rejoiced that they had constituted him their king. They also made a clamour against those that pretended he would be of no advantage to their affairs; and they said, Where now are these men? let them be brought to punishment: with all the like things that multitudes do usually say, when they are elevated with prosperity, against those that lately had despised the authors of it. But Saul, although he took the good-will and the affection of these men very kindly, yet did he swear that he would not see any of his countrymen slain that day, since it was absurd to mix this victory, which God had given them, with the blood and slaughter of those that were of the same lineage with themselves; and that it was more agreeable to be then of a friendly disposition, and so to betake themselves to feasting.

4. And when Samuel had told them that he ought to confirm the kingdom to Saul by a second ordination of him, they all came together to the city of Gilgal, for thither did he command them to come. So the prophet anointed Saul with the holy oil, in the sight of the multitude, and declared him to be king, the second time. And so the government of the Hebrews was changed into a regal government; for in the days of Moses, and his disciple Joshua, who was their general, they continued under an aristocracy; but after the death of Joshua, for eighteen years in all, the multitude had no settled form of government, but were in an anarchy; after which they returned to their former government; they then permitting themselves to be judged by him who appeared to be the best warrior, and most courageous, whence it was that they called this interval of their government the *Judges*.

5. Then did Samuel the prophet call another assembly also, and said to them, "I solemnly adjure you by God Almighty, who brought those excellent brethren, I mean Moses and Aaron, into the world, and delivered our fathers from the Egyptians, and from the slavery they endured under them, that you will not speak what you say to gratify me, nor suppress any thing out of fear of me, nor be overborne by any other passion, but say, what have I ever done that was cruel or unjust? or what have I done out of lucre or covetousness, or to gratify others? Bear witness against me, if I have taken an ox or a sheep, or any such thing, which yet, when they are taken to support men, it is esteemed blameless; or have I taken an ass for my own use of any one to his grief? Lay some one such crime to my charge, now we are in your king's presence." But they cried out, That, "no such thing had been done by him, but that he had presided over the nation after a holy and righteous manner."

6. Hereupon Samuel, when such a testimony had been given by them all, said, "Since you grant that you are not able to lay any ill thing to my charge hitherto, come on now and do you hearken while I speak with great freedom to you. You

have been guilty of great impiety against God in asking you a king. It behoves you to remember, that our grandfather Jacob came down into Egypt by reason of a famine, with seventy souls only of our family, and that their posterity multiplied there to many ten thousands, whom the Egyptians brought into slavery and hard oppression; that God himself, upon the prayers of our fathers, sent Moses and Aaron, who were brethren, and gave them power to deliver the multitude out of their distress, and this without a king. These brought us into this very land which you now possess. And when you enjoyed these advantages from God, you betrayed his worship and religion; nay, moreover, when you were brought under the bands of your enemies, he delivered you, first by rendering you superior to the Assyrians and their forces, he then made you to overcome the Ammonites and Moabites, and last of all the Philistines; and these things have been achieved under the conduct of Jephtha and Gideon. What madness, therefore, possessed you to fly from God, and to desire to be under a king! yet have I ordained him for king whom he chose for you. However, that I may make it plain to you, that God is angry and displeased at your choice of kingly government, I will so dispose him that he shall declare this very plainly to you by strange signals, for what none of you ever saw here before, I mean a winter-storm* in the midst of harvest; I will entreat God, and will make it visible to you." Now, as soon as he had said this, God gave such great signals, by thunder and lightning and the descent of hail, as attested the truth of all that the prophet had said, insomuch that they were amazed and terrified, and confessed they had sinned, and had fallen into that sin through ignorance; and besought the prophet, as one that was a tender and gentle father to them, to render God so merciful as to forgive this their sin, which they had added to those other offences whereby they had affronted him and transgressed against him. So he promised them that he would beseech God, and persuade him to forgive them these their sins. However, he advised them to be righteous and to be good, and ever to remember the miseries that had befallen them on account of their departure from virtue; as also to remember the strange signs God had showed them, and the body of laws that Moses had given them, if they had any desire of being preserved and made happy with their king. But he said, that if they should grow careless of these things, great judgments would come from God upon them, and upon their king. And when Samuel had thus prophesied to the Hebrews, he dismissed them to their own homes, having confirmed the kingdom to Saul the second time.

CHAP. VI.

How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews, and were beaten.

§ 1. Now Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took two thousand of them to be the guards of his own body, and abode in the city Bethel; but he gave the rest of them to Jonathan his son to be the guards of his body; and sent him to Gibeah, where he besieged and took a certain garrison of the Philistines, not far from Gilgal; for the Philistines of Gibeah had beaten the Jews, and taken their weapons away, and had put garrisons into the strongest places of the country, and had forbidden them to carry any instrument of iron, or at all to make use of any iron in any case whatsoever. And on account of this prohibition, it was, that the husbandmen, if they had any occasion to sharpen any of their tools, whether it were the coulter or the spade, or any instrument of hus-

* Mr. Reland observes here, and proves elsewhere, in his note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. i. sect. 6, that although thunder and lightning with us happen usually in summer, yet in Palestine and Syria they are chiefly confined to winter. Josephus takes notice of the same thing again, Of the War, B. iv. ch. iv sect. 5.

bandry, they came to the Philistines to do it. Now as soon as the Philistines heard of this slaughter of their garrison, they were in a rage about it, and, looking on this contempt as a terrible affront offered them, they made war against the Jews, with three hundred thousand footmen, and thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horses, and they pitched their camp at the city Micmash. When Saul the king of the Hebrews was informed of this, he went down to the city Gilgal, and made proclamation over all the country, that they should try to regain their liberty; and called them to the war against the Philistines, diminishing their forces, and despising them as not very considerable, and as not so great but they might hazard a battle with them. But when the people about Saul observed how numerous the Philistines were, they were under a great consternation; and some of them hid themselves in caves and in dens under ground, but the greater part fled into the land beyond Jordan, which belonged to Gad and Reubel.

2. But Saul sent to the prophet, and called him to consult with him about the war and the public affairs; so he commanded him to stay there for him, and to prepare sacrifices, for he would come to him within seven days, that they might offer sacrifices on the seventh day, and might then join battle with their enemies. So he waited* as the prophet sent to him to do; yet did not he, however, observe the command that was given him; but when he saw that the prophet tarried longer than he expected, and that he was deserted by the soldiers, he took the sacrifices, and offered them; and when he heard that Samuel was come, he went out to meet him. But the prophet said he had not done well in disobeying the injunctions he had sent to him, and had not stayed till his coming, which being appointed according to the will of God, he had prevented him in offering up those prayers and those sacrifices that he should have made for the multitude, and that he therefore had performed divine offices in an ill manner, and had been rash in performing them. Hereupon Saul made an apology for himself, and said, That he had waited as many days as Samuel had appointed him; that he had been so quick in offering his sacrifices upon account of the necessity he was in, and because his soldiers were departing from him, out of their fear of the enemies' camp at Micmash, the report being gone abroad that they were coming down upon him to Gilgal." To which Samuel replied, "Nay, certainly if thou hadst been a righteous man†, and hadst not disobeyed me, nor slighted the commands which God suggested to me concerning the present state of affairs, and hadst not acted more hastily than the present circumstances required, thou wouldst have been permitted to reign a long time, and thy

* Saul seems to have stayed till near the time of the evening sacrifice, on the seventh day, which Samuel the prophet of God had appointed him, but not till the end of that day, as he ought to have done; and Samuel appears, by delaying to come till the full time of the evening sacrifice on that seventh day, to have tried him (who seems to have been already for some time declining from his strict and bounden subordination to God and his prophet, to have taken lifeguards for himself and his son, which was entirely a new thing in Israel, and savoured of a distrust of God's providence, and to have affected more than he ought that independent authority which the Pagan kings took to themselves); Samuel, I say, seems to have tried Saul, whether he would stay till the priest came, who alone could lawfully offer the sacrifices, nor would boldly and profanely usurp the priest's office; which he venturing upon, was justly rejected for his profaneness. See Constit. Apost. B. ii. ch. xxvii. And indeed since Saul had accepted kingly power, which naturally becomes ungovernable and tyrannical, as God foretold, and the experience of all ages has shown, the divine settlement by Moses had soon been laid aside under the kings, had not God, by keeping strictly to his laws, and severely executing the threatenings therein contained, restrained Saul and other kings in some degree of obedience to himself. Nor was even this severity sufficient to restrain most of the future kings of Israel and Judah from the grossest idolatry and impiety. Of the advantage of which strictness in observing divine laws and inflicting their threatened penalties, see Antiq. b. vi. ch. xii. sect. 7, and *contra* Apion, b. ii. sect. 30, where Josephus speaks of that matter; though it must be noted, that it seems, at least in *three* instances, that good men did not always immediately approve of such divine severity. There seems to be one instance, 1 Sam. vi. 19, 20; another, 1 Sam. xv. 11; and a third, 2 Sam. vi. 8, 9; Antiq. b. vi. ch. vii. sect. 2; though they all at last acquiesced in the divine conduct, as knowing that *God is wiser than men.*

† By this answer of Samuel, and that from a Divine commission, which is fuller in 1 Sam. xiii. 14; and by that parallel note in the Apostolical Constitutions just now quoted, concerning the great wickedness of Saul in venturing, even under a seeming necessity of affairs, to usurp the priest's office, and offer sacrifice without the priest, we are in some degree able to answer that question, which I have ever thought a very hard one viz. "Whether, if there were a city or country of lay Christians without any clergyman,

posterity after thee." So Samuel being grieved at what happened, returned home, but Saul came to the city Gibeah, with his son Jonathan, having only six hundred men with him; and of these the greater part had no weapons, because of the scarcity of iron in that country, as well as of those that could make such weapons; for, as we showed a little before, the Philistines had not suffered them to have such iron or such workmen. Now the Philistines divided their army into three companies, and took as many roads, and laid waste the country of the Hebrews, while king Saul and his son Jonathan saw what was done, but were not able to defend the land, having no more than six hundred men with them. But as he and his son, and Abiah the high-priest, who was of the posterity of Eli the high-priest, were sitting upon a pretty high hill, and seeing the land laid waste, they were mightily disturbed at it. Now Saul's son agreed with his armour-bearer, that they would go privately to the enemy's camp, and make a tumult and a disturbance among them. And when the armour-bearer had readily promised to follow him whithersoever he should lead him, though he should be obliged to die in the attempt, Jonathan made use of the young man's assistance, and descended from the hill, and went to their enemies. Now the enemies' camp was upon a precipice which had three tops that ended in a small but sharp and long extremity, while there was a rock that surrounded them, like lines made to prevent the attacks of an enemy. There it so happened, that the outguards of the camp were neglected, because of the security that here arose from the situation of the place, and because they thought it altogether impossible not only to ascend up to the camp in that quarter, but so much as to come near it. As soon, therefore, as they came to the camp, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, and said to him, "Let us attack our enemies; and if, when they see us, they bid us come up to them, take that for a signal of victory; but if they say nothing, as not intending to invite us to come up, let us return back again." So when they were approaching to the enemy's camp, just after break of day, and the Philistines saw them, they said one to another, "The Hebrews come out of their dens and caves;" and they said to Jonathan and to his armour-bearer, "Come on, ascend up to us, that we may inflict a just punishment upon you for your rash attempt upon us." So Saul's son accepted of that invitation, as what signified to him victory, and he immediately came out of the place whence they were seen by their enemies; so he changed his place, and came to the rock which had none to guard it, because of its own strength: from thence they crept up with great labour and difficulty, and so far overcame by force the nature of the place, till they were able to fight with their enemies. So they fell upon them as they were asleep, and slew about twenty of them, and thereby filled them with disorder and surprise, insomuch that some of them threw away their entire armour and fled, but the greatest part not knowing one another, because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies (for they did not imagine there were only two of the Hebrews that came up), and so they fought one against another; and some of them died in the battle, and some, as they were flying away, were thrown down from the rock headlong.

3. Now Saul's watchmen told the king, that the camp of the Philistines was in confusion; then he inquired whether any body was gone away from the army; and when he heard that his son, and with him his armour-bearer, were absent, he bid the high-priest take the garments of his high-priesthood, and prophesy to him what success they should have; who said, "That they should get the victory, and prevail against their enemies." So he went out after the Philistines,

it were lawful for the laity alone to baptise, or celebrate the eucharist, &c. or indeed whether they alone could ordain themselves either bishops, priests, or deacons, for the due performance of such sacerdotal ministrations? or, whether they ought not rather, till they procure clergymen to come among them, to confine themselves within those bounds of piety and Christianity which belong alone to the laity? such particularly as are recommended in the first book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which peculiarly concern the laity, and are intimated in Clement's undoubted epistle, sect. 40; to which latter opinion I incline

and set them up as they were slaying one another. Those also came running to him, who had fled to dens and caves, upon hearing that Saul was gaining a victory. When, therefore, the number of the Hebrews that came to Saul amounted to about ten thousand, he pursued the enemy, who were scattered all over the country; but then he fell into an action which was a very unhappy one, and liable to be very much blamed; for whether out of ignorance, or whether out of joy for a victory gained so strangely, for it frequently happens that persons so fortunate are not then able to use their reason consistently, as he was desirous to avenge himself, and to exact a due punishment of the Philistines, he denounced a curse* on the Hebrews, "That if any one put a stop to his slaughter of the enemy, and fell on eating, and left off the slaughter or the pursuit, before the night came on and obliged them so to do, he should be accursed." Now after Saul had denounced this curse, since they were now in a wood belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, which was thick and full of bees, Saul's son, who did not hear his father denounce that curse, nor hear of the approbation the multitude gave to it, broke off a piece of a honeycomb, and eat part of it. But in the meantime, he was informed with what a curse his father had forbidden them to taste any thing before sun-setting; so he left off eating, and said, "His father had not done well in his prohibition; because had they taken some food, they had pursued the enemy with greater vigour and alacrity, and had both taken and slain many more of their enemies."

4. When therefore they had slain many ten thousands of the Philistines, they fell upon spoiling the camp of the Philistines, but not till late in the evening. They also took a great deal of prey, and cattle, and killed them, and ate them with their blood. This was told to the king by the Scribes, that the multitude were sinning against God, as they sacrificed, and were eating before the blood was well washed away, and the flesh was made clean. Then did Saul give order, that a great stone should be rolled into the midst of them, and he made proclamation that they should kill their sacrifices upon it, and not feed upon the flesh with the blood, for that was not acceptable to God. And when all the people did as the king commanded them, Saul erected an altar† there, and offered burnt-offerings upon it to God. This was the first altar that Saul built.

5. So when Saul was desirous of leading his men to the enemy's camp before it was day, in order to plunder it, and when the soldiers were not unwilling to follow him, but indeed showed great readiness to do as he commanded them, the king called Ahitub the high-priest, and enjoined him to know of God, whether he would grant them the favour and permission to go against the enemy's camp, in order to destroy those that were in it. And when the priest said, That God did not give any answer. "And not without some cause," said Saul, "does God refuse to answer what we inquire of him, while yet a little while ago he declared to us all beforehand, and even prevented us in his answer. To be sure there is some sin against him that is concealed from us, which is the occasion of his silence. Now I swear by him himself, that though he that hath committed this sin should prove to be mine own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and by that means will appease the anger of God against us, and that in the very same manner as if I were to punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offence." So when the multitude cried out to him so to do, he presently set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought

† This rash vow or curse of Saul's, which Josephus says was confirmed by the people, and yet not executed, I suppose principally because Jonathan did not know of it, is very remarkable, it being of the essence of the obligation of all laws, that they be sufficiently known and promulgated, otherwise the conduct of providence, as to the sacredness of solemn oaths and vows, in God's refusing to answer by *Urim*, till this breach of Saul's vow or curse was understood and set right, and God propitiated by public prayer, is here very remarkable, as indeed it is every where else in the Old Testament.

† Here we still have more indications of Saul's affectation of despotic power, and of his entrenching upon the priesthood, and making and endeavouring to execute a rash vow or curse without consulting Samuel, or the Sanhedrim. In this view it is also that I look upon this erection of a new altar by Saul, and his offering of burnt-offerings himself upon it, and not as any proper instances of devotion or religion with other commentators.

to discover the offender by lot. Now the lot appeared to fall upon Jonathan himself. So when he was asked by his father what sin he had been guilty of and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed instances of guilt or profaneness? His answer was this: "O father, I have done nothing more than that yesterday, without knowing of the curse and oath thou hadst denounced while I was in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted of an honeycomb." But Saul sware he would slay him, and prefer the observation of his oath before all the ties of birth and of nature. And Jonathan was not dismayed at this threatening of death, but offering himself to it generously and undauntedly, he said, "Nor do I desire you, father, to spare me. Death will be to me very acceptable, when it proceeds from thy piety, and after a glorious victory; for it is the greatest consolation to me, that I leave the Hebrews victorious over the Philistines." Hereupon all the people were very sorry, and greatly afflicted for Jonathan, and they sware that they would not overlook Jonathan, and see him die, who was the author of their victory. By which means they snatched him out of the danger he was in from his father's curse, while they made their prayers to God also for the young man, that he would remit his sin.

6. So Saul having slain about sixty thousand of the enemy, returned home to his own city, and reigned happily. And he also fought against the neighbouring nations, and subdued the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Philistines, and Edomites, and Amalekites, as also the king of Zobah. He had three male children, Jonathan, and Ishui, and Melchi-shua; with Merab and Michal his daughters. He had also Abner his uncle's son, for the captain of his host; that uncle's name was *Ner*. Now Ner, and Kish the father of Saul, were brothers. Saul had also a great many chariots and horsemen, and against whomsoever he made war, he returned conqueror, and advanced the affairs of the Hebrews to a great degree of success and prosperity, and made them superior to other nations; and he made such of the young men that were remarkable for tallness and comeliness the guards of his body.

CHAP. VII.

Saul's War with the Amalekites, and Conquest of them.

§ 1. Now Samuel came unto Saul, and said to him, That "he was sent by God to put him in mind that God had preferred him before all others, and ordained him king; that he therefore ought to be obedient to him, and to submit to his authority, as considering, that though he had the dominion over the other tribes, yet that God had the dominion over him, and over all things. That accordingly God said to him, that because the Amalekites did the Hebrews a great deal of mischief while they were in the wilderness, and when, upon their coming out of Egypt, they were making their way to that country which is now their own, I enjoin thee to punish the Amalekites, by making war upon them; and when thou hast subdued them, to leave none of them alive, but to pursue them through every age, and to slay them beginning with the women and the infants, and to require this as a punishment to be inflicted upon them for the mischief they did to our forefathers. To spare nothing, neither asses nor other beasts, not to reserve any of them for your own advantage and possession, but to devote them universally to God, and in obedience to the commands of Moses, to blot out the name of *Amalek** entirely."

* The reason of this severity is distinctly given, 1 Sam. xv. 18, *Go and utterly destroy the sinners the Amalekites.* Nor indeed do we ever meet with these Amalekites but as very cruel and bloody people, and particularly seeking to injure and utterly to destroy the nation of Israel. See Exod. xvii. 8–16; Numb. xiv. 45; Deut. xxv. 17—19; Judg. vi. 8—6; 1 Sam. xv. 33. Psalm lxxxiii. 7; and above all, the most barbarous of all cruelties that of Haman the Agagite, or one of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, Esth. iii. 1—15

2. So Saul promised to do what he was commanded; and supposing that his obedience to God would be shown not only in making war against the Amalekites, but more fully in the readiness and quickness of his proceedings, he made no delay, but immediately gathered together all his forces; and when he had numbered them in Gilgal, he found them to be about four hundred thousand of the Israelites, besides the tribe of Judah, for that tribe contained by itself thirty thousand. Accordingly Saul made an irruption into the country of the Amalekites, and set many men in several parties in ambush at the river, that so he might not only do them a mischief by open fighting, but might fall upon them unexpectedly in the ways, and might thereby compass them round about, and kill them. And when he had joined battle with the enemy, he beat them; and pursuing them as they fled, he destroyed them all. And when that undertaking had succeeded according as God had foretold, he set upon the cities of the Amalekites; he besieged them, and took them by force, partly by warlike machines, partly by mines dug under ground, and partly by building walls on the outsides. Some they starved out with famine, and some they gained by other methods; and after all, he betook himself to slay the women and the children, and thought he did not act therein either barbarously or inhumanly, first, because they were enemies whom he thus treated; and, in the next place, because it was done by the command of God, whom it was dangerous not to obey. He also took Agag, the enemies' king, captive; the beauty and tallness of whose body he admired so much that he thought him worthy of preservation. Yet was not this done, however, according to the will of God, but by giving way to human passions, and suffering himself to be moved with an unseasonable commisseration, in a point where it was not safe for him to indulge it; for God hated the nation of the Amalekites to such a degree that he commanded Saul to have no pity on even those infants which we by nature chiefly compassionate. But Saul preserved their king and governor from the miseries which the Hebrews brought on the people, as if he preferred the fine appearance of the enemy to the memory of what God had sent him about. The multitude were also guilty, together with Saul; for they spared the herds and the flocks, and took them for a prey, when God had commanded they should not spare them. They also carried off with them the rest of their wealth and riches, but if there were anything that was not worthy of regard, that they destroyed.

3. But when Saul had conquered all these Amalekites that reached from Pelusium of Egypt to the Red Sea, he laid waste all the rest of the enemies' country; but for the nation of the Shechemites, he did not touch them, although they dwelt in the very middle of the country of Midian; for before the battle Saul had sent to them, and charged them to depart thence, lest they should be partakers of the miseries of the Amalekites, for he had a just occasion for saving them, since they were of the kindred of Raguel, Moses's father-in-law.

4. Hereupon Saul returned home with joy, for the glorious things he had done, and for the conquest of his enemies, as though he had not neglected any thing which the prophet had enjoined him to do, when he was going to make war with the Amalekites, and as though he had exactly observed all that he ought to have done. But God was grieved that the king of the Amalekites was preserved alive, and that the multitude had seized on the cattle for a prey, because these things were done without his permission; for he thought it an intolerable thing, that they should conquer and overcome their enemies by that power which he gave them, and then that he himself should be so grossly despised and disobeyed by them that a mere man that was a king would not bear it. He therefore told Samuel the prophet, that he repented that he had made Saul king, while he did nothing that he had commanded him, but indulged his own inclinations. When Samuel heard that, he was in confusion; and began to beseech God all that night to be reconciled to Saul, and not to be angry with him; but he did not grant that forgiveness to Saul which the prophet asked for as not deeming it a

fit thing to grant forgiveness of [such] sins at his entreaties, since injuries do not otherwise grow so great as by the easy tempers of those that are injured; for while they hunt after the glory of being thought gentle and goodnatured, before they are aware they produce other sins. As soon therefore as God had rejected the intercession of the prophet, and it plainly appeared he would not change his mind, at break of day Samuel came to Saul at Gilgal. When the king saw him, he ran to him, and embraced him, and said, "I return thanks to God who hath given me the victory, for I have performed every thing that he hath commanded me." To which Samuel replied, "How is it then that I hear the bleating of the sheep, and the lowing of the greater cattle in the camp?" Saul made answer, That "the people had reserved them for sacrifices; but that, as to the nation of the Amalekites, it was entirely destroyed, as he had received it in command to see done, and that no one man was left, but that he had saved alive the king alone, and brought him to him, concerning whom he said they would advise together what should be done with him." But the prophet said, "God is not delighted with sacrifices, but with good and with righteous men, who are such as follow his will and his laws, and never think that anything is well done by them, but when they do it as God had commanded them; that he then looks upon himself as affronted, not when any one does not sacrifice, but when any one appears to be disobedient to him. But that from those who do not obey him, nor pay him that duty which is the alone true and acceptable worship, he will not kindly accept their oblations, be those they offer never so many and so fat, and be the presents they make him never so ornamental, nay though they were made of gold and silver themselves, but he will reject them, and esteem them instances of wickedness, and not of piety. And that he is delighted with those that still bear in mind this one thing, and this only, how to do that, whatsoever it be, which God pronounces or commands for them to do, and to choose rather to die than to trangress any of those commands; nor does he require so much as a sacrifice from them. And when these do sacrifice, though it be a mean oblation, he better accepts of it as the honour of poverty, than such oblations as come from the richest men that offer them to him. Wherefore take notice, that thou art under the wrath of God, for thou hast despised and neglected what he commanded thee. How dost thou then suppose he will respect a sacrifice out of such things as he hath doomed to destruction? unless perhaps thou dost imagine that it is almost all one to offer it in sacrifice to God as to destroy it. Do thou therefore expect that thy kingdom will be taken from thee, and that authority which thou hast abused by such insolent behaviour, as to neglect that God who bestowed it upon thee." Then did Saul confess, that he had acted unjustly, and did not deny that he had sinned, because he had transgressed the injunctions of the prophet; but he said, that it was out of a dread and fear of the soldiers, that he did not prohibit and restrain them when they seized on the prey. "But forgive me," said he, "and be merciful to me, for I will be cautious how I offend for the time to come." He also entreated the prophet to go back with him, that he might offer his thank-offerings to God; but Samuel went home, because he saw that God would not be reconciled to him.

5. But then Saul was so desirous to retain Samuel, that he took hold of his cloak, and because the vehemence of Samuel's departure made the motion to be violent, the cloak was rent. Upon which the prophet said, that after the same manner should the kingdom be rent from him, and that a good and a just man should take it; that God persevered in what he had decreed about him; that to be mutable and changeable in what is determined is agreeable to human passions only, but is not agreeable to the divine power. Hereupon Saul said, that he had been wicked, but that what was done could not be undone. He therefore desired him to honour him so far, that the multitude might see that he would accompany him in worshiping God. So Samuel granted him that favour, and went with him and worshiped God. Agag also, the king of the Amalekites, was

brought to him; and when the king asked, How bitter death was? Samuel said: "As thou hast made many of the Hebrew mothers to lament and bewail their children, so shalt thou, by thy death, cause thy mother to lament thee also." Accordingly he gave orders to slay him immediately at Gilgal, and then went away by the city Ramah.

CHAP. VIII.

How, upon Saul's Transgression of the Prophet's Commands, Samuel ordained another Person to be King privately, whose name was David, as God commanded him.

§ 1. Now Saul being sensible of the miserable condition he had brought himself into, and that he had made God to be his enemy, he went up to his royal palace at Gibeah, which name denotes a *hill*, and after that day he came no more into the presence of the prophet. And when Samuel mourned for him, God bid him leave off his concern for him, and to take the holy oil, and go to Bethlehem to Jesse, the son of Obed, and to anoint such of his sons as he should show him for their future king. But Samuel said, he was afraid lest Saul when he came to know of it, should kill him, either by some private method, or even openly. But upon God's suggesting to him a safe way of going thither, he came to the forementioned city; and when they all saluted him, and asked, What was the occasion of his coming? he told them, he came to sacrifice to God. When therefore he had gotten the sacrifice ready, he called Jesse and his sons to partake of those sacrifices; and when he saw his eldest son to be a tall and handsome man, he guessed by his comeliness that he was the person who was to be their future king. But he was mistaken in judging about God's providence; for when Samuel inquired of God, whether he should anoint this youth, whom he so admired, and esteemed worthy of the kingdom? God said, "Men do not see as God seeth. Thou indeed hast respect to the fine appearance of this youth, and thence esteemest him worthy of the kingdom, while I propose the kingdom as a reward, not of the beauty of bodies, but of the virtue of souls, and I inquire after one that is perfectly comely in that respect. I mean one who is beautiful in piety, and righteousness, and fortitude, and obedience; for in them consists the comeliness of the soul." When God had said this, Samuel bid Jesse to show him all his sons. So he made five others of his sons to come to him; of all which, Eliab was the eldest, Aminadab the second, Shammah the third, Nathaniel the fourth, Raël the fifth, and Asam the sixth. And when the prophet saw that these were no way inferior to the eldest in their countenances, he inquired of God, which of them it was whom he chose for their king? And when God said it was none of them, he asked Jesse, whether he had not some other sons beside these? and when he said that he had one more, named David, but that he was a shepherd, and took care of the flocks, Samuel bid them call him immediately, for that till he was come they could not possibly sit down to the feast. Now as soon as his father had sent for David and he was come, he appeared to be of a yellow complexion, of a sharp sight, and a comely person in other respects also. This is he, said Samuel privately to himself, whom it pleased God to make our king. So he sat down to the feast, and placed the youth under him, and Jesse also, with his other sons; after which he took oil, in the presence of David, and anointed him, and whispered him in the ear, and acquainted him, that God chose him to be their king; and exhorted him to be righteous and obedient to his commands, for that by this means his kingdom would continue for a long time, and that his house should be of great splendour, and celebrated in the world; that he should overthrow the Philistines; and that against what nations soever he should make war, he should be the conqueror, and survive the fight: and that while he lived he should enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also.

2. So Samuel when he had given him these admonitions, went away. But the divine power departed from Saul, and removed to David; who, upon this removal of the divine spirit to him, began to prophecy. But as for Saul, some strange and demoniacal disorders came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were ready to choke him; for which the physicians could find no other remedy but this, that if any person could charm those passions by singing and playing upon the harp, they advised them to inquire for such a one, and to observe when these demons came upon him and disturbed him, and to take care that such a person might stand over him and play on the harp,* and recite hymns to him. Accordingly Saul did not delay, but commanded them to seek out such a man. And when a certain stander-by said, that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, who was yet no more than a child in age, but comely and beautiful, and in other respects one that was deserving of great regard, who was skilful in playing on the harp, and in singing of hymns, and an excellent soldier in war, he sent to Jesse, and desired him to take David away from the flocks, and send him to him; for he had a mind to see him, as having heard an advantageous character of his comeliness and his valour. So Jesse sent his son and gave him presents to carry to Saul. And when he was come, Saul was pleased with him, and made him his armour-bearer, and had him in very great esteem, for he charmed his passion, and was the only physician against the trouble he had from the demons whensoever it was that it came upon him, and this by reciting of hymns and playing upon the harp, and bringing Saul to his right mind again. However, he sent to Jesse, the father of the child, and desired him to permit David to stay with him, for that he was delighted with his sight and company; which stay, that he might not contradict Saul, he granted.

CHAP. IX.

How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews under the Reign of Saul; and how they were overcome by David's slaying Goliath in single Combat.

§ 1. Now the Philistines gathered themselves together again no very long time afterward, and having gotten together a great army, they made war against the Israelites, and having seized a place between Shochoh and Azekah, they there pitched their camp. Saul also drew out his army to oppose them; and by pitching his own camp on a certain hill, he forced the Philistines to leave their former camp, and to encamp themselves upon such another hill, over against that on which Saul's army lay, so that a valley which was between the two hills on which they lay, divided their camps asunder. Now there came down a man out of the camp of the Philistines, whose name was *Goliath*, of the city of Gath, a man of vast bulk, for he was four cubits and a span in tallness, and had about him weapons suitable to the largeness of his body, for he had a breastplate on that weighed five thousand shekels; he had also an helmet, and greaves of brass, as large as you would naturally suppose might cover the limbs of so vast a body. His spear was also such as was not carried like a light thing in his right hand, but he carried it as lying on his shoulders. He had also a lance of six hundred shekels; and many followed him to carry his armour. Wherefore this Goliath stood between the two armies as they were in battle array, and sent out a loud voice, and said to Saul and to the Hebrews, "I will free you from fighting and from dangers; for what necessity is there that your army should fall and be afflicted? Give me a man of you that will fight with me, and he that conquers shall

* Spanheim takes notice here, that the Greeks had such *singers of hymns*, and that usually children or youths were picked out for that service; as also that those called *singers to the harp* did the same that David did here, i. e. join their own vocal and instrumental music together.

have the reward of the conqueror, and determine the war: for these shall serve those others to whom the conqueror shall belong. And certainly it is much better and more prudent to gain what you desire by the hazard of one man than of all." When he had said this, he retired to his own camp; but the next day he came again, and used the same words, and did not leave off for forty days together, to challenge the enemy in the same words, till Saul and his army were therewith terrified, while they put themselves in array as if they would fight, but did not come to a close battle.

2. Now while this war between the Hebrews and the Philistines was going on, Saul sent away David to his father Jesse, and contented himself with those three sons of his whom he had sent to his assistance, and to be partners in the dangers of the war: and at first David returned to feed his sheep and his flocks; but after no long time he came to the camp of the Hebrews, as sent by his father to carry provisions to his brethren, and to know what they were doing. While Goliath came again, and challenged them, and reproached them, that they had no man of valour among them that durst come down to fight him; and as David was talking with his brethren about the business for which his father had sent him, he heard the Philistine reproaching and abusing the army, and had indignation at it, and said to his brethren, I am ready to fight a single combat with this adversary. Whereupon Eliab, his eldest brother, reproved him, and said that he spake too rashly and improperly for one of his age, and bid him go to his flocks, and to his father. So he was abashed at his brother's words, and went away, but still he spake to some of the soldiers, that he was willing to fight with him that challenged them. And when they had informed Saul what was the resolution of the young man, the king sent for him to come to him. And when the king asked what he had to say, he replied, "O king, be not cast down nor afraid, for I will depress the insolence of this adversary, and will go down and fight with him, and will bring him under me, as tall and as great as he is, till he shall be sufficiently laughed at, and thy army shall get great glory, when he shall be slain by one that is not yet of man's estate, neither fit for fighting, nor capable of being entrusted with the marshalling an army, or ordering a battle, but by one that looks like a child, and is really no older in age than a child."

3. Now Saul wondered at the boldness and alacrity of David, but durst not presume on his ability, by reason of his age: but said he must on that account be too weak to fight with one that was skilful in the art of war. "I undertake this enterprise," said David, "in dependence on God's being with me, for I have had experience already of his assistance; for I once pursued after and caught a lion that assaulted my flocks, and took away a lamb from them, and I snatched the lamb out of the wild beast's mouth, and when he leaped upon me with violence, I took him by the tail and dashed him against the ground. In the same manner did I avenge myself on a bear also; and let this adversary of ours be esteemed like one of these wild beasts, since he has a long while reproached our army, and blasphemed our God, who yet will reduce him under my power."

4. However Saul prayed that the end might be, by God's assistance, not disagreeable to the alacrity and boldness of the child; and said, "Go thy way to the fight." So he put about him his breastplate, and girded on his sword, and fitted the helmet to his head, and sent him away. But David was burdened with his armour, for he had not been exercised to it, nor had he learned to walk with it; so he said, "Let this armour be thine, O king, who art able to bear it, but give me leave to fight as thy servant, and as I myself desire." Accordingly he laid by the armour, and taking his staff with him, and putting five stones out of the brook into a shepherd's bag, and having a sling in his right hand, he went towards Goliath. But the adversary seeing him come in such a manner disdained him, and jested upon him, as if he had not such weapons with him as are usual when one man fights against another, but such as are used in driving away and avoiding of dogs; and said, "Dost thou take me not for a man, but a dog?" To

which he replied, "No, not for a dog, but for a creature worse than a dog." This provoked Goliath to anger, who thereupon cursed him by the name of God, and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of the earth, and to the fowls of the air, to be torn in pieces by them. To whom David answered, "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a breastplate, but I have God for my armour, in coming against thee, who will destroy thee and all thy army by my hands; for I will this day cut off thy head, and cast the other parts of thy body to the dogs, and all men shall learn that God is the protector of the Hebrews, and that our armour and our strength is in his providence, and that without God's assistance all other warlike preparations and power is useless." So the Philistine being retarded by the weight of his armour, when he attempted to meet David in haste, came on but slowly, as despising him, and depending upon it that he should slay him, who was both unarmed and a child also, without any trouble at all.

5. But the youth met his antagonist, being accompanied with an invisible assistant, who was no other than God himself. And taking one of the stones that he had out of the brook, and had put into his shepherd's bag, and fitting it to his sling, he slung it against the Philistine. This stone fell upon his forehead and sank into his brain, insomuch that Goliath was stunned, and fell upon his face. So David ran and stood upon his adversary as he lay down, and cut off his head with his own sword; for he had no sword himself. And upon the fall of Goliath, the Philistines were beaten, and fled; for when they saw their champion prostrate on the ground, they were afraid of the entire issue of their affairs, and resolved not to stay any longer, but committed themselves to an ignominious and indecent flight, and thereby endeavoured to save themselves from the dangers they were in. But Saul, and the entire army of the Hebrews, made a shout, and rushed upon them, and slew a great number of them, and pursued the rest to the borders of Gath, and to the gates of Ekron, so that there were slain of the Philistines thirty thousand, and twice as many wounded. But Saul returned to their camp, and pulled their fortification to pieces, and burned it; but David carried the head of Goliath into his own tent, but dedicated his sword to God [at the tabernacle.]

CHAP. X.

Saul envies David for his glorious Success, and takes an Occasion of entrapping him from the Promise he made him of giving him his Daughter in Marriage, but this upon condition of his bringing him Six Hundred Heads of the Philistines.

§ 1. Now the women were an occasion of Saul's envy and hatred to David; for they came to meet their victorious army with cymbals, and drums, and all demonstrations of joy, and sang thus; the wives said, that "Saul has slain his many thousands of the Philistines:" the virgins replied that "David hath slain his ten thousands." Now when the king heard them singing thus, and that he had himself the smallest share in their commendations, and that the greater number, the ten thousands, were ascribed to the young man; and when he considered with himself, that there was nothing more wanting to David, after such mighty applause, but the kingdom, he began to be afraid and suspicious of David. Accordingly he removed him from the station he was in before, for he was his armour-bearer, which out of fear seemed to him much too near a station for him, and so he made him captain over a thousand, and bestowed on him a post better indeed in itself, but, as he thought, more for his own security; for he had a mind to send him against the enemy, and into battles, as hoping he would be slain in such dangerous conflicts.

2. But David had God going along with him whithersoever he went, and accordingly he greatly prospered in his undertakings, and it was visible that he had

mighty successes, insomuch that Saul's daughter, who was still a virgin, fell in love with him; and her affection so far prevailed over her that it could not be concealed, and her father became acquainted with it. Now Saul heard this gladly, as intending to make use of it for a snare against David, and he hoped that it would prove the cause of destruction and of hazard to him: so he told those that informed him of his daughter's affection, that he would "willingly give David the virgin in marriage," and said, "I engage myself to marry my daughter to him if he will bring me six hundred heads of my enemies,* supposing that when a reward so ample was proposed to him, and when he should aim to get him great glory, by undertaking a thing so dangerous and incredible, he would immediately set about it, and so perish by the Philistines, and my designs about him will succeed finely to my mind, for I shall be freed from him, and get him slain, not by myself but by another man." So he gave order to his servants to try how David would relish this proposal of marrying the damsel. Accordingly they began to speak thus to him, that king Saul loved him, as well as did all the people, and that he was desirous of his affinity by the marriage of this damsel. To which he gave this answer: "Seemeth it to you a light thing to be made the king's son-in-law? It does not seem so to me, especially when I am one of a family that is low, and without any glory or honour." Now when Saul was informed by his servants what answer David had made, he said, "Tell him, that I do not want any money, nor dowry from him, which would be rather to set my daughter to sale than to give her in marriage, but I desire only such a son-in-law as hath in him fortitude, and all other kinds of virtue, of which he saw David was possessed, and that his desire was to receive of him, on account of his marrying his daughter, neither gold, nor silver, nor that he should bring such wealth out of his father's house, but only some revenge on the Philistines, and indeed six hundred of their heads, than which a more desirable or a more glorious present could not be brought him, and that he had much rather obtain this than any of the accustomed dowries, for his daughter, *viz.* that she should be married to a man of that character, and to one who had a testimony as having conquered his enemies."

3. When these words of Saul were brought to David, he was pleased with them, and supposed that Saul was really desirous of this affinity with him: so that without bearing to deliberate any longer, or casting about in his mind whether what was proposed was possible, or was difficult or not, he and his companions immediately set upon the enemy, and went about doing what was proposed as the condition of the marriage. Accordingly, because it was God who made all things easy and possible to David, he slew many [of the Philistines,] and cut off the heads of six hundred of them, and came to the king, and by showing him these heads of the Philistines, required that he might have his daughter in marriage. Accordingly Saul having no way of getting off his engagements, as thinking it a base thing either to seem a liar when he promised him this marriage, or to appear to have acted treacherously by him, in putting him upon what was in a manner impossible, in order to have him slain, he gave him his daughter in marriage; her name was *Michal.*

* Josephus says *thrice* in this chapter, and *twice* afterwards, chap. xi. sect. 2, and B. vii. chap. i. sect. 4, *i. e.* five times in all, that Saul required not a bare *hundred of the foreskins* of the Philistines, but *six hundred of their heads.* The Septuagint have 100 foreskins, but the Syriac and Arabic 200. Now that these were not *foreskins* with our other copies, but *heads* with Josephus's copy, seems somewhat probable, from 1 Sam. xxix 4, where all copies say, that it was with the heads of such Philistines that David might reconcile himself to his master Saul.

CHAP. XI.

How David, upon Saul's laying Snares for him, did yet escape the Dangers he was in by the Affection and Care of Jonathan, and the Contrivances of his Wife Michal; and how he came to Samuel the Prophet.

§ 1. HOWEVER, Saul was not disposed to persevere long in the state wherein he was; for when he saw that David was in great esteem both with God and with the multitude, he was afraid; and being not able to conceal his fear as concerning great things, his kingdom and his life, to be deprived of either of which was a very great calamity, he resolved to have David slain, and commanded his son Jonathan and his most faithful servants to kill him: but Jonathan wondered at his father's change with relation to David, that it should be made to so great a degree, from showing him no small good will to contrive how to have him killed. Now because he loved the young man, and reverenced him for his virtue, he informed him of the secret charge his father had given, and what his intentions were concerning him. However, he advised him to take care and be absent the next day, for that he would salute his father; and if he met with a favourable opportunity, he would discourse with him about him, and learn the cause of his disgust, and show how little ground there was for it, and that for it he ought not to kill a man that had done so many good things to the multitude, and had been a benefactor to himself, on account of which he ought in reason to obtain pardon, had he been guilty of the greatest crimes; and I will then inform thee of my father's resolution. Accordingly David complied with such an advantageous advice, and kept himself then out of the king's sight.

2. On the next day Jonathan came to Saul as soon as he saw him in a cheerful and joyful disposition, and began to introduce a discourse about David: "What unjust action, O father, either little or great, hast thou found so exceptionable in David as to induce thee to order us to slay a man who hath been of great advantage to thy own preservation, and of still greater to the punishment of the Philistines? A man who hath delivered the people of the Hebrews from reproach and derision, which they underwent for forty days together, when he alone had courage enough to sustain the challenge of the adversary, and after that brought as many heads of our enemies as he was appointed to bring, and had, as a reward for the same, my sister in marriage; insomuch that his death would be very sorrowful to us, not only on account of his virtue, but on account of the nearness of our relation; for thy daughter must be injured at the same time that he is slain, and must be obliged to experience widowhood, before she can come to enjoy any advantage from their mutual conversation. Consider these things, and change your mind to a more merciful temper, and do no mischief to a man, who in the first place, hath done us the great kindness of preserving thee; for when an evil spirit and demons had seized upon thee, he cast them out, and procured rest to thy soul from their incursions: and, in the second place, hath avenged us of our enemies; for it is a base thing to forget such benefits." So Saul was pacified with these words; and sware to his son that he would do David no harm; for a righteous discourse proved too hard for the king's anger and fear. So Jonathan sent for David, and brought him good news from his father, that he was to be preserved. He also brought him to his father; and David continued with the king as formerly.

3. About this time it was, that, upon the Philistines making a new expedition against the Hebrews, Saul sent David with an army to fight with them; and joining battle with them he slew many of them, and after his victory he returned to the king. But his reception by Saul was not as he expected upon such success, for he was grieved at his prosperity, because he thought he would be more dangerous to him by having acted so gloriously; but when the demoniacal spirit

came upon him, and put him into disorder, and disturbed him, he called for David into his bedchamber wherein he lay, and having a spear in his hand, he ordered him to charm him with playing on his harp, and with singing hymns: which, when David did at his command, he with great force threw the spear at him, but David was aware of it before it came, and avoided it, and fled to his own house, and abode there all that day.

4. But at night the king sent officers, and commanded that he should be watched till the morning, lest he should get quite away, that he might come into the judgment-hall, and so might be delivered up, and condemned, and slain. But when Michal, David's wife the king's daughter, understood what her father designed, she came to her husband, as having small hopes of his deliverance, and as greatly concerned about her own life also, for she could not bear to live in case she were deprived of him; and she said, "Let not the sun find thee here when it rises, for if it do, that will be the last time it will see thee; fly away then while the night may afford thee the opportunity, and may God lengthen it for thy sake; for know this, that if my father find thee, thou art a dead man." So she let him down by a cord out of the window, and saved him. And after she had so done, she fitted up a bed for him as if he were sick, and put under the bed clothes a goat's liver;* and when her father, as soon as it was day, sent to seize David, she said to those that were there, that he had not been well that night, and showed them the bed covered, and made them believe, by the leaping of the liver, which caused the bed-clothes to move also, that David breathed like one that was asthmatic. So when those that were sent told Saul that David had not been well in the night, he ordered him to be brought in that condition, for he intended to kill him. Now when they came, and uncovered the bed, and found out the woman's contrivance, they told it to the king. And when her father complained of her, that she had saved his enemy, and had put a trick upon himself, she invented this plausible defence for herself, and said, "That when he threatened to kill her, she lent him her assistance for his preservation, out of fear; for which her assistance she ought to be forgiven, because it was not done of her own free choice, but out of necessity; for, said she, I do not suppose that thou wast so zealous to kill the enemy, as thou wast that I should be saved." Accordingly Saul forgave the damsel: but David, when he had escaped this danger, came to the prophet Samuel to Ramah, and told him what snares the king had laid for him, and how he was very near to death by Saul's throwing a spear at him, although he had been no way guilty with relation to him, nor had he been cowardly in his battles with his enemies, but had succeeded well in them all, by God's assistance; which thing was indeed the cause of Saul's hatred to David.

5. When the prophet was made acquainted with the unjust proceedings of the king, he left the city Ramah, and took David with him to a certain place called *Naioth*, and there he abode with him. But when it was told Saul that David was with the prophet, he sent soldiers to him, and ordered them to take him and bring him to him. And when they came to Samuel, and found there a congregation of prophets, they became partakers of the Divine Spirit, and began to prophesy; which when Saul heard of, he sent others to David, who prophesying in like manner as did the first, he again sent others, which third sort prophesying also, at last he was angry, and went thither in great haste himself; and when he was just by the place, Samuel, before he saw him, made him prophesy also. And when Saul came to him, he was disordered in mind†, and under the vehement

* Since the modern Jews have lost the signification of the Hebrew word here used, *Cheir*; and since the LXXII, as well as Josephus, render it the *liver* of the goat, and since this rendering, and Josephus's account, are here so much more clear and probable than those of others, it is almost unaccountable that our commentators should so much as hesitate about its true interpretation.

† These violent and wild agitations of Saul seem to me to have been no other than demoniacal, and that the same demon which used to seize him since he was forsaken of God, and which the divine hymns and psalms which were sung to the harp by David, used to expel, was now in a judicial way brought upon him, not only in order to disappoint his intentions against innocent David, but to expose him to the laughter and contempt of all that saw him, or heard of those his agitations, such violent and

agitation of a spirit, and putting off his garments*, he fell down, and lay on the ground all that day and night, in the presence of Samuel and David.

6. And David went thence, and came to Jonathan the son of Saul, and lamented to him what snares were laid for him by his father; and said, that "though he had been guilty of no evil, nor had offended against him, yet he was very zealous to get him killed." Hereupon Jonathan exhorted him not to give credit to such his own suspicions, nor to the calumnies of those that raised those reports, if there were any that did so, but to depend on him, and take courage, for that his father had no such intentions, since he would have acquainted him with that matter, and taken his advice, had it been so, as he used to consult with him in common, when he acted in other affairs. But David sware to him that so it was, and he desired him rather to believe him, and to provide for his safety, than to despise what he with great sincerity told him; that he would believe what he said, when he should either see him killed himself, or learn it upon inquiry from others; and that the reason why his father did not tell him of these things, was this, that he knew of the friendship and affection that he bore towards him.

7. Hereupon, when Jonathan found that this intention of Saul's was so well attested, he asked him, "What he would have him do for him?" To which David replied, "I am sensible that thou art willing to gratify me in every thing, and procure me what I desire. Now to-morrow is the new moon, and I was accustomed to sit down then with the king at supper; now if it seem good to thee, I will go out of the city, and conceal myself privately there; and if Saul inquire why I am absent, tell him that I am gone to my own city Bethlehem, to keep a festival with my own tribe; and add this also, that thou gavest me leave so to do. And if he say, as is usually said in the case of friends that are gone abroad, it is well that he went, then assure thyself that no latent mischief or enmity may be feared at his hands; but if he answer otherwise, that will be a sure sign that he hath some designs against me. Accordingly thou shalt inform me of thy father's inclinations; and that out of pity to my case, and out of thy friendship for me, as instances of which friendship thou hast vouchsafed to accept of the assurances of my love to thee, and to give the like assurances to me, that is, those of a master to his servant; but if thou discoverest any wickedness in me, do thou prevent thy father, and kill me thyself."

8. But Jonathan heard these last words with indignation, and promised to do what he desired of him, and to inform him if his father's answers implied any thing of a melancholy nature, and any enmity against him. And that he might the more firmly depend upon him, he took him out into the open field, into the pure air, and sware that he would neglect nothing that might tend to the preservation of David; and he said, "I appeal to that God who, as thou seest, is diffused every where, and knoweth this intention of mine before I explain it in words, as the witness of this my covenant with thee, that I will not leave off to make frequent trials of the purpose of my father, till I learn whether there be any lurking distemper in the secretest parts of his soul; and when I have learned it, I will not conceal it from thee, but will discover it to thee, whether he be gentle or peevishly disposed; for this God himself knows, that I pray he may always be with thee; for he is with thee now, and will not forsake thee, and will make thee superior to thine enemies, whether my father be one of them, or whether I myself be such. Do thou only remember what we now do; and if it fall out that I

wild agitations being never observed in true prophets, when they were under the inspiration of the Spirit of God. Our other copies, which say the Spirit of God came upon him, seem not so right here as Josephus's copy, which mentions nothing of God at all. Nor does Josephus seem to ascribe this impulse and ecstasy of Saul's to any other than to his old demoniacal spirit, which on all accounts appears the most probable. Nor does the former description of Saul's real inspiration by the Divine Spirit, 1 Sam. x. 9—12; Antiq. B. vi. chap. iv. sect. 2; which was before he was become wicked, well agree with the descriptions before us.

* What is meant by Saul's lying down naked all that day and all that night, 1 Sam. xix. 24, and whether any more than laying aside his royal apparel, or upper garments, as Josephus seems to understand it, is by no means certain. See the note on Antiq. B. viii. ch. xiv. sect. 2.

die, preserve my children alive, and requite what kindnesses thou hast now received to them." When he had thus sworn, he dismissed David, bidding him to go to a certain place of that plain wherein he used to perform his exercises, for that as soon as he knew the mind of his father, he would come thither to him, with one servant only; and "if," says he, "I shoot three darts at the mark, and then bid my servant to carry these three darts away, for they are before him, know thou that there is no mischief to be feared from my father; but if thou hearest me say the contrary, expect the contrary from the king. However, thou shalt gain security by my means, and shalt by no means suffer any harm; but see thou dost not forget what I have desired of thee, in the time of thy prosperity, and be serviceable to my children." Now David, when he had received these assurances from Jonathan, went his way to the place appointed.

9. But on the next day, which was the new moon, the king when he had purified himself, as the custom was, came to supper; and when there sat by him his son Jonathan on his right hand, and Abner, the captain of his host, on the other hand, he saw David's seat was empty, but said nothing, supposing that he had not purified himself since he had accompanied with his wife, and so could not be present; but when he saw that he was not there the second day of the month neither, he inquired of his son Jonathan why the son of Jesse did not come to the supper and the feast neither the day before nor that day. So Jonathan said That "he was gone, according to the agreement between them, to his own city, where his tribe kept a festival, and that by his permission; that he also invited him to come to their sacrifice; and, says Jonathan, if thou wilt give me leave, I will go thither, for thou knowest the good will that I bear him." And then it was that Jonathan understood his father's hatred to David, and plainly saw his entire disposition; for Saul could not restrain his anger, but reproached Jonathan, and called him the son of a runagate, and an enemy; and said, "He was a partner with David, and his assistant, and that by his behaviour he showed he had no regard to himself, or to his mother, and would not be persuaded of this, that while David is alive, their kingdom was not secure to them; yet did he bid him send for him, that he might be punished." And when Jonathan said, in answer, "What hath he done that thou wilt punish him?" Saul no longer contented himself to express his anger in bare words but snatched up his spear, and leaped upon him, and was desirous to kill him. He did not indeed do what he intended, because he was hindered by his friends; but it appeared plainly to his son that he hated David, and greatly desired to despatch him, insomuch that he had almost slain his son with his own hands on his account.

10. And then it was that the king's son rose hastily from supper; and being not able to admit any thing into his mouth for grief, he wept all night, both because he had himself been near destruction, and because the death of David was determined. But as soon as it was day, he went out into the plain that was before the city, as going to perform his exercises, but in reality to inform his friend what disposition his father was in towards him, as he had agreed with him to do. And when Jonathan had done what had been thus agreed, he dismissed his servant that followed him, to return to the city, but he himself went into the desert, and came into his presence, and communed with him. So David appeared, and fell at Jonathan's feet, and bowed down to him, and called him the preserver of his soul. But he lifted him up from the earth, and they mutually embraced one another, and made a long greeting, and that not without tears. They also lamented their age, and that familiarity which envy would deprive them of, and that separation which must now be expected which seemed to them no better than death itself. So recollecting themselves at length from their lamentation, and exhorting one another to be mindful of the oaths they had sworn to each other, they parted asunder.

CHAP. XII.

How David fled to Ahimelech, and afterwards to the Kings of the Philistines, and of the Moabites; and how Saul slew Ahimelech and his Family.

§ 1. But David fled from the king, and that death he was in danger of by him, and came to the city Nob, to Ahimelech the priest, who, when he saw him coming all alone, and neither a friend nor a servant with him, he wondered at it, and desired to learn of him the cause why there was nobody with him? To which David answered, "That the king had commanded him to a cer ain thing that was to be kept secret, to which, if he had a mind to know so much, he had no occasion for any one to accompany him; however, I have ordered my servants to meet me at such and such a place." So he desired him to let him have somewhat to eat; and that in case he would supply him he would act the part of a friend, and be assisting to the business he was now about: and when he had obtained what he desired, he also asked him whether he had any weapons with him, either sword or spear? Now there was at Nob a servant of Saul's, by birth a Syrian, whose name was Doeg, one that kept the king's mules. The high priest said, that he had no such weapons, but he added, "Here is the sword of Goliath, which, when thou hadst slain the Philistines, thou didst dedicate to God."

2. When David had received the sword, he fled out of the country of the Hebrews into that of the Philistines, over which Achish reigned. And when the king's servants knew him, and he was made known to the king himself, the servants informing him that he was that David who had killed many *ten thousands* of the Philistines, David was afraid lest the king should put him to death, and that he should experience that danger from him which he had escaped from Saul; so he pretended to be distracted and mad, so that his spittle ran out of his mouth, and he did the other like actions before the king of Gath, which might make him believe that they proceeded from such a distemper. Accordingly the king was very angry at his servants that they had brought him a madman; and he gave orders that they should eject David immediately [out of the city].

3. So when David had escaped in this manner out of Gath, he came to the tribe of Judah, and abode in a cave by the city of Adullam. Then it was that he sent to his brethren, and informed them where he was, who then came to him with all their kindred, and as many others as were either in want, or in fear of king Saul, came and made a body together, and told him they were ready to obey his orders. There were in all about four hundred. Whereupon he took courage, now such a force and assistance was come to him, so he removed thence, and came to the king of the Moabites, and desired him to entertain his parents in his country, while the issue of his affairs was in such an uncertain condition. The king granted him this favour, and paid great respects to David's parents all the time they were with him.

4. As for himself, upon the prophet's commanding him to leave the desert, and to go into the portion of the tribe of Judah, and abide there, he complied therewith; and coming to the city Hareth, which was in that tribe, he remained there. Now when Saul heard that David had been seen with a multitude about him, he fell into no small disturbance and trouble. But as he knew that David was a bold and courageous man, he suspected that somewhat extraordinary would appear from him, and that openly also, which would make him weep, and put him into distress; so he called together to him his friends, and his commanders, and the tribe from which he was himself derived, to the hill where his palace was; and sitting upon a place called *Aroura*, his courtiers that were in dignities and the guards of his body being with him, he spake thus to them: "You that are men of my own tribe, I conclude that you remember the benefits that I have bestowed upon you; and that I have made some of you owners of land, and made you commanders, and bestowed posts of honour upon you, and set some of you

over the common people, and others over the soldiers: I ask you, therefore, whether you expect greater and more donations from the son of Jesse? for I know that you are all inclinable to him: even my own son Jonathan himself is of that opinion, and persuades you to be of the same; for I am not unacquainted with the oaths and the covenant that are between him and David, and that Jonathan is a counsellor and an assistant to those that conspire against me, and none of you are concerned about these things, but you keep silence and watch to see what will be the upshot of these things." When the king had done his speech, not one of the rest of those that were present made any answer; but Doeg the Syrian, who fed his mules, said, that he saw David when he came to the city Nob to Ahimelech the high priest, and that he learned future events by his prophesying; that he received food from him, and the sword of Goliath, and was conducted by him with security to such as he desired to go to.

5. Saul therefore sent for the high priest, and for all his kindred, and said to them, "What terrible or ungrateful thing hast thou suffered from me, that thou hast received the son of Jesse, and hast bestowed on him both food and weapons, when he was contriving to get the kingdom? And farther, why didst thou deliver oracles to him concerning futurities? for thou couldst not be unacquainted that he was fled from me, and that he hated my family." But the high priest did not betake himself to deny what he had done, but confessed boldly that he had supplied him with these things, not to gratify David, but Saul himself; and he said, "I did not know that he was thy adversary, but a servant of thine, who was very faithful to thee, and a captain over a thousand of thy soldiers; and, what is more than these, thy son-in-law and kinsman. Men do not use to confer such favours on their adversaries, but on those who are esteemed to bear the highest good will and respect to them. Nor is this the first time that I prophesied for him, but I have done it often, and at other times as well as now. And when he told me that he was sent by thee in great haste to do somewhat, if I had furnished him with nothing that he desired, I should have thought that it was rather in contradiction to thee than to him. Wherefore do not thou entertain any ill opinion of me, nor do thou have a suspicion of what I then thought an act of humanity from what is now told thee of David's attempts against thee; for I did then to him as to thy friend and son-in-law, and captain of a thousand, and not as to thine adversary."

6. When the high priest had spoken thus, he did not persuade Saul; his fear was so prevalent that he could not give credit to an apology that was very just. So he commanded his armed men that stood about him to kill him, and all his kindred; but as they durst not touch the high priest, but were more afraid of disobeying God than the king, he ordered Doeg the Syrian to kill them. Accordingly he took to his assistance such wicked men as were like himself, and slew Ahimelech and all his family, which were in all three hundred and eighty-five. Saul also sent to Nob,* the city of the priests, and slew all that were there, without sparing either women or children, or any other age, and burnt it; only there was one son of Ahimelech, whose name was *Abiathar*, who escaped. However, these things came to pass as God had foretold to Eli the high priest, when he said, that his posterity should be destroyed, on account of the transgression of his two sons.

7. †Now this king Saul, by perpetrating so barbarous a crime, and murdering the

* This city Nob was not a city allotted to the priests, nor had the prophets, that we know of, any particular cities allotted to them. It seems the tabernacle was now at Nob, and probably a school of the prophets was here also. It was full two days' journey on foot from Jerusalem, 1 Sam. xxi. 5. The number of priests here slain in Josephus is three hundred and eighty-five, and but eighty-five in our Hebrew copies, yet are they three hundred and five in the Septuagint. I prefer Josephus's number, the Hebrew having, I suppose, only dropped the hundreds, the other the tens. This city Nob seems to have been the chief, or perhaps the only seat of the family of Ithamar, which here perished, according to God's former terrible threatenings to Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 27—36; iii 11—18. See chap. xiv. sect. 9. hereafter.

† This section contains an admirable reflection of Josephus concerning the general wickedness of men in great authority, and the danger they are in of rejecting that regard to justice and humanity, to divine providence and the fear of God, which they either really had, or pretended to have, while they were in a lower condition. It can never be too often perused by kings and great men nor by those who expect to ob

whole family of the high-priestly dignity, by having no pity of the infants nor reverence for the aged, and by overthrowing the city which God had chosen for the property and for the support of the priests and prophets which were there, and had ordained as the only city allotted for the education of such men, gives all to understand and consider the disposition of men, that while they are private persons, and in a low condition, because it is not in their power to indulge nature, nor to venture upon what they wish for, they are equitable and moderate, and pursue nothing but what is just, and bend their whole minds and labours that way; then it is that they have this belief about God, that he is present to all the actions of their lives, and that he does not only see the actions that are done but clearly knows those their thoughts also, whence those actions do arise. But when once they are advanced into power and authority, then they put off all such notions; and, as if they were no other than actors upon a theatre, they lay aside their disguised parts and manners, and take up boldness, insolence, and contempt of both human and divine laws, and this at a time when they especially stand in need of piety and righteousness, because they are then most of all exposed to envy, and all they think and all they say are in the view of all men: then it is that they become so insolent in their actions, as though God saw them no longer, or were afraid of them because of their power; and whatsoever it is that they either are afraid of by the rumours they hear, or they hate by inclination, or they love without reason, these seem to them to be authentic, and firm, and true and pleasing both to men and to God: but as to what will come hereafter, they have not the least regard to it. They raise those to honour indeed who have been at a great deal of pains for them, and after that honour they envy them; and when they have brought them into high dignity, they do not only deprive them of what they had obtained, but also on that very account of their lives also, and that on wicked accusations, and such as on account of their extravagant nature are incredible. They also punish men for their actions, not such as deserve condemnation but from calumnies and accusations without examination; and this extends not only to such as deserve to be punished, but to as many as they are able kill. This reflection is openly confirmed to us from the example of Saul the son of Kish, who was the first king who reigned after our aristocracy and government under the judges were over; and that by his slaughter of three hundred priests and prophets on occasion of his suspicion about Ahimelech, and by the additional wickedness of the overthrow of their city, and this as if he were endeavouring in some sort to render the temple [tabernacle] destitute both of priests and prophets; which endeavour he showed by slaying so many of them, and not suffering the very city belonging to them to remain, that so others might succeed them.

8. But Abiathar the son of Ahimelech, who alone could be saved out of the family of priests slain by Saul, fled to David, and informed him of the calamity that had befallen their family, and of the slaughter of his father; who hereupon said, "He was not unapprized of what would follow with relation to them when he saw Doeg there; for he had then a suspicion that the high priest would be falsely accused by him to the king, and he blamed himself as having been the cause of this misfortune." But he desired him to stay there and abide with him, as in a place where he might be better concealed than any where else.

vain such elevated dignities among mankind. See the like reflections of our Josephus, Antiq. B. vii. ch. i. sect. 5, at the end, and B. viii. ch. x. sect. 2, at the beginning. They are to the like purpose with one branch of Agur's prayer. *One thing have I required of thee, deny it me not before I die; give me no riches, lest I be full and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord?*

CHAP. XIII.

How David, when he had twice the Opportunity of killing Saul, did not kill him. Also concerning the Death of Samuel and Nabal.

§ 1. About this time it was that David heard how the Philistines had made an inroad into the country of Keilah, and robbed it; so he offered himself to fight against them, if God, when he should be consulted by the prophet, would grant him the victory. And when the prophet said that God gave a signal of victory, he made a sudden onset upon the Philistines with his companions, and he shed a great deal of their blood, and carried off their prey, and stayed with the inhabitants of Keilah till they had securely gathered in their corn and their fruits. However, it was told Saul the king, that David was with the men of Keilah; for what had been done, and the great success that had attended him, were not confined among the people where the things were done, but the fame of it went all abroad, and came to the hearing of others, and both the fact as it stood, and the author of the fact, were carried to the king's ears. Then was Saul glad when he heard David was in Keilah; and he said, "God hath now put him into my hands, since he hath obliged him to come into a city that hath walls, and gates, and bars." So he commanded all the people to set upon Keilah suddenly, and when they had besieged and taken it, to kill David. But when David perceived this, and learned of God, that if he stayed there the men of Keilah would deliver him up to Saul, he took his four hundred men and retired into a desert that was over a city called *Engedi*. So when the king heard that he was fled away from the men of Ceilah, he left off his expedition against him.

2. Then David removed thence, and came to a certain place called the *New Place*, belonging to Ziph; where Jonathan the son of Saul came to him, and saluted him, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope well as to his condition hereafter, and not to despond at his present circumstances, for that he should be king, and have all the forces of the Hebrews under him; but told him, that such happiness uses to come with great labour and pains; they also took oaths, that they would all their lives long continue in good will and fidelity one to another; and he called God to witness, as to what execrations he had made upon himself, if he should transgress his covenant, and should change to a contrary behaviour. So Jonathan left him there, having rendered his cares and fear somewhat lighter, and returned home. Now the men of Ziph, to gratify Saul, informed him that David abode with them, and [assured him] that if he would come to them, they would deliver him up; for if the king would seize on the straits of Ziph, David could not escape to any other people. So the king commended them, and confessed that he had reason to thank them, because they had given him information of his enemy: and he promised them, that it should not be long ere he would requite their kindness. He also sent men to seek for David, and to search the wilderness wherein he was; and he answered, that he himself would follow them. Accordingly they went before the king, to hunt for and to catch David, and used endeavours, not only to show their good will to Saul, by informing him where his enemy was, but to evidence the same more plainly by delivering him up into his power. But these men failed of those their unjust and wicked desires, who while they underwent no hazard by not discovering such an ambition of revealing this to Saul, yet did they falsely accuse, and promise to deliver up a man beloved of God, and one that was unjustly sought after to be put to death, and one that might otherwise have been concealed, and this out of flattery, and expectation of gain from the king; for when David was apprised of the malignant intentions of the men of Ziph, and of the approach of Saul, he left the straits of that country, and fled to the great rock that was in the wilderness of Maon.

3. Hereupon Saul made haste to pursue him thither; for as he was marching, he learned that David was gone away from the straits [of Ziph,] and Saul removed to the other side of the rock. But the report that the Philistines had again made an incursion into the country of the Hebrews called Saul another way from the pursuit of David, when he was ready to be caught, for he turned back again to oppose those Philistines, who were naturally their enemies, as judging it more necessary to avenge himself of them, than to take a great deal of pains to catch an enemy of his own, and to overlook the ravage that was made in the land.

4. And by this means David unexpectedly escaped out of the danger he was in, and came to the straits of Engedi. And when Saul had driven the Philistines out of the land, there came some messengers who told him that David abode within the bounds of Engedi: so he took three thousand chosen men, that were armed, and made haste to him; and when he was not far from those places, he saw a deep and hollow cave by the way side; it was open to a great length and breadth, and there it was that David with his four hundred men were concealed. When therefore he had great occasion to ease nature, he entered into it by himself alone; and being seen by one of David's companions, and he that saw him saying to him, that "he had now, by God's providence, an opportunity of avenging himself of his adversary; and advising him to cut off his head, and so deliver himself out of that tedious wandering condition, and the distress he was in," he rose up, and only cut off the skirt of that garment which Saul had on. But he soon repented of what he had done; and said, it was not right to kill him that was his master, and one whom God had thought worthy of the kingdom; for that although he were wickedly disposed towards us, yet does it not behove me to be so disposed towards him. But when Saul had left the cave, David came near, and cried out aloud, and desired Saul to hear him; whereupon the king turned his face back, and David according to custom fell down on his face before the king, and bowed to him; and said, "O king, thou oughtest not to hearken to wicked men, not to such as forge calumnies, nor to gratify them so far as to believe what they say, nor to entertain suspicions of such as are your best friends, but to judge of the disposition of all men by their actions: for calumny deludes men, but men's own actions are a clear demonstration of their kindness. Words indeed, in their own nature, may be either true or false, but men's actions expose their intentions nakedly to our view. By these, therefore, it would be well of thee to believe me, as to my regard to thee and to thy house, and not to believe those that frame such accusations against me as never came into my mind, nor are possible to be executed, and do this farther by pursuing after my life, and have no concern either day or night, but how to compass my life and to murder me, which thing I think thou dost unjustly prosecute. For how comes it about, that thou hast embraced this false opinion about me, as if I had a desire to kill thee? Or how canst thou escape the crime of impiety towards God, when thou wishest thou couldst kill, and deemest thine adversary, a man who had it in his power this day to avenge himself, and to punish thee, but would not do it? nor make use of such an opportunity, which, if it had fallen out to thee against me, thou hadst not let it slip; for when I cut off the skirt of thy garment, I could have done the same to thy head." So he showed him the piece of his garment, and thereby made him agree to what he said to be true; and added, "I, for certain, have abstained from taking a just revenge* upon thee, yet art not thou ashamed to prosecute me with unjust hatred. May God do justice, and determine about each of our dispositions." But Saul was amazed at the strange delivery he had received; and being greatly affected with the moderation and disposition of the young man, he groaned; and when David had done the same, the king answered,

* The phrase in David's speech to Saul, as set down in Josephus, that he had abstained *from just revenge*, puts me in mind of the like words in the Apostolical Constitutions, B. vii. chap. ii. that *revenge is not evil, but patience is more honourable.*

that he had the justest occasion to groan, "for thou hast been the author of good to me, as I have been the author of calamity to thee. And thou hast demonstrated this day, that thou possessest the righteousness of the ancients, who determined that men ought to save their enemies though they caught them in a desert place. I am now persuaded that God reserves the kingdom for thee, and that thou wilt obtain the dominion over all the Hebrews. Give me then assurances upon oath, that thou wilt not root out my family, nor, out of remembrance of what evil I have done thee, destroy my posterity, but save and preserve my house." So David sware as he desired, and sent back Saul to his own kingdom; but he and those that were with him went up to the straits of Mastheroth.

5. About this time Samuel the prophet died. He was a man whom the Hebrews honoured in an extraordinary degree; for that lamentation which the people made for him, and this during a long time, manifested his virtue, and the affection which the people bore for him; as also did the solemnity and concern that appeared about his funeral, and about the complete observation of all his funeral rites. They buried him in his own city Ramah; and wept for him a very great number of days, not looking on it as a sorrow for the death of another man, but as that in which they were every one themselves concerned. He was a righteous man, and gentle in his nature; and on that account, he was very dear to God. Now he governed and presided over the people alone, after the death of Eli the high priest, twelve years, and eighteen years together with Saul the king. And thus we have finished the history of Samuel.

6. There was a man that was a Ziphite, of the city of Maon, who was rich, and had a vast number of cattle; for he fed a flock of three thousand sheep, and another flock of a thousand goats. Now David had charged his associates to keep these flocks without hurt and without damage, and to do them no mischief, neither out of covetousness, nor because they were in want, nor because they were in the wilderness, and so could not easily be discovered, but to esteem freedom from injustice above all other motives, and to look upon the touching of what belonged to another man as a horrible crime, and contrary to the will of God. These were the instructions he gave, thinking that the favours he granted this man were granted to a good man, and one that deserved to have such care taken of his affairs. This man was Nabal, for that was his name; a harsh man, and of a very wicked life, being like a cynic in the course of his behaviour, but still had obtained for his wife a woman of a good character, wise and handsome. To this Nabal, therefore, David sent ten men of his attendants at the time when he sheared his sheep, and by them saluted him; and also wished he might do what he now did for many years to come, but desired him to make him a present of what he was able to give him, since he had, to be sure, learned from his shepherds, that we had done them no injury, but had been their guardians a long time together, while we continued in the wilderness; and he assured him he should never repent of giving any thing to David. When the messengers had carried this message to Nabal, he accosted them after an inhuman and rough manner; for he asked them, who David was? and when he heard that he was the son of Jesse, "Now is the time," said he, "that fugitives grow insolent, and make a figure, and leave their masters." When they told David this, he was wroth; and commanded four hundred armed men to follow him, and left two hundred to take care of the stuff (for he had already six hundred,)* and went against Nabal. He also swore that he would that night utterly destroy the whole house and possessions of Nabal, for that he was grieved, not only that he had proved ungrateful to them, without making any return for the humanity they had showed him, but that he had also reproached them, and used ill language to them, when he had received no cause of disgust from them.

* The number of men that came first to David, are distinctly in Josephus, and in our common copies, but four hundred. When he was at Keilah still but four hundred, both in Josephus and in the LXXII; but six hundred in our Hebrew copies, 1 Sam. xxiii. 13; see xxx. 9, 10. Now the six hundred there

7. Hereupon one of those that kept the flocks of Nabal said to his mistress, Nabal's wife, "That when David sent to her husband he had received no civil answer at all from him, but that her husband had moreover added very reproachful language, while yet David had taken extraordinary care to keep his flocks from harm, and that what had passed would prove very pernicious to his master." When the servant had said this, Abigail, for that was the wife's name, saddled her asses, and loaded them with all sorts of presents; and without telling her husband any thing of what she was about (for he was not sensible on account of his drunkenness), she went to David. She was then met by David as she was descending a hill, who was coming against Nabal with four hundred men. When the woman saw David, she leaped down from her ass, and fell on her face, and bowed down to the ground; and entreated him not to bear in mind the words of Nabal, since he knew that he resembled his name; now Nabal in the Hebrew tongue signifies *folly*. So she made her apology, "That she did not see the messengers whom he sent. Forgive me, therefore," said she, "and thank God who hath hindered thee from shedding human blood; for so long as thou keepest thyself innocent,* he will avenge thee of wicked men; for what miseries await Nabal, they will fall upon the heads of thine enemies. Be thou gracious to me, and think me so far worthy as to accept these presents from me; and out of regard to me, remit that wrath and that anger which thou hast against my husband and his house, for mildness and humanity become thee, especially as thou art to be our king." Accordingly David accepted her presents, and said, "Nay, but, O woman, it was no other than God's mercy which brought thee to us to-day, for otherwise thou hadst never seen another day, I having sworn† to destroy Nabal's house this very night, and to leave alive not one of you who belonged to a man that was wicked and ungrateful to me and my companions; but now hast thou prevented me, and seasonably mollified my anger, as being thyself under the care of God's providence; but as for Nabal, although for thy sake he now escape punishment, he will not always avoid justice, for his evil conduct on some other occasion will be his ruin."

8. When David had said this, he dismissed the woman. But when she came home and found her husband feasting with a great company, and oppressed with wine, she said nothing to him then about what had happened, but on the next day when he was sober, she told him all the particulars, and made his whole body to appear like that of a dead man by her words, and by that grief which arose from them; so Nabal survived ten days, and no more, and then died. And when David heard of his death, he said, that "God had justly avenged him of this man, for that Nabal died by his own wickedness, and had suffered punishment on his account, while he had kept his own hands clean." At which time he understood that the wicked are prosecuted by God; that he does not overlook any man, but bestows on the good what is suitable to them, and inflicts a deserved punishment on the wicked. So he went to Nabal's wife, and invited her to come to him, to live with him, and to be his wife. Whereupon she replied to those that came, that she was not worthy to touch his feet; however, she came with all her servants, and became his wife, having received that honour as

mentioned, are here intimated by Josephus to have been so many, only by an augmentation of two hundred afterward, which, I suppose, is the true solution of this seeming disagreement.

* In this, and the two next sections, we may perceive how Josephus, nay, how Abigail herself would understand the *not avenging ourselves, but heaping coals of fire on the head of the injurious.* Prov. xxv. 25; Rom. xii. 20; not as we commonly do now, of melting them into kindness, but of leaving them to the judgment of God, *to whom vengeance belongeth*, Deut. xxxii. 35; Psalm xciv. 1; Heb. x. 30; and who will take vengeance on the wicked. And since all God's judgments are just, and all fit to be executed, and all at length for good of the persons punished, I incline to think that to be the meaning of this phrase, of *heaping coals of fire on their heads.*

† We may note here, that how sacred soever an oath was esteemed among the people of God in all times, they did not think it obligatory where the action was plainly unlawful: for so we see it was in the case of David, who, although he had sworn to destroy Nabal and his family, yet does he here, and 1 Sam. xv. 32--34, bless God for preventing his keeping this oath, and from shedding of blood, as he had sworn to do

account of her wise and righteous course of life. She also obtained the same honour partly on account of her beauty. Now David had a wife before, which he married from the city Abesar; for as to Michal, the daughter of king Saul, who had been David's wife, her father had given her in marriage to Phalti, the son of Laish, who was of the city of Gallim.

9. After this came certain of the Ziphites, and told Saul that David was come again into their country, and that if he would afford them his assistance, they could catch him. So he came to them with three thousand armed men; and upon the approach of the night, he pitched his camp at a certain place called *Hachilah*. But when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent spies, and bid them to let him know to what place of the country Saul was already come; and when they told him that he was at Hachilah, he concealed his going away from his own companions, and came to Saul's camp, having taken with him Abishai, his sister Zeruiah's son, and Ahimelech the Hittite. Now Saul was asleep; and the armed men, with Abner their commander, lay round about him in a circle. Hereupon David entered into the king's tent, but he did neither kill Saul, though he knew where he lay, by the spear that was struck down by him, nor did he give leave to Abishai, who would have killed him, and was earnestly bent upon it so to do; for he said, "It was a horrid crime to kill one that was ordained king by God, although he was a wicked man; for that he who gave him the dominion would, in time, inflict punishment upon him." So he restrained his eagerness; but that it might appear to have been in his power to have killed him, when he refrained from it, he took his spear and the cruse of water which stood by Saul as he lay asleep, without being perceived by any in the camp, who were all asleep; and went securely away, having performed every thing among the king's attendants that the opportunity afforded, and his boldness encouraged him to do. So when he had passed over a brook, and was gotten up to the top of a hill, whence he might be sufficiently heard, he cried aloud to Saul's soldiers, and to Abner their commander, and awaked them out of their sleep, and called both to him and to the people. Hereupon the commander heard him, and asked who it was that called him? To whom David replied, "It is I, the son of Jesse, whom you make a vagabond. But what is the matter? Dost thou, that art a man of so great dignity, and of the first rank in the king's court, take so little care of thy master's body? and is sleep of more consequence to thee than his preservation, and thy care of him? This negligence of yours deserves death and punishment to be inflicted on you, who never perceived when a little while ago some of us entered into your camp, nay as far as the king himself, and to all the rest of you. If thou look for the king's spear, and his cruse of water, thou wilt learn what a mighty misfortune was ready to overtake you in your very camp without your knowing of it." Now, when Saul knew David's voice, and understood that when he had him in his power while he was asleep, and his guards took care of him, yet did he not kill him, but spared him, when he might justly have cut him off, he said that "he owed him thanks for his preservation; and exhorted him to be of good courage, and not to be afraid of suffering any mischief from him any more, and to return to his own home; for he was now persuaded that he did not love himself so well as he was loved by him; and that he had driven away him that could guard him, and had given many demonstrations of his good will to him; that he had forced him to live so long in a state of banishment, and in great fears of his life, destitute of his friends and his kindred, while still he was often saved by him, and frequently received his life again when it was evidently in danger of perishing." So David bid them send for the spear and the cruse of water, and take them back; adding this withal, That God would be the judge of both their dispositions and of the actions that flowed from the same, who knows that when it was this day in my power to have killed thee, I abstained from it.

10. Thus Saul, having escaped the hands of David twice, he went his way to the royal palace, and his own city. But David was afraid that if he stayed there he should be caught by Saul, so he thought it better to go up into the land of the Philistines and abide there. Accordingly, he came with the six hundred men that were with him to Achish, the king of Gath, which was one of their five cities. Now the king received both him and his men, and gave them a place to inhabit in. He had with him also his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, and he dwelt in Gath. But when Saul heard this he took no farther care about sending to him, or going after him, because he had been twice in a manner caught by him while he was himself endeavouring to catch him. However David had no mind to continue in the city of Gath, but desired the king, that, since he had received him with such humanity, that he would grant him another favour, and bestow upon him some place of that country for his habitation; for he was ashamed, by living in the city, to be grievous and burdensome to him. So Achish gave him a certain village called *Ziklag*; which place David and his sons were fond of when he was king, and reckoned it to be their peculiar inheritance. But about those matters we shall give the reader farther information elsewhere. Now the time that David dwelt in Ziklag, in the land of the Philistines, was four months and twenty days. And now he privately attacked those Geshurites and Amalekites that were neighbours to the Philistines, and laid waste their country, and took much prey of their beasts and camels, and then returned home; but David abstained from the men, as fearing they should discover him to king Achish, yet did he send part of the prey to him as a free gift. And when the king inquired whom they had attacked when they brought away the prey, he said those that lay to the south of the Jews, and inhabited in the plain: whereby he persuaded Achish to approve of what he had done: for he hoped that David had fought against his own nation, and that now he should have him for his servant all his life long, and that he would stay in his country.

CHAP. XIV.

How Saul, upon God's not answering him concerning the Fight with the Philistines, desired a necromantic Woman to raise up the Soul of Samuel to him; and how he died, with his Sons, upon the Overthrow of the Hebrews in Battle.

§ 1. About the same time the Philistines resolved to make war against the Israelites and sent to all their confederates that they would go along with them to the war to Reggen (near the city Shunem,) whence they might gather themselves together, and suddenly attack the Hebrews. Then did Achish, the king of Gath, desire David to assist them with his armed men against the Hebrews. This he readily promised; and said that the time was now come wherein he might requite him for his kindness and hospitality. So the king promised to make him the keeper of his body after the victory, supposing that the battle with the enemy succeeded to their mind, which promise of honour and confidence he made on purpose to increase his soul for his service.

2. Now Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had cast out of the country the fortune-tellers, and the necromancers, and all such as exercised the like arts, excepting the prophets. But when he heard that the Philistines were already come, and had pitched their camp near to the city Shunem, situated in the plain, he [illegible] to oppose them with his forces; and when he was come to a certain [illegible] called Gilboa, he pitched his camp over against the enemy; but when [illegible] the enemy's army he was greatly [illegible], because it appeared to be [illegible] and superior to his own; and he inquired of God by the prophets concerning the battle, that he might know beforehand what would be the event of

And when God did not answer him, Saul was under a still greater dread, and his courage fell, foreseeing, as was but reasonable to suppose, that mischief would befall him, now God was not there to assist him; yet did he bid his servants to inquire out for him some woman that was a necromancer, and called up the souls of the dead, that so he might know whether his affairs would succeed to his mind; for this sort of necromantic women, who bring up the souls of the dead, do by them foretell future events to such as desire them. And one of his servants told him that there was such a woman in the city Endor, but was known to nobody in the camp; hereupon Saul put off his royal apparel, and took two of those his servants with him whom he knew to be most faithful to him, and came to Endor to the woman, and entreated her to act the part of a fortuneteller, and to bring up such a soul to him as he should name to her. But when the woman opposed his motion, and said, "She did not despise the king, who had banished this sort of fortunetellers, and that he did not do well himself, when she had done him no harm, to endeavour to lay a snare for her, and to discover that she exercised a forbidden art, in order to procure her to be punished;" he sware that nobody should know what she did; and that he would not tell any one else what she foretold, but that she should incur no danger. As soon as he had induced her by this oath to fear no harm, he bid her bring up to him the soul of Samuel. She not knowing who Samuel was, called him out of Hades. When he appeared, and the woman saw one that was venerable, and of a divine form, she was in disorder; and being astonished at the sight, she said, "Art not thou king Saul?" for Samuel had informed her who he was. When he had owned that to be true, and had asked her whence her disorder arose? she said, that "she saw a certain person ascend, who in his form was like to a god." And when he bid her tell him what he resembled, in what habit he appeared, and of what age he was; she told him, "He was an old man already, and of a glorious personage, and had on a sacerdotal mantle." So the king discovered by these signs that he was Samuel; and he fell down upon the ground, and saluted, and worshiped him. And when the soul of Samuel asked him, why he had disturbed him, and caused him to be brought up? he lamented the necessity he was under; for he said, "That his enemies pressed heavily upon him; that he was in distress what to do in his present circumstances; that he was forsaken of God, and could obtain no prediction of what was coming, neither by prophets nor by dreams; and that these were the reasons why I have recourse to thee, who always tookst care of me." But* Samuel, seeing that the end of Saul's life was come, said, "It is in vain for thee to desire to learn of me any thing farther when God hath forsaken thee; however, hear what I say, that David is to be king, and to finish this war with good success; and thou art to lose thy dominion and thy life, because thou didst not obey God in the war with the Amalekites, and hast not kept his commandments, as I foretold to thee while I was alive. Know, therefore, that the people shall be made subject to their enemies, and that thou, with thy sons, shall fall in the battle to-morrow, and thou shalt then be with me [in Hades."]

3. When Saul had heard this he could not speak for grief, and fell down on the floor; whether it were from the sorrow that arose upon what Samuel had said, or from his emptiness, for he had taken no food the foregoing day nor night, he easily fell quite down. And when with difficulty he had recovered himself, the woman would force him to eat, begging this of him as a favour, on account

* This history of Saul's consultation, not with a *witch*, as we render the Hebrew word here, but with a *necromancer*, as the whole history shows, is easily understood, especially if we consult the recognitions of Clement, B. i. chap. v. at large, and more briefly, and nearer the days of Samuel, Ecclus. xlvi. 20. "Samuel prophesied after his death, and showed the king his end, and lift up his voice from the earth in prophecy," to blot out "the wickedness of the people." Nor does the exactness of the accomplishment of this prediction, the very next day, permit us to suppose any imposition upon Saul in the present history; for as to all modern hypotheses against the natural sense of such ancient and authentic histories I take them to be of very small value or consideration.

of her concern in that dangerous instance of fortunetelling, which it was not lawful for her to have done, because of the fear she was under of the king while she knew not who he was, yet did she undertake it and go through with; on which account she entreated him to admit that a table and food might be set before him, that he might recollect his strength, and so get safe to his own camp. And when he opposed her motion, and entirely rejected it, by reason of his anxiety, she forced, and at last persuaded him to it. Now she had one calf that she was very fond of, and one that she took a great deal of care of, and fed it herself, for she was a woman that got her living by the labour of her own hands, and had no other possession but that one calf; this she killed, and made ready its flesh, and set it before his servants and himself. So Saul came to the camp while it was yet night.

4. Now it is but just to recommend the generosity of this woman,* because when the king had forbidden her to use that art whence her circumstances were bettered and improved, and when she had never seen the king before, she still did not remember to his disadvantage that he had condemned her sort of learning, and did not refuse him as a stranger, and one that she had no acquaintance with; but she had compassion upon him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to do what he was greatly averse to, and offered him the only creature she had as a poor woman, and that earnestly, and with great humanity, while she had no requital made her for her kindness, nor hunted after any future favour from him, for she knew he was to die; whereas men are naturally either ambitious to please those that bestow benefits upon them, or are very ready to serve those from whom they may receive some advantage. It would be well therefore to imitate the example of this woman, and to do kindness to all such as are in want; and to think that nothing is better, nor more becoming mankind, than such a general beneficence, nor what will sooner render God favourable and ready to bestow good things upon us. And so far may suffice to have spoken concerning this woman. But I shall speak farther upon another subject; which will afford me the opportunity of discoursing on what is for the advantage of cities and people, and natural and suited to the taste of good men, and will encourage them all in the prosecution of virtue, and is capable of showing them the method of acquiring glory and an everlasting fame; and of imprinting in the kings of nations, and the rulers of cities, great inclination and diligence of doing well; as also of encouraging them to undergo dangers and to die for their countries, and of instructing them how to despise all the most terrible adversities; and I have a fair occasion offered me to enter on such a discourse by Saul the king of the Hebrews; for although he knew what was coming upon him, and that he was to die immediately by the prediction of the prophet, he did not resolve to fly from death, nor so far to indulge the love of life as to betray his own people to the enemy or to bring a disgrace on his royal dignity; but exposing himself, as well as all his family and children, to dangers, he thought it a brave thing to fall together with them, as he was fighting for his subjects; and that it was better his sons should die thus showing their courage, than to leave them to their uncertain conduct afterwards while, instead of succession and posterity, they gained a commendation and a lasting name. Such a one alone seems to me to be a just, a courageous, and a prudent man; and when any one has arrived at these dispositions, or shall hereafter arrive at them, he is the man who ought to be honoured by all with the testimony of a virtuous or courageous man; for as to those that go out to war with hopes of success, and that they shall return safe, supposing they should have performed some glorious action, I think those do not do well who call these valiant men, as so many

* These great commendations of this necromantic woman of Endor, and of Saul's martial courage when yet he knew he should die in the battle, are somewhat unusual digressions in Josephus. They seem to me extracted from some speeches or declamation of his, composed formerly in the way of exercise that lay by him, and which he thought fit to insert upon this occasion. See before on Antiq. B. iii. ch. xiv. sect. 2.

nistorians and other writers who treat of them are wont to do, although I confess those do justly deserve some commendation also; but those only may be styled courageous and bold in great undertakings, and despisers of adversities, who imitate Saul; for as for those that do not know what the event of war will be as to themselves, and though they do not faint in it, but deliver themselves up to uncertain futurity, and are tossed this way and that way, this is not so very eminent an instance of a generous mind, although they happen to perform many great exploits; but when men's minds expect no good event, but they know beforehand they must die, and that they must undergo that death in the battle also, after this neither to be affrighted nor to be astonished at the terrible fate that is coming, but to go directly upon it, when they know beforehand, this it is that I esteem the character of a man truly courageous. Accordingly this Saul did, and thereby demonstrated that all men who desire fame after they are dead are so to act as they may obtain the same. This especially concerns kings, who ought not to think it enough in their high station, that they are not wicked in the government of their subjects, but to be no more than moderately good to them I could say more than this about Saul, and his courage, the subject affording matter sufficient, but that I may not appear to run out improperly in his commendation, I return again to that history from which I made this digression.

5. Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and had taken an accouat of their forces, according to their nations, and kingdoms, and governments, king Achish came last of all with his own army; after whom came David with his six hundred armed men. And when the commanders of the Philistines saw him, they asked the king whence these Hebrews came, and at whose invitation. He answered, that "it was David, who was fled away from his master Saul, and that he had entertained him when he came to him, and that now he was willing to make him this requital for his favours, and to avenge himself upon Saul, and so was become his confederate." The commanders complained of this, that he had taken him for a confederate who was an enemy, and gave him counsel to send him away, lest he should unawares do his friends a great deal of mischief by entertaining him; for that he afforded him an opportunity of being reconciled to his master, by doing mischief to our army. They thereupon desired him, out of a prudent foresight of this, to send him away with his four hundred armed men, to the place he had given him for his habitation; for that this was that David whom the virgins celebrated in their hymns, as having destroyed many ten thousands of the Philistines. When the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spake well; so he called David, and said to him, "As for myself I can bear witness that thou hast shown great diligence and kindness about me, and on that account it was that I took thee for my confederate; however what I have done does not please the commanders of the Philistines: go therefore within a day's time to the place I have given thee, without suspecting any harm, and there keep my country, lest any of our enemies should make an incursion upon it, which will be one part of that assistance which I expect from thee." So David came to Ziklag, as the king of Gath bade him; but it happened, that while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, the Amalekites had made an incursion, and taken Ziklag before, and had burned it; and when they had taken a great deal of other prey out of that place, and out of the other parts of the Philistines country, they departed.

6. Now when David found that Ziklag was laid waste, and that it was all spoiled, and that as well his own wives, which were two, as the wives of his companions, with their children, were made captives, he presently rent his clothes, weeping and lamenting, together with his friends; and indeed he was so cast down with these misfortunes that at length tears themselves failed him. He was also in danger of being stoned to death by his companions, who were greatly afflicted at the captivity of their wives and children, for they laid the blame upon him of what had happened. But when he had recovered himself out of his

grief, and had raised up his mind to God, he desired the high priest Abiathar to put on his sacerdotal garments, and to inquire of God, and to prophesy to him "Whether God would grant, that if he pursued after the Amalekites, he should overtake them, and save their wives and their children, and avenge himself of the enemies." And when the high priest bid him to pursue after them, he marched apace with his four hundred men, after the enemy; and when he was come to a certain brook called *Besor*, and had lighted upon one that was wandering about, an Egyptian by birth, who was almost dead with want and famine (for he had continued wandering about without food in the wilderness three days), he first of all gave him sustenance, both meat and drink, and thereby refreshed him. He then asked him to whom he belonged, and whence he came; whereupon the man told him he was an Egyptian by birth, and was left behind by his master, because he was so sick and weak that he could not follow him. He also informed him that he was one of those who had burned and plundered not only other parts of Judea, but Ziklag itself also. So David made use of him as a guide to find out the Amalekites: and when he had overtaken them as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some disordered, and entirely drunk with wine, and in the fruition of their spoils and their prey, he fell upon them on the sudden, and made a great slaughter among them, for they were naked, and expected no such thing, but had betaken themselves to drinking and feasting, and so they were all easily destroyed. Now some of them that were overtaken as they lay at the table, were slain in that posture, and their blood brought up with it their meat and their drink. They slew others of them as they were drinking to one another in their cups, and some of them when their full bellies had made them fall asleep; and for so many as had time to put on all their armour, they slew them with the sword, with no less ease than they did those that were naked; and for the partisans of David, they continued also the slaughter from the first hour of the day to the evening, so that there were not above four hundred of the Amalekites left, and they only escaped by getting upon their dromedaries and camels. Accordingly David recovered not only all the other spoils which the enemy had carried away, but his wives also, and the wives of his companions. But when they were come to the place where they had left two hundred men, which were not able to follow them, but were left to take care of the stuff, the four hundred men did not think fit to divide among them any other parts of what they had gotten, or of the prey, since they did not accompany them, but pretended to be feeble, and did not follow them in pursuit of the enemy, but said, they should be contented to have safely recovered their wives; yet did David pronounce, that this opinion of theirs was evil and unjust, and that when God had granted them such a favour, that they had avenged themselves on their enemies, and had recovered all that belonged to themselves, they should make an equal distribution of what they had gotten to all, because the rest had tarried behind to guard their stuff; and from that time this law obtained among them, that those who guarded the stuff should receive an equal share with those that had fought in the battle. Now when David was come to Ziklag he sent portions of the spoil to all that had been familiar with him, and to his friends in the tribe of Judah. And thus ended the affairs of the plundering of Ziklag, and of the slaughter of the Amalekites.

7. Now upon the Philistines joining battle, there followed a sharp engagement, and the Philistines became the conquerors, and slew a great number of their enemies; but Saul the king of Israel, and his sons, fought courageously, and with the utmost alacrity, as knowing that their entire glory lay in nothing else but dying honourably, and exposing themselves to the utmost danger for the enemy (for they had nothing else to hope for), so they brought upon themselves the whole power of the enemy till they were encompassed round, and slain, but not before they had killed many of the Philistines. Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Malchisua; and when these were slain

the multitude of the Hebrews were put to flight, and all was disorder, and confusion, and slaughter, upon the Philistines pressing in upon them. But Saul himself fled, having a strong body of soldiers about him; and upon the Philistines sending after them those that threw javelins and shot arrows, he lost all his company except a few; as for himself he fought with great bravery, and when he had received so many wounds that he was not able to bear up nor to oppose any longer, and yet was not able to kill himself, he bid his armour-bearer draw his sword, and run him through, before the enemy should take him alive. But his armour-bearer not daring to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself over against its point, he threw himself upon it, and when he could neither run it through him, nor, by leaning against it, make the sword pass through him, he turned him round, and asked a certain young man that stood by, who he was? and when he understood that he was an Amalekite, he desired him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and thereby to procure him such a death as he desired. This the young man did accordingly; and he took the golden bracelet that was on Saul's arm, and his royal crown that was on his head, and ran away. And when Saul's armour-bearer saw that he was slain, he killed himself; nor did any of the king's guards escape, but they all fell upon the mountain called *Gilboa*. But when those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond Jordan, and those who had their cities in the plain, heard that Saul and his sons were fallen, and that the multitude about them were destroyed, they left their own cities, and fled to such as were the best fortified and fenced; and the Philistines finding those cities deserted, came and dwelt in them.

8. On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip their enemies that were slain, they got the bodies of Saul and of his sons, and stripped them, and cut off their heads; and they sent messengers all about their country, to acquaint them that their enemies were fallen; and they dedicated their armour in the temple of Astarte, but hung their bodies on crosses at the walls of the city Bethshan, which is now called *Scythopolis*. But when the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead heard that they had dismembered the dead bodies of Saul and of his sons, they deemed it so horrid a thing to overlook this barbarity, and to suffer them to be without funeral rites, that the most courageous and hardy among them (and indeed that city had in it men that were very stout both in body and mind) journeyed all night, and came to Bethshan, and approached to the enemy's wall, and taking down the bodies of Saul and of his sons, they carried them to Jabesh, while the enemy were not able enough nor bold enough to hinder them, because of their great courage. So the people of Jabesh wept all in general, and buried their bodies in the best place of their country which was named *Aroura;* and they observed a public mourning for them seven days, with their wives and children, beating their breasts, and lamenting the king and his sons, without tasting* either meat or drink [till the evening].

9. To this his end did Saul come, according to the prophecy of Samuel, because he disobeyed the commands of God about the Amalekites, and on the account of his destroying the family of Ahimelech the high priest, with Ahimelech himself, and the city of the high priests. Now Saul when he had reigned eighteen years, while Samuel was alive, and after his death two [and twenty,] ended his life in this manner.

* This way of speaking in Josephus, of fasting seven days without meat or drink, is almost like that of St. Paul's, Acts, xxvii. 33. "This day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting, having taken nothing;" and as the nature of the thing, and the impossibility of strictly fasting so long, require us here to understand both Josephus and the sacred author of this history, 1 Sam. xxxi. 13, from whom he took it, of only fasting till the evening; so must we understand St. Paul, either that this was really the fourteenth day of their tempestuous weather in the Adriatic Sea, as ver. 27, and that on this fourteenth day alone they had continued fasting, and had taken nothing before the evening. The mention of their *long abstinence*, ver. 21, inclines me to believe the former explication to be the truth, and that the case was then for a *fortnight* what it was here for a *week*, that they kept all those days entirely as fasts till the evening, but not longer. See Judg. xx. 26; xxi. 2; 1 Sam. i. 24; 2 Sam i. 12. Antiq. b. vii. chap. vii. sect. 4.

BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FORTY YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF SAUL TO THE DEATH OF DAVID.

CHAP. I

How David reigned over one Tribe at Hebron, while the Son of Saul reigned over the Rest of the Multitude; and how, in the Civil War which then arose, Asahel and Abner were slain.

§ 1. This fight proved to be on the same day whereon David was come back to Ziklag after he had overcome the Amalekites. Now when he had been already two days at Ziklag, there came to him the man who slew Saul, which was the third day after the fight. He had escaped out of the battle which the Israelites had with the Philistines, and had his clothes rent, and ashes upon his head. And when he made his obeisance to David, he inquired of him whence he came. He replied from the battle of the Israelites; and he informed him that the case of it was unfortunate, many ten thousands of the Israelites having been cut off, and Saul, together with his sons, slain. He also said, that he could well give him this information, because he was present at the victory gained over the Hebrews, and was with the king when he fled: nor did he deny that he had himself slain the king, when he was ready to be taken by the enemy, and had himself exhorted him to do it, because, when he was fallen on his sword, his great wounds had made him so weak that he was not able to kill himself. He also produced demonstrations that the king was slain, which were the golden bracelets that had been on the king's arms, and his crown, which he had taken away from Saul's dead body, and had brought them to him. So David, having no longer any room to call in question the truth of what he said, but seeing most evident marks that Saul was dead, he rent his garment, and continued all that day with his companions, in weeping and lamentation. This grief was augmented by the consideration of Jonathan, the son of Saul, who had been his most faithful friend, and the occasion of his own deliverance. He also demonstrated himself to have such great virtue, and such great kindness for Saul, as not only to take his death to heart, though he had been frequently in danger of losing his life by his means, but to punish him that slew him; for when David had said to him, that he was become his own accuser, as the very man who had slain the king, and when he had understood that he was the son of an Amalekite, he commanded him to be slain. He also committed to writing some lamentations and funeral commendations of Saul and Jonathan, which have continued to my own age.

2. Now when David had paid these honours to the king, he left off his mourning and inquired of God by the prophet, which of the cities of the tribe called the tribe of Judah he would bestow upon him to dwell in? Who answered, that he bestowed upon him Hebron. So he left Ziklag and came to Hebron, and took with him his wives, which were in number two, and his armed men; where all the people of the fore-mentioned tribe came to him, and ordained him king. But when he heard that the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead had buried Saul and his sons [honourably,] he sent to them, and commended them, and took what they had done kindly, and promised to make them amends for their care of the

that were dead; and at the same time he informed them, that the tribe of Judah had chosen him for their king.

3. But as soon as Abner, the son of Ner, who was general of Saul's army, and a very active man, and good natured, knew that the king and Jonathan, and his two other sons were fallen in the battle, he made haste into the camp; and taking away with him the remaining son of Saul, whose name was *Ishbosheth*, he passed over to the land beyond Jordan, and ordained him the king of the whole multitude, excepting the tribe of Judah; and made his royal seat in a place called in our own language *Mahanaim*, but in the language of the Grecians, *The Camps*. From whence Abner made haste, with a select body of soldiers, to fight with such of the tribe of Judah as were disposed to it, for he was angry that this tribe had set up David for their king. But Joab, whose father was Suri, and his mother Zeruiah, David's sister, who was general of David's army, met him, according to David's appointment. He had with him his brethren Abishai and Asahel, as also all David's armed men. Now when he met Abner at a certain fountain, in the city Gibeon, he prepared to fight. And when Abner said to him, that he had a mind to know which of them had the more valiant soldiers? it was agreed between them, that twelve soldiers of each side should fight together. So those that were chosen out by both the generals for this fight came between the two armies, and throwing their lances one against the other, they drew their swords, and catching one another by the head, they held one another fast, and ran each other's swords into their sides and groins, until they all, as it were by mutual agreement perished together. When these were fallen down dead, the rest of the army came to a sore battle, and Abner's men were beaten; and when they were beaten Joab did not leave off pursuing them, but he pressed upon them, and excited the soldiers to follow them close, and not to grow weary of killing them. His brethren also pursued them with great alacrity, and especially the younger Asahel, who was the most eminent of them. He was very famous for his swiftness of foot, for he could not only be too hard for men, but is reported to have overrun a horse, when they had a race together. This Asahel ran violently after Abner, and would not turn in the least out of the straight way, either to the one side or to the other. Hereupon Abner turned back, and attempted artfully to avoid his violence. Sometimes he bade him leave off the pursuit, and take the armour of one of his soldiers; and sometimes, when he could not persuade him so to do, he exhorted him to restrain himself, and not to pursue him any longer, lest he should force him to kill him, and he should then not be able to look his brother in the face. But when Asahel would not admit of any persuasions, but still continued to pursue him, Abner smote him with his spear, as he held it in his flight, and that by a back-stroke, and gave him a deadly wound, so that he died immediately; but those that were with him pursuing Abner, when they came to the place where Asahel lay, they stood round about the dead body, and left off the pursuit of the enemy. However both Joab* himself and his brother Abishai ran past the dead corpse, and making their anger at the death of Asahel an occasion of greater zeal against Abner, they went on with incredible haste and alacrity, and pursued Abner to a certain place called *Ammah;* it was about sunset. Then did Joab ascend a certain hill, as he stood at that place, having the tribe of Beniamin with him, whence he took a view of them and of Abner also. Hereupon Abner cried aloud, and said, "That it was not fit that they should irritate men of the same nation to fight so bitterly one against another, that as for Asahel his brother, he was himself in the wrong, when he would not be advised by him not to pursue him any farther, which was the occasion of his wounding and death." So Joab consented to what he said, and accepted these his words as an excuse [about Asahel,] and called the soldiers back with the sound

* It ought here to be noted, that Joab and Abishai, and Asahel, were all three David's nephews, the sons of his sister Zeruiah, as 1 Chron. ii. 16; and that Amasa was also his nephew by his other sister Abigail, ver. 17.

of the trumpet, as a signal for their retreat, and thereby put a stop to any farther pursuit. After which Joab pitched his camp there that night? but Abner marched all that night, and passed over the river Jordan, and came to Ishbosheth, Saul's son, to Mahanaim. On the next day Joab counted the dead men, and took care of all their funerals. Now there were slain of Abner's soldiers about three hundred and sixty, but of those of David nineteen, and Asahel, whose body Joab and Abishai carried to Bethlehem; and when they had buried him in the sepulchre of their fathers, they came to David to Hebron. From this time therefore there began an intestine war, which lasted a great while, in which the followers of David grew stronger in the dangers they underwent, and the servants and subjects of Saul's sons did almost every day become weaker.

4. About this time David was become the father of six sons, born of as many mothers. The eldest was by Abinoam, and he was called *Amnon;* the second was *Daniel*, by his wife Abigail; the name of the third was *Absalom*, by Maachah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur; the fourth he named *Adonijah*, by his wife Haggith; the fifth was *Shephatiah*, by Abitail; the sixth he called *Ithream*, by Eglah. Now while this intestine war went on, and while the subjects of the two kings came frequently to action and to fighting, it was Abner the general of the host of Saul's son, who, by his prudence and the great interest he had among the multitude, made them all continue with Ishbosheth; and indeed it was a considerable time that they continued of his party; but afterwards Abner was blamed, and an accusation was laid against him, that he went in unto Saul's concubine; her name was *Rispah*, the daughter of Aiah. So when he was complained of by Ishbosheth, he was very uneasy and angry at it, because he had not justice done him by Ishbosheth, to whom he had shown the greatest kindness; whereupon he threatened that he would transfer the kingdom to David, and demonstrate that he did not rule over the people beyond Jordan by his own abilities and wisdom, but by his warlike conduct and fidelity, in leading his army. So he sent ambassadors to Hebron to David, and desired that he would give him security upon oath, that he would esteem him his companion and his friend, upon condition that he should persuade the people to leave Saul's son, and to choose him king of the whole country. And when David had made that league with Abner, for he was pleased with his message to him, he desired that he would give this as the first mark of performance of the present league, that he might have his wife Michal restored to him, as her whom he had purchased with great hazards, and with those six hundred heads of the Philistines which he had brought to Saul her father. So Abner took Michal from Phaltiel, who was then her husband, and sent her to David, Ishbosheth himself affording him his assistance, for David had written to him that of right he ought to have this his wife restored to him. Abner also called together the elders of the multitude, the commanders and captains of thousands, and spake thus to them: "That he had formerly dissuaded them from their own resolution when they were ready to forsake Ishbosheth, and to join themselves to David; that, however, he now gave them leave so to do, if they had a mind to do it; for they knew that God had appointed David to be king of all the Hebrews by Samuel the prophet; and had foretold that he should punish the Philistines, and overcome them, and bring them under." Now when the elders and rulers heard this, and understood that Abner was come over to those sentiments about the public affairs which they were of before, they changed their measures and came in to David. When these men had agreed to Abner's proposal, he called together the tribe of Benjamin, for all of that tribe were the guards of Ishbosheth's body, and he spake to them to the same purpose. And when he saw that they did not in the least oppose what he said, but resigned themselves up to his opinion, he took about twenty of his friends, and came to David, in order to receive himself security upon oath from him; for we may justly esteem those things to be firmer which every one of us do by ourselves, than those which we do by another. He also gave him an account of what he had said to

he rulers, and to the whole tribe of Benjamin. And when David had received im in a courteous manner, and had treated him with great hospitality for many ays, Abner when he was dismissed, desired him to permit him to bring the mul- tude with him, that he might deliver up the government to him, when David imself was present, and a spectator of what was done.

5. When David had sent Abner away, Joab, the general of his army, came mediately to Hebron: and when he had understood that Abner had been with avid, and had parted with him a little before under leagues and agreements that ie government should be delivered up to David, he feared lest David should lace Abner, who had assisted him to gain the kingdom, in the first rank of dignity, pecially since he was a shrewd man in other respects, in understanding affairs, nd in managing them artfully as proper seasons should require, and that he ould himself be put lower, and be deprived of the command of the army; so e took a knavish and a wicked course. In the first place, he endeavoured to alumniate Abner to the king, exhorting him to have a care of him, and not to ive attention to what he had engaged to do for him, because all he did tended confirm the government to Saul's son; that he came to him deceitfully, and ith guile, and was gone away in hopes of gaining his purpose by this manage- ent. But when he could not thus persuade David, nor saw him at all exas- erated, he betook himself to a project bolder than the former. He determined kill Abner; and in order thereto he sent some messengers after him, to whom gave in charge, that when they should overtake him, they should recall him David's name, and tell him, that he had somewhat to say to him about his af- irs, which he had not remembered to speak of when he was with him. Now hen Abner heard what the messengers said [for they overtook him in a certain ace called *Bessira*, which was distant from Hebron twenty furlongs], he sus- ected none of the mischief which was befalling him, and came back. Here- on Joab met him in the gate, and received him in the kindest manner, as if he are Abner's most benevolent acquaintance and friend; for such as undertake e vilest actions, in order to prevent the suspicion of any private mischief in- ded, do frequently make the greatest pretences to what really good men sin- rely do. So he took him aside from his own followers, as if he would speak th him in private, and brought him into a void place of the gate, having him- lf nobody with him but his brother Abishai; then he drew his sword, and smote n in the groin; upon which Abner died by this treachery of Joab's, which, as said himself, was in way of punishment for his brother Asahel, whom Abner ote and slew as he was pursuing after him in the battle of Hebron; but as the th was, out of fear of his losing his command of the army, and his dignity th the king, and lest he should be deprived of those advantages, and Abner uld obtain the first rank in David's court. By these examples any one may rn, how many and how great instances of wickedness men will venture upon the sake of getting money and authority, and that they may not fail of either them; for as, when they are desirous of obtaining the same, they acquire m by ten thousand evil practices; so, when they are afraid of losing them, y get them confirmed to them by practices much worse than the former, as if other calamity so terrible could befall them as the failure of acquiring so ted an authority, and when they have acquired it, and by long custom found sweetness of it, the losing it again; and since this last would be the heaviest all afflictions, they all of them contrive and venture upon the most difficult ions, out of the fear of losing the same. But let it suffice that I have made e short reflections upon that subject.

6. When David heard that Abner was slain, it grieved his soul; and he called men to witness, with stretching out his hands to God, and crying out, that he not a partaker in the murder of Abner, and that his death was not procured his command or approbation. He also wished the heaviest curses might light n him that slew him, and upon his whole house; and he devoted these that

had assisted him in this murder to the same penalties on its account; for he took care not to appear to have had any hand in this murder, contrary to the assurances he had given, and the oaths he had taken to Abner. However, he commanded all the people to weep and lament this man, and to honour his dead body with the usual solemnities; that is, by rending their garments, and putting on sackcloth, and that this should be the habit in which they should go before the bier; after which he followed it himself, with the elders, and those that were rulers, lamenting Abner, and by his tears demonstrating his good will to him while he was alive, and his sorrow for him now he was dead, and that he was not taken off with his consent. So he buried him at Hebron in a magnificent manner, and indited funeral elegies for him; he also stood first over the monument weeping, and caused others to do the same; nay, so deeply did the death of Abner disorder him, that his companions could by no means force him to take any food, but he affirmed with an oath that he would taste nothing till the sun was set. This procedure gained him the good will of the multitude; for such as had an affection for Abner were mightily satisfied with the respect he paid him when he was dead, and the observation of that faith he had plighted to him, which was showed in his vouchsafing him all the usual ceremonies, as if he had been his kinsman and his friend, and not suffering him to be neglected and injured with a dishonourable burial, as if he had been his enemy; insomuch that the entire nation rejoiced at the king's gentleness and mildness of disposition, every one being ready to suppose that the king would have taken the same care of them in the like circumstances, which they saw he showed in the burial of the dead body of Abner. And indeed David principally intended to gain a good reputation, and therefore he took care to do what was proper in this case, whence none had any suspicion that he was the author of Abner's death. He also said this to the multitude, that "he was greatly troubled at the death of so good a man, and that the affairs of the Hebrews had suffered great detriment by being deprived of him, who was of so great abilities to preserve them by his excellent advice, and by the strength of his hands in war. But he added, that God who hath a regard to all men's actions, will not suffer this man [Joab] to go off unrevenged; but know ye, that I am not able to do any thing to these sons of Zeruiah, Joab and Abishai, who have more power than I have, but God will requite their insolent attempts upon their own heads." And this was the fatal conclusion of the life of Abner.

CHAP. II.

That upon the Slaughter of Ishbosheth, by the Treachery of his Friend, David received the whole Kingdom.

§ 1. When Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, had heard of the death of Abner, he took it to heart, to be deprived of a man that was of his kindred, and had indeed given him the kingdom, but was greatly afflicted, and Abner's death very much troubled him; nor did he himself outlive any long time, but was treacherously set upon by the sons of Rimmon (Baanah and Rechab were their names,) and were slain by them; for these being of a family of the Benjamites, and of the first rank among them, thought that, if they should slay Ishbosheth, they should obtain large presents from David, and be made commanders by him, or, however, should have some other trust committed to them. So when they once found him alone, and asleep at noon, in an upper room, when none of his guards were there, and when the woman that kept the door was not watching, but was fallen asleep also, partly on account of the labour she had undergone, and partly on account of the heat of the day, these men went into the room in which Ishbosheth Saul's son, lay asleep, and slew him; they also cut off his head; and took

their journey all that night, and the next day, as supposing themselves flying away from those they had injured, to one that would accept of this action as a favour, and would afford them security. So they came to Hebron, and showed David the head of Ishbosheth, and presented themselves to him as his well wishers, and such as had killed one that was his enemy and antagonist. Yet David did not relish what they had done as they expected, but said to them, "You vile wretches, you shall immediately receive the punishment you deserve. Did not you know what vengeance I executed on him that murdered Saul, and brought me his crown of gold, and this was while he who made this slaughter did it as a favour to him, that he might not be caught by his enemies? Or do you imagine that I am altered in my disposition, and suppose that I am not the same man I then was, but am pleased with men that are wicked doers, and esteem your vile actions, when you are become murderers of your master, as grateful to me, when you have slain a righteous man upon his bed, who never did evil to any body, and treated you with great good will and respect? Wherefore you shall suffer the punishment due on his account, and the vengeance I ought to inflict upon you for killing Ishbosheth, and for supposing that I should take his death kindly at your hands; for you could not lay a greater blot on my honour than by making such a supposal." When David had said this, he tormented them with all sorts of torments, and then put them to death; and he bestowed all accustomed rites on the burial of the head of Ishbosheth, and laid it in the grave of Abner.

2. When these things were brought to this conclusion, all the principal men of the Hebrew people came to David to Hebron, with the heads of thousands, and other rulers, and delivered themselves up to him, putting him in mind of the good will they had borne to him in Saul's lifetime, and the respect they then had not ceased to pay him when he was captain of a thousand, as also that he was chosen of God by Samuel the prophet,* he and his sons; and declaring besides, how God had given him power to save the land of the Hebrews, and to overcome the Philistines. Whereupon he received kindly this their alacrity on his account; and exhorted them to continue in it, for that they should have no reason to repent of being thus disposed to him. So when he had feasted them, and treated them kindly, he sent them out to bring all the people to him; upon which there came to him about six thousand and eight hundred armed men of the tribe of Judah, who bare shields and spears for their weapons, for these had [till now] continued with Saul's son, when the rest of the tribe of Judah had ordained David for their king. There came also seven thousand and one hundred out of the tribe of Simeon. Out of the tribe of Levi came four thousand and seven hundred, having Jehoida for their leader. After these came Zadok the high priest, with twenty-two captains of his kindred. Out of the tribe of Benjamin the armed men were four thousand, but the rest of the tribe continued, still expecting that some one of the house of Saul should reign over them. Those of the tribe of Ephraim were twenty thousand and eight hundred, and these mighty men of valour, and eminent for their strength. Out of the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand of the most potent men. Out of the tribe of Issachar came two hundred† who foreknew what was to come hereafter, but of armed men twenty thousand. Of the tribe of Zebulon fifty thousand chosen men. This was the only tribe that came universally in to David, and all these had the same weapons with the tribe of Gad. Out of the tribe of Naphtah the eminent men and rulers were one thousand, whose weapons were shields and spears, and the tribe itself fol-

* This may be a true observation of Josephus, that Samuel, by command from God, entailed the crown on David and his posterity, for no farther did that entail ever reach, Solomon himself having never had any promise made him that his posterity should always have the right to it.

† These words of Josephus concerning the tribe of Issachar, "who foreknew what was to come hereafter," are best paraphrased by the parallel text, 1 Chron. xii. 32; "Who had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do;" that is, who had so much knowledge in astronomy as to make calendars for the Israelites, that they might keep their festivals, and plough and sow, and gather in their harvests and vintage in due season.

lowed after, being (in a manner) innumerable [thirty-seven thousand.] Out of the tribe of Dan there were of chosen men twenty-seven thousand and six hundred. Out of the tribe of Asher were forty thousand. Out of the two tribes that were beyond Jordan and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh, such as used shields, and spears, and head pieces, and swords, were a hundred and twenty thousand. The rest of the tribes also made use of swords. This multitude came together to Hebron to David with a great quantity of corn and wine, and all other sorts of food, and established David in his kingdom with one consent. And when the people had rejoiced for three days in Hebron, David and all the people removed and came to Jerusalem.

CHAP. III.

How David laid Siege to Jerusalem; and when he had taken the City, he cast the Canaanites out of it, and brought in the Jews to inhabit therein.

§ 1. Now the Jebusites, who were the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and were by extraction Canaanites, shut their gates and placed the blind, and the lame, and all their maimed persons upon the wall, in way of derision of the king; and said, that the very lame themselves would hinder his entrance into it. This they did out of contempt of his power, and as depending on the strength of their walls. David was hereby enraged, and began the siege of Jerusalem, and employed his utmost diligence and alacrity therein, as intending by the taking of this place to demonstrate his power, and to intimidate all others that might be of the like [evil] disposition towards him. So he took the lower city, by force, but the citadel* held out still; whence it was that the king, knowing that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, promised that he who should first go over the ditches that were beneath the citadel, and should ascend to the citadel itself and take it, should have the command of the entire people conferred upon him. So they all were ambitious to ascend, and thought no pains too great, in order to ascend thither out of their desire of the chief command. However, Joab the son of Zeruiah prevented the rest; and as soon as he was got up to the citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command.

2. When David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, he also rebuilt Jerusalem, and named it *The City of David*, and abode there all the time of his reign But for the time that he reigned over the tribe of Judah only in Hebron, it was seven years and six months. Now when he had chosen Jerusalem to be his royal city, his affairs did more and more prosper by the providence of God, who took care that they should improve and be augmented. Hiram also, the king of the Tyrians, sent ambassadors to him, and made a league of mutual friendship and assistance with him. He also sent him presents, cedar trees, and mechanics, and men skilful in building and architecture, that they might build him a royal palace at

* What our other copies say of Mount Sion, as alone properly called the *city of David*, 2 Sam. v. 6—9, and of this its siege and conquest now by David, Josephus applies to the whole city Jerusalem, though including the citadel also; by what authority we do not know; perhaps after David had united them together, or joined the citadel to the lower city, as sect. 2, Josephus esteemed them as one city. However, this notion seems to be confirmed by what the same Josephus says concerning David's and many other kings of Judah's sepulchres, which as the authors of the books of Kings and Chronicles say, were *in the city of David*, so does Josephus still say they were in Jerusalem. The sepulchre of David seems to have been also a known place in the several days of Hyrcanus, of Herod, and of St. Peter; Antiq. B. xiii. ch. viii. sect. 4; B. xvi. ch. vii. sect. 1; Acts, ii. 29. Now no such royal sepulchres have been found about Mount Sion, but are found close by the north wall of Jerusalem, which I suspect therefore to be these very sepulchres. See the note on chap. xv. sect. 3. In the mean time, Josephus's explication of the *lame, and the blind, and the maimed*, as set to keep this city or citadel, seems to be the truth, and gives the best light to that history in our Bible. Mr. Ottius truly observes, *app.* Havercamp, p. 306, that Josephus does not mention Mount Sion by that name, as taking it for an appellative, as I suppose, and not for a proper name: he still either styles it the *citadel*, or the *upper city*; nor do I see any reason for Mr. Ottius's own suspicions about this proceedure of Josephus's.

Jerusalem. Now David made buildings round about the lower city; he also joined the citadel to it, and made it one body; and when he had encompassed all with walls, he appointed Joab to take care of them. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it by his own name [*The City of David:*] for under our forefather Abraham, it was called [*Salem* or] *Solyma*;* but after that time some say that Homer mentions it by that name of Solyma [for he named the temple Solyma, according to the Hebrew language, which denotes *security.*] Now the whole time from the warfare under Joshua our general against the Canaanites, and from that war in which he overcame them, and distributed the land among the Hebrews (nor could the Israelites ever cast the Canaanites out of Jerusalem until this time, when David took it by siege,) this whole time was five hundred and fifteen years.

3. I shall now make mention of Araunah, who was a wealthy man among the Jebusites, but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem, because of the good will he bore to the Hebrews, and a particular benignity and affection which he had to the king himself, which I shall take a more seasonable opportunity to speak of a little afterwards. Now David married other wives over and above those which he had before: he had also concubines. The sons which he had were in number eleven, whose names were Amnon, Emnos, Eban, Nathan, Solomon, Jeban, Elien, Phalna, Ennaphen, Janae, Eliphale; and a daughter Tamar. Nine of these were born of legitimate wives, but the two last named, of concubines; and Tamar had the same mother with Absalom

CHAP. IV.

That when David had conquered the Philistines, who made War against him at Jerusalem, he removed the Ark to Jerusalem, and had a mind to build a Temple.

§ 1. When the Philistines understood that David was made king of the Hebrews, they made war against him at Jerusalem; and when they had seized upon that valley which is called the valley of the *Giants;* and is a place not far from the city, they pitched their camp therein. But the king of the Jews, who never permitted himself to do anything without prophecy, and the command of God, and without depending on him as a security for the time to come, bade the high priest to foretell to him what was the will of God, and what would be the event of this battle.† And when he foretold that he should gain the victory and the dominion, he led out his army against the Philistines; and when the battle was joined, he came himself behind, and fell upon the enemy on the sudden, and slew some of them, and put the rest to flight. And let no one suppose that it was a small army of the Philistines that came against the Hebrews, as guessing so from the suddenness of their defeat, and from their having performed no great action, or that was

* Some copies of Josephus have here *Solyma* or *Salem*, and others *Hiersolyma* or *Jerusalem*. The latter best agree to what Josephus says elsewhere, Of the War, B. vi. ch. x.; that this city was called *Solyma* or *Salem*, before the days of Melchisedec, but was by him called *Hierosolyman* or *Jerusalem*. I rather suppose it to have been so called after Abraham had received that oracle *Jehovah Jireh*, "the Lord will see or provide," Gen. xxii. 14. The latter word *Jireh*, with a little alteration, prefixed to the old name *Salem*, *Peace*, will be *Jerusalem*. And since that expression, "God will see," or rather, "God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering," ver. 8. 14. is there said to have been proverbial till the days of Moses, this seems to me the most probable derivation of that name, which will then denote, "that God would provide peace by that Lamb of God, which was to take away the sins of the world." However, that which is put into double brackets can hardly be supposed the genuine words of Josephus, as Dr. Hudson well judges.

† It deserves here to be remarked, that Saul very rarely, and David very frequently consulted God by *Urim*; and that David aimed always to depend not on his own prudence or abilities, but on the divine direction, contrary to Saul's practice; see sect. 2, and the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 9. And when Saul's daughter (but David's wife,) Michal, laughed at David's dancing before the ark, 2 Sam. vi. 16, &c. and here, sect. 1, 2, 3; it is probable she did so, because her father Saul did not use to pay such regard to that ark, to the *Urim* there inquired by, or to God's worship before it, and because she thought it beneath the dignity of a king to be so religious.

worth recording, from the slowness of their march, and want of courage; but let him know that all Syria and Phœnicia, with many other nations besides them, and those warlike nations also, came to their assistance, and had a share in this war. Which thing was the only cause why, when they had been so often conquered, and had lost so many ten thousands of their men, they still came upon the Hebrews with greater armies; nay, indeed, when they had so often failed of their purpose in these battles, they came upon David with an army three times as numerous as before, and pitched their camp on the same spot of ground as before. The king of Israel, therefore, inquired of God again concerning the event of the battle; and the high priest prophesied to him, that he should keep his army in the groves, called the *Groves of Weeping*, which were not far from the enemy's camp, and that he should not move, nor begin to fight till the trees of the grove should be in motion without the winds blowing; but as soon as these trees moved, and the time foretold to him by God was come, he should, without delay go out to gain what was an already prepared and evident victory; for the several ranks of the enemy's army did not sustain him, but retreated at the first onset whom he closely followed, and slew them as he went along, and pursued them to the city Guza (which is the limit of their country;) after this, he spoiled their camp, in which he found great riches; and he destroyed their gods.

2. When this had proved the event of the battle, David thought it proper, upon a consultation with the elders and rulers, and captains of thousands, to send for those that were in the flower of their age out of all his countrymen, and out of the whole land, and withal for the priests and the Levites, in order to their going to Kirjathjearim, to bring up the ark of God out of that city, and to carry it to Jerusalem, and there to keep it and offer before it those sacrifices and those other honours with which God used to be well pleased; for had they done thus in the reign of Saul, they had not undergone any great misfortunes at all. So when the whole body of the people were come together, as they had resolved to do the king came to the ark, which the priests brought out of the house of Aminadab and laid it upon a new cart, and permitted their brethren and their children to draw it, together with the oxen. Before it went the king, and the whole multitude of the people with him, singing hymns to God, and making use of all sorts of songs usual among them, with variety of the sounds of musical instruments, and with dancing and singing of psalms, as also with the sounds of trumpets and of cymbals, and so brought the ark to Jerusalem. But as they were come to the threshing-floor of Chidon, a place so called, Uzzah was slain by the anger of God: for as the oxen shook the ark, he stretched out his hand, and would needs take hold of it. Now, because he was not a priest,* and yet touched the ark, God struck him dead. Hereupon both the king and the people were displeased at the death of Uzzah; and the place where he died is still called the *Breach of Uzzah* unto this day. So David was afraid, and supposing that if he received the ark to himself into the city, he might suffer in the like manner as Uzzah had suffered, who, upon his bare putting out his hand to the ark, died in the manner already mentioned, he did not receive it himself into the city, but he took it aside unto a certain place belonging to a righteous man whose name was *Obededom*, who was by his family a Levite, and deposited the ark with him, and it remained there three entire months: this augmented the house of Obededom, and conferred many blessings upon it. And when the king heard what had befallen Obededom, how he was become of a poor man in a low estate, exceeding happy, and the object of envy to all those that saw or inquired after his house, he took courage,

* Josephus seems to be partly in the right, when he observes here, that Uzzah was no priest (though perhaps he might be a Levite,) and was therefore struck dead for touching the ark, contrary to the law, and for which profane rashness, death was the penalty by that law, Numb. iv. 15. 20; see the like before, Antiq. B. vi. ch. i. sect. 4. It is not improbable that the putting this ark in a cart, when it ought to have been carried by the priests or Levites, as it was presently here in Josephus so carried from Obededom's house to David's, might be also an occasion of the anger of God on that breach of his law. See Numb. iv. 15 1 Chron. xv. 13.

and hoping that he should meet with no misfortune thereby, he transferred the ark to his own house, the priests carrying it, while seven companies of singers, who were set in that order by the king, went before it, and while he himself played upon the harp, and joined in the music, insomuch that when his wife Michal, the daughter of Saul, who was our first king, saw him so doing, she laughed at him. But when they had brought in the ark, they placed it under the tabernacle which David had pitched for it, and he offered costly sacrifices and peace-offerings, and treated the whole multitude, and dealt both to the women and the men, and the infants, a loaf of bread and a cake, and another cake baked in a pan, with a portion of the sacrifice. So when he had thus feasted the people, he sent them away, and he himself returned to his own house.

3. But when Michal his wife, the daughter of Saul, came and stood by him she wished him all other happiness; and entreated that whatsoever he should farther desire, to the utmost possibility might be given him by God, and that he might be favourable to him; yet did she blame him, that so great a king as he was should dance after an unseemly manner, and in his dancing uncover himself among the servants and the handmaidens. But he replied, "That he was not ashamed to do what was acceptable to God, who had preferred him before her father, and before all others; that he would pray frequently, and dance, without any regard to what the handmaidens and she herself thought of it." So this Michal, who was David's wife, had no children; however, when she was afterwards married to him to whom Saul her father had given her (for at this time David had taken her away from him, and had her himself,) she bare five children. But concerning those matters I shall discourse in a proper place.

4. Now when the king saw that his affairs grew better almost every day, by the will of God, he thought he should offend him, if, while he himself continued in houses made of cedar, such as were of a great height and had the most curious works of architecture in them, he should overlook the ark while it was laid in a tabernacle; and was desirous to build a temple to God, as Moses had predicted such a temple should be built.* And when he had discoursed with Nathan the prophet about these things, and had been encouraged by him to do whatsoever he had a mind to do, as having God with him, and his helper in all things, he was thereupon the more ready to set about that building. But God appeared to Nathan that very night, and commanded him to† say to David, that "he took a good purpose and his desires kindly, since nobody had before now taken it into their head to build him a temple, although upon his having such a notion he would not permit him to build him that temple, because he had made many wars, and was defiled with the slaughter of his enemies: that, however, after his death, in a good old age, and when he had lived a long life, there should be a temple built by one of his son of his, who should take the kingdom after him, and should be called *Solomon*, whom he promised to provide for, as a father provides for his son, by preserving the kingdom for his son's posterity, and delivering it to them; but that he would still punish him if he sinned, with diseases and barrenness of land." When David understood this from the prophet, and was overjoyful at this knowledge of the sure continuance of the dominion to his posterity, and that his house should be splendid and very famous, he came to the ark, and fell down on his face, and began to adore God, and to return thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for

* Josephus here informs us, that, according to his understanding of the sense of his copy of the Pentateuch, Moses had himself foretold the building of the temple, which yet nowhere that I know of in our present copies: and that this is not a mistake set down by him unwarily, appears by what he observed before, Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 46, vol. i. how Moses foretold, that upon the Jews' future disobedience, their temple should be burnt and rebuilt, and that not once only, but several times afterwards. See also Josephus's mention of God's former commands to build such a temple presently, ch. xiv. sect. 2. contrary to all other copies, or at least to our translation of the Hebrew, 2 Sam. vii. 6, 7; 1 Chron. xvii. 5, 6. Josephus seems, in this place, with our modern interpreters, to confound the two distinct predictions which God made to David and to Nathan, concerning the building him a temple by one of David's family, the one belonging to Solomon, the other to the Messiah; the distinction between which is of the greatest consequence to the Christian religion.

those that he had already bestowed upon him, in raising him from a low state and from the employment of a shepherd to so great dignity of dominion and glory; as for those also which he had promised to his posterity; and besides for that providence which he had exercised over the Hebrews in procuring them the liberty they enjoyed; and when he had said thus, and had sung a hymn of praise to God, he went his way.

CHAP. V.

How David brought under the Philistines, and the Moabites, and the Kings of Sophene, and of Damascus, and of the Syrians, as also the Idumeans, in War; and how he made a League with the King of Hamath; and was mindful of the Friendship that Jonathan, the Son of Saul, had borne to him.

§ 1. A LITTLE while after this, he considered that he ought to make war against the Philistines, and not to see any idleness or laziness permitted in his management, that so it might prove as God had foretold to him, that when he had overthrown his enemies, he should leave his posterity to reign in peace afterward; so he called together his army again, and when he had charged them to be ready and prepared for war, and when he thought that all things in his army were in a good state, he removed from Jerusalem, and came against the Philistines: and when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off a great part of their country, and adjoined it to the country of the Hebrews, he transferred the war to the Moabites: and when he had overcome two parts of their army in battle, he took the remaining part captive, and imposed tribute upon them, to be paid annually. He then made war against Hadadezer, the son of Rehob, king of Sophene: and when he had joined battle with him at the river Euphrates, he destroyed twenty thousand of his footmen, and about seven thousand of his horsemen. He also took a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed the greatest part of them, and ordered that no more than one hundred* should be kept.

2. Now when Hadad,† king of Damascus and of Syria, heard that David fought against Hadadezer, who was his friend, he came to his assistance with a powerful army, in hopes to rescue him; and when he had joined battle with David at the river Euphrates, he failed of his purpose, and lost in the battle a great number of his soldiers; for there were slain of the army of Hadad twenty thousand, and all the rest fled. Nicolaus also [of Damascus] makes mention of this king in the fourth book of his histories: where he speaks thus: "A great while after these things had happened, there was one of that country whose name was *Hadad*, who was become very potent; he reigned over Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, excepting Phœnicia. He made war against David, the king of Judea, and tried his fortune in many battles, and particularly in the last battle at Euphrates, wherein he was beaten. He seemed to have been the most excellent of all their kings in strength and manhood." Nay, besides this, he says of his posterity, that "after his death they succeeded one another in his kingdom and in his name:" where he thus speaks.----When Hadad was dead, his posterity reigned for ten generations, each of his successors receiving from his father that

* David's reserving only 100 chariots for himself out of 1000 he had taken from Hadadezar, was probably done in compliance with the law of Moses, which forbade a king of Israel *to multiply horses to himself*, Deut. xvii. 16; one of the principal uses of horses in Judea at that time being for drawing their chariots. See Joshua, xii. 6, and Antiq. B. v. ch. i. sect. 18, vol. i.

† It deserves here to be remarked, that this *Hadad*, being a very great king, was conquered by David, whose posterity yet for several generations were called *Benhadad*, or the *son of Hadad*, till the days of Hazael, whose son *Adar* or *Ader* is also in our Hebrew copy, 2 Kings, xiii. 24, written *Benhadad*, but Josephus *Adad* or *Adar*. And strange it is, that the son of Hazael, said to be such in the same text and in Josephus, Antiq. B. ix. ch. viii. sect. 7, should still be called the *son of Hadad*: I would, therefore, here correct our Hebrew copy from Josephus's, which seems to have the true reading.

his dominion, and this his name; as did the Ptolemies in Egypt. But the third was the most powerful of them all, and was willing to avenge the defeat his forefather had received; so he made an expedition against the Jews, and laid waste the city which is now called *Samaria.*" Nor did he err from the truth; for this is that Hadad who made the expedition against Samaria, in the reign of Ahab, king of Israel: concerning whom we shall speak in due place hereafter.

3. Now when David had made an expedition against Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, and had brought it all into subjection, and had placed garrisons in the country, and appointed that they should pay tribute, he returned home. He also dedicated to God at Jerusalem the golden quivers, the entire armour which the guards of Hadad used to wear, which Shishak the king of Egypt took away when he fought with David's grandson Rehoboam, with a great deal of other wealth which he carried out of Jerusalem: however, these things will come to be explained in their proper places hereafter. Now, as for the king of the Hebrews, he was assisted by God, who gave him great success in his wars; and he made an expedition against the best cities of Hadadezer, Betah and Machon; so he took them by force, and laid them waste. Therein was found a very great quantity of gold and silver, besides that sort of brass which is said to be more valuable than gold; of which brass Solomon made that large vessel which was called the [*brazen*] *sea*, and those most curious *lavers*, when he built the temple for God.

4. But when the king of Hamath was informed of the ill success of Hadadezer, and had heard of the ruin of his army, he was afraid on his own account, and resolved to make a league of friendship and fidelity with David before he should come against him; so he went to him his son Joram, and professed that he owed him thanks for his fighting against Hadadezer, who was his enemy, and made a league with him of mutual assistance and friendship. He also sent him presents, vessels of ancient workmanship, both of gold, of silver, and of brass. So when David had made this league of mutual assistance with Toi (for that was the name of the king of Hamath), and had received the presents he sent him, he dismissed his son with that respect which was due on both sides. But then David brought those presents that were sent by him, as also the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken of the cities whom he had conquered, and dedicated them to God. Nor did God give victory and success to him only when he went to the battle himself, and led his own army, but he gave victory to Abishai, the brother of Joab, general of his forces, over the Idumeans,* and by him to David, when he sent him with an army into Idumea; for Abishai destroyed eighteen thousand of them in the battle; whereupon the king [of Israel] placed garrisons through all Idumea, and received the tribute of the country, and of every head among them. Now David was in his nature just, and made his determination with regard to truth He had for the general of his whole army Joab; and he made Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, recorder. He also appointed Zadok, of the family of Phineas, to be high priest, together with Abiathar, for he was his friend. He also made Seisan the scribe; and committed the command over the guards of his body, to Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada. His elder sons were near his body, and had the care of it also.

5. He also called to mind the covenants and the oaths he had made with Jonathan, the son of Saul, and the friendship and affection Jonathan had for him; for besides all the rest of his excellent qualities, with which he was endowed, he was also exceeding mindful of such as had at other times bestowed benefits upon him; he, therefore, gave order that inquiry should be made, whether any of Jonathan's

* By this great victory over the Idumeans or Edomites, the posterity of Esau, and by the consequent tribute paid by that nation to the Jews, were the prophecies delivered to Rebecca before Jacob and Esau were born, and by old Isaac before his death, that *the elder*, Esau or the Edomites, *should serve the younger*, Jacob or the Israelites, and Jacob or the Israelites *should be* Esau's or the Edomites' Lord, remarkably fulfilled. See Antiq. B. viii. ch. vii. sect. 6; Gen. xxv. 23, and the notes on Antiq. B. i. ch. xviii. sect. 5, 6.

lineage were living to whom he might make return of that familiar acquaintance which Jonathan had had with him, and for which he was still debtor. And when one of Saul's freedmen was brought to him who was acquainted with those of his family that were still living, he asked him,—"Whether he could tell him of any one belonging to Jonathan that was now alive, and capable of a requital of the benefits which he had received from Jonathan?" And when he said,—"That a son of his was remaining, whose name was *Mephibosheth*, but that he was lame of his feet; for that when his nurse heard that the father and grandfather of the child were fallen in the battle, she snatched him up, and fled away, and let him fall from her shoulders, and his feet were lamed." So when he had learned where and by whom he was brought up, he sent messengers to Machir, to the city Lodebar, for with him was the son of Jonathan brought up, and sent for him to come to him. So when Mephibosheth came to the king, he fell on his face and worshiped him; but David encouraged him, and bid him be of good cheer, and expect better times. So he gave him his father's house, and all the estate which his grandfather Saul was in possession of, and bid him come and diet with him at his own table, and never to be absent one day from that table. And when the youth had worshiped him on account of his words and gifts given to him, he called for Ziba, and told him, that he had given the youth his father's house, and all Saul's estate. He also ordered that Ziba should cultivate his land, and take care of it, and bring him the profits of all to Jerusalem. Accordingly, David brought him to his table every day, and bestowed upon the youth Ziba and his sons, who were in number fifteen, and his servants, who were in number twenty. When the king had made these appointments, and Ziba had worshiped him, and promised to do all that he had bidden him, he went his way; so that this son of Jonathan dwelt at Jerusalem, and dieted at the king's table, and had the same care that a son could claim taken of him. He also had himself a son, whom he named *Micha*.

CHAP. VI.

How the War was waged against the Ammonites, and happily concluded.

§ 1. These were the honours that such as were left of Saul's and Jonathan's lineage received from David. About this time died Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, who was a friend of David's: and when his son had succeeded his father in the kingdom, David sent ambassadors to him to comfort him; and exhorted him to take his father's death patiently, and to expect that he would continue the same kindness to himself which he had showed to his father. But the princes of the Ammonites took this message in evil part, and not as David's kind dispositions gave reason to take it, and they excited the king to resent it; and said, that David had sent men to spy out the country, and what strength it had, under the pretence of humanity and kindness. They farther advised him to have a care, and not to give heed to David's words, lest he should be deluded by him, and so fall into an inconsolable calamity. Accordingly, Nahash's [son,] the king of the Ammonites, thought these princes spake what was more probable than the truth would admit, and so abused the ambassadors after a very harsh manner; for he shaved the one half of their beards, and cut off one half of their garments, and sent his answer not in words but in deeds. When the king of Israel saw this, he had indignation at it, and showed openly that he would not overlook this injurious and contumelious treatment, but would make war with the Ammonites, and would avenge this wicked treatment of his ambassadors on their king. So that the king's intimate friends and commanders, understanding that they had violated their league, and were liable to be punished for the same, made preparation for war; they also sent a thousand talents to the Syrian king of Mesopotamia, and endeavoured to prevail with him to assist them for that pay; and Shobach. Now

these kings had twenty thousand footmen. They also hired the king of the country called *Maacab*, and a fourth king, by name *Ishtob*; which last had twelve thousand armed men.

2. But David was under no consternation at this confederacy, nor at the forces of the Ammonites; and putting his trust in God, because he was going to war in a just cause on account of the injurious treatment he had met with, he immediately sent Joab, the captain of his host, against them, and gave him the flower of his army, who pitched his camp by Rabbah, the metropolis of the Ammonites; whereupon the enemy came out, and set themselves in array, not all of them together, but in two bodies: for the auxiliaries were set in array in the plain by themselves, but the army of the Ammonites at the gates over against the Hebrews. When Joab saw this, he opposed one stratagem against another, and chose out the most hardy part of his men, and set them in opposition to the king of Syria, and the kings that were with him, and gave the other part to his brother Abishai, and bid him set them in opposition to the Ammonites; and said to him, that "in case he should see that the Syrians distressed him, and were too hard for him, he should order his troops to turn about, and assist him;" and he said that "he himself would do the same to him, if he saw him in the like distress from the Ammonites." So he sent his brother before, and encouraged him to do every thing courageously, and with alacrity, which would teach him to be afraid of disgrace, and to fight manfully; and so he dismissed him to fight with the Ammonites, while he fell upon the Syrians. And though they made a strong opposition for awhile, Joab slew many of them, but compelled the rest to betake themselves to flight; which, when the Ammonites saw, and were withal afraid of Abishai and his army, they staid no longer, but imitated the auxiliaries, and fled to the city. So Joab, when he had thus overcome the enemy, returned with great glory to Jerusalem to the king.

3. This defeat did not still induce the Ammonites to be quiet, nor to own those that were superior to them to be so, and be still, but they sent to Chalaman, the king of the Syrians, beyond Euphrates, and hired him for an auxiliary. He had Shobach for the captain of his host, with eighty thousand footmen and ten thousand horsemen. Now when the king of the Hebrews understood that the Ammonites had again gathered so great an army together, he determined to make war with them no longer by his generals, but he passed over the river Jordan himself with all his army; and when he met them, he joined battle with them, and overcame them, and slew forty thousand of their footmen and seven thousand of their horsemen. He also wounded Shobach, the general of Chalaman's forces, who died of that stroke; but the people of Mesopotamia, upon such a conclusion of the battle, delivered themselves up to David, and sent him presents, who at winter time returned to Jerusalem. But at the beginning of the spring he sent Joab, the captain of his host, to fight against the Ammonites, who overran all their country and laid it waste, and shut them up in their metropolis, in Rabbah, and besieged him therein.

CHAP. VII.

How David fell in Love with Bathsheba, and slew her Husband Uriah; for which he is reproved by Nathan.

§ 1. But David fell now into a very grievous sin, though he were otherwise naturally a righteous and a religious man, and one that firmly observed the laws of our fathers: for, when late in an evening, he took a view round him from the roof of his royal palace, where he used to walk at that hour, he saw a woman washing herself in her own house: she was one of extraordinary beauty, and therein surpassed all other women: her name was *Bathsheba*. So he was overcome by that woman's beauty, and was not able to restrain his desires, but sent

fer her, and lay with her. Hereupon she conceived with child, and sent to the king, that he should contrive some way for concealing her sin, (for, according to the laws of their fathers, she, who had been guilty of adultery ought to be put to death.) So the king sent for Joab's armour-bearer from the siege, who was the woman's husband, and his name was *Uriah;* and when he was come, the king inquired of him about the army and about the siege: and when he had made answer, that all their affairs went according to their wishes, the king took some portions of meat from his supper and gave them to him, and bade him go home to his wife, and take his rest with her. Uriah did not do so, but slept near the king with the rest of his armour-bearers. When the king was informed of this, he asked him why he did not go home to his house and to his wife, after so long an absence, which is the natural custom of all men, when they come from a long journey. He replied, that it was not right while his fellow soldiers and the general of the army slept upon the ground, in the camp, and in an enemy's country, that he should go and take his rest, and solace himself with his wife. So when he had thus replied, the king ordered him to stay there that night, that he might dismiss him the next day to the general. So the king invited Uriah to supper, and after a cunning and dexterous manner, plied him with drink at supper, till he was thereby disordered; yet did he nevertheless sleep at the king's gates, without any inclination to go to his wife. Upon this the king was very angry at him, and wrote to Joab, and commanded him to punish Uriah, for he told him that he had offended him: and he suggested to him the manner in which he would have him punished, that it might not be discovered that he was himself the author of this his punishment; for he charged him to set him over against that part of his enemies' army where the attack would be most hazardous, and where he might be deserted, and be in the greatest jeopardy; for he bid him order his fellow soldiers to retire out of the fight. When he had written thus to him, and sealed the letter with his own seal, he gave it to Uriah to carry it to Joab. When Joab had received it, and upon reading it understood the king's purpose, he set Uriah in that place where he knew the enemy would be most troublesome to them, and gave him for his partners some of the best soldiers in the army; and said that he would also come to their assistance with the whole army, that if possible they might break down some part of the wall and enter the city. And he desired him to be glad of the opportunity of exposing himself to such great pains, and not to be displeased at it, since he was a valiant soldier, and had a great reputation for his valour, both with the king and with his countrymen. And when Uriah undertook the work he was set upon with alacrity, he gave private orders to those who were to be his companions, that when they saw the enemy make a sally they should leave him. When, therefore, the Hebrews made an attack upon the city, the Ammonites were afraid that the enemy might prevent them, and get up into the city, and this at the very place whither Uriah was ordered; so they exposed their best soldiers to be in the fore front, and opened their gates suddenly, and fell upon the enemy with great vehemence, and ran violently upon them. When those that were with Uriah saw this they all retreated backward, as Joab had directed them beforehand; but Uriah, as ashamed to run away and leave his post, sustained the enemy; and receiving the violence of their onset, he slew many of them, but being encompassed round, and caught in the midst of them, he was slain, and some other of his companions were slain with him.

2. When this was done, Joab sent messengers to the king, and ordered them to tell him, that "he did what he could to take the city soon, but that, as they made an assault on the wall, they had been forced to retire with great loss." And bid them, if they saw the king was angry at it, to add this, that "Uriah was slain also." When the king had heard this of the messengers, he took it heinously, and said, that "they did wrong when they assaulted the wall, whereas they ought, by undermining, and other stratagems of war, to endeavour the taking of the city, especially when they had before their eyes the example of Abimelech, the son

of Gideon, who would needs take the tower in Thebes by force, and was killed by a large stone thrown at him by an old woman; and although he was a man of great prowess, he died ignominiously by the dangerous manner of his assault: that they should remember this accident, and not come near the enemies' wall; for that the best method of making war with success was to call to mind the accidents of former wars, and what good or bad success had attended them in the like dangerous cases, that so they might imitate the one and avoid the other." But when the king was in this disposition, the messenger told him that Uriah was slain also; whereupon he was pacified. So he bid the messenger go back to Joab, and tell him, that "This misfortune is no other than what is common among mankind; and that such is the nature and such the accidents of war, insomuch that sometimes the enemy will have success therein, and sometimes others; but that he ordered him to go on still in his care about the siege, that no ill accident might befall him in it hereafter: that they should raise bulwarks, and use machines in besieging the city; and when they have gotten it, to overturn its very foundations, and to destroy all those that are in it." Accordingly, the messenger carried the king's message, with which he was charged, and made haste to Joab. But Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, when she was informed of the death of her husband, mourned for his death many days; and when her mourning was over, and the tears which she shed for Uriah were dried up, the king took her to wife presently, and a son was born to him by her.

3. With this marriage God was not well pleased, but was thereupon angry at David; and he appeared to Nathan the prophet in his sleep, and complained of the king. Now Nathan was a fair and prudent man; and considering that kings, when they fall into a passion, are guided more by that passion than they are by justice, he resolved to conceal the threatenings that proceeded from God, and made a good natured discourse to him, and this after the manner following. —He desired that the king would give him his opinion in the following case.— "There were, said he, two men inhabiting the same city, the one of them was rich, and [the other poor;] the rich man had a great many flocks of cattle, of sheep, and of kine, but the poor man had but one ewe lamb; this he brought up with his children, and let her eat her food with them, and he had the same natural affection for her which any one might have for a daughter: now upon the coming of a stranger to the rich man, he would not vouchsafe to kill any of his own flocks, and thence feast his friend, but he sent for the poor man's lamb, and took her away from him, and made him ready for food, and thence feasted the stranger." This discourse troubled the king exceedingly; and he denounced to Nathan, that "this man was a wicked man who could dare to do such a thing; and that it was but just that he should restore the lamb fourfold, and be punished with death for it also." Upon this Nathan immediately said, that "he was himself the man who ought to suffer those punishments, and that by his own sentence, and that it was he who had perpetrated this great and horrid crime. He also revealed to him, and laid before him the anger of God against him; who had made him king over the army of the Hebrews, and lord of all the nations, and those many and great nations round about him; who had formerly delivered him out of the hands of Saul, and had given him such wives as he had justly and legally married; and now this God was despised by him, and affronted by his impiety, when he had married, and now had another man's wife; and by exposing her husband to the enemy, had really slain him: that God would inflict punishments upon him on account of those instances of wickedness: that his own wives should be forced by one of his sons; and that he should be treacherously supplanted by the same son; and that although he had perpetrated his wickedness secretly, yet should that punishment which he was to undergo be inflicted publicly upon him: that, moreover, said he, the child which was born to thee of her shall soon die." When the king was troubled at these messages, and sufficiently confounded, and said with tears and sorrow that he had sinned (for he

was without controversy a pious man, and guilty of no sin at all in his whole life, excepting those in the matter of Uriah,) God had compassion on him, and was reconciled to him, and promised that he would preserve to him both his life and his kingdom; for he said, that "seeing he repented of the things he had done, he was no longer displeased with him." So Nathan, when he had delivered this prophecy to the king, returned home.

4. However, God sent a dangerous distemper upon the child that was born to David of the wife of Uriah; at which the king was troubled, and did not take any food for seven days, although his servants almost forced him to take it; but he clothed himself in a black garment, and fell down, and lay upon the ground in sackcloth, entreating God for the recovery of the child, for he vehemently loved the child's mother. But when, on the seventh day, the child was dead, the king's servants durst not tell him of it, as supposing that when he knew it he would still less admit of food, and other care of himself, by reason of his grief at the death of his son, since when the child was only sick he so greatly afflicted himself and grieved for him. But when the king perceived that his servants were in disorder, and seemed to be affected as those are who are very desirous to conceal something, he understood that the child was dead; and when he had called one of his servants to him, and discovered that so it was, he arose up, and washed himself and took a white garment, and came into the tabernacle of God. He also commanded them to set supper before him, and thereby greatly surprised his kindred and servants, while he did nothing of this when the child was sick, but did it all when he was dead. Whereupon having first begged leave to ask him a question, they besought him to tell them the reason of this his conduct. He then "called them unskilful people; and instructed them how he had hopes of the recovery of the child while it was alive, and, accordingly, did all that was proper for him to do, as thinking by such means to render God propitious to him; but that when the child was dead, there was no longer any occasion for grief, which was then to no purpose." When he had said this, they commended the king's wisdom and understanding. He then went in unto Bathsheba his wife, and she conceived, and bare a son, and, by the command of Nathan the prophet, called his name *Solomon*.

5. But Joab sorely distressed the Ammonites in the siege, by cutting off their waters, and depriving them of other means of subsistence, till they were in the greatest want of meat and drink; for they depended only on one small well of water, and this they durst not drink of too freely, lest the fountain should entirely fail them. So he wrote to the king, and informed him thereof; and persuaded him to come himself to take the city, that he might have the honour of the victory. Upon this letter of Joab's, the king accepted of his good will and fidelity, and took with him his army, and came to the destruction of Rabbah; and when he had taken it by force, he gave it to his soldiers to plunder it; but he himself took the king of the Ammonites' crown, whose weight was a talent of gold;* and it had in its middle a precious stone called a sardonyx; which crown David ever after wore on his own head. He also found many other vessels in the city, and those both splendid and of great price; but as for the men, he tormented†

* That a talent of gold was about 7 lb. weight, see the description of the temples, ch. xiii. Nor could Josephus well estimate it higher, since he here says that David wore it on his head perpetually.

† Whether Josephus saw the words of our copies, 2 Sam. xii. 31, and 1 Chron. xx. 3, that David put the inhabitants, or, at least, the garrison of Rabbah, and of the other Ammonite cities which he besieged and took, *under, or cut them with saws; and under, or with harrows of iron; and under, or with axes of iron; and made them pass through the brick kiln;* is not here directly expressed. If he saw them, as is most probable he did, he certainly expounded them of tormenting these Ammonites to death, who were none of those seven nations of Canaan, whose wickedness had rendered them incapable of mercy; otherwise I should be inclinable to think, that the meaning, at least as the words are in Samuel, might only be this, that they were made the lowest slaves, to work in sawing timber or stone, in harrowing the fields, in hewing timber, in making and burning bricks, and the like hard services, but without taking away their lives. We never elsewhere, that I remember, meet with such methods of cruelty in putting men to death in all the Bible, or in any other ancient history whatsoever nor do the words in Samuel seem naturally to refer to any such thing.

them, and then destroyed them: and when he had taken the other cities of the Ammonites by force, he treated them after the same manner.

CHAP. VIII.

How Absalom murdered Amnon, who had forced his own Sister; and how he was banished, and afterwards recalled by David.

§ 1. When the king was returned to Jerusalem, a sad misfortune befel his house on the occasion following.—He had a daughter, who was yet a virgin, and very handsome, insomuch that she surpassed all the most beautiful women; her name was Tamar: she had the same mother with Absalom. Now Amnon, David's eldest son, fell in love with her, and being not able to obtain his desires, on account of her virginity, and the custody she was under, was much out of order; nay, his grief so eat up his body, that he grew lean, and his colour was changed. Now there was one Jonadab, a kinsman and friend of his, who discovered this his passion, for he was an extraordinary wise man, and of great sagacity of mind. When, therefore, he saw that every morning Amnon was not in body as he ought to be, he came to him, and desired him to tell him what was the cause of it: however, he said, that he guessed that it arose from the passion of love. Amnon confessed his passion, that he was in love with a sister of his, who had the same father with himself. So Jonadab suggested to him by what method and contrivance he might obtain his desires; for he persuaded him to pretend sickness, and bid him, when his father should come to him, to beg of him that his sister might come and minister to him, for if that were done, he should be better, and should quickly recover from his distemper. So Amnon lay down on his bed, and pretended to be sick, as Jonadab had suggested. When his father came, and inquired how he did, he begged of him to send his sister to him. Accordingly he presently ordered her to be brought to him; and when she was come, Amnon bid her make cakes for him, and fry them in a pan, and do it all with her own hands, because he should take them better from her hand [than from any one's else]. So she kneaded the flour in the sight of her brother, and made him cakes, and baked them in a pan, and brought them to him; but at that time he would not taste them but gave order to his servants to send all that were there out of his chamber, because he had a mind to repose himself, free from tumult and disturbance. As soon as what he had commanded was done, he desired his sister to bring his supper to him into the inner parlour; which, when the damsel had done, he took hold of her, and endeavoured to persuade her to lie with him. Whereupon the damsel cried out, and said, "Nay, brother, do not force me, nor be so wicked as to transgress the laws, and bring upon thyself the utmost confusion. Curb this thy unrighteous and impure lust, from which our house will get nothing but reproach and disgrace. She also advised him to speak to his father about this affair, for he would permit him [to marry her."] This she said, as desirous to avoid her brother's violent passion at present. But he would not yield to her, but, inflamed with love and blinded with the vehemency of his passion, he forced his sister: but, as soon as Amnon had satisfied his lust, he hated her immediately, and giving her reproachful words bid her rise up and be gone. And when she said, that "this was a more injurious treatment than the former, if now he had forced her, he would not let her stay with him till the evening, but bid her go away in the daytime, and while it was light, that she might meet with people that would be witness of her shame," he commanded his servant to turn her out of his house. Whereupon she was sorely grieved at the injury and violence that had been offered to her, and rent her loose coat (for the virgins of old time wore such loose coats tied at the hands, and let down to the ankles, that the inner coats might not be seen,) and

sprinkled ashes on her head; and went up the middle of the city, crying out, and lamenting for the violence that had been offered her. Now Absalom her brother happened to meet her, and asked her, What sad thing had befallen her, that she was in that plight? and when she had told him what injury had been offered her, he comforted her, and desired her to be quiet, and to take all patiently, and not to esteem her being corrupted by her brother as an injury. So she yielded to his advice, and left off her crying out, and discovering the force offered to her to the multitude; and she continued as a widow with her brother Absalom a long time.

2. When David his father knew this, he was grieved at the actions of Amnon, but because he had an extraordinary affection for him, for he was his eldest son, he was compelled not to afflict him: but Absalom watched for a fit opportunity of revenging this crime upon him, for he thoroughly hated him. Now the second year after this wicked affair about his sister was over, and Absalom was about to go to shear his own sheep at Baalhazor, which is a city in the portion of Ephraim, he besought his father, as well as his brethren, to come and feast with him: but when David excused himself, as not being willing to be burdensome to him, Absalom desired he would however send his brethren; whom he did send accordingly. Then Absalom charged his own servants, that when they should see Amnon disordered and drowsy with wine, and he should give them a signal, they should fear nobody, but kill him.

3. When they had done as they were commanded, the rest of his brethren were astonished and disturbed, and were afraid for themselves, so they immediately got on horseback, and rode away to their father: but somebody there was who prevented them, and told their father they were all slain by Absalom; whereupon he was overcome with sorrow, as for so many of his sons that were destroyed at once, and that by their brother also; and by this consideration, that it was their brother that appeared to have slain them, he aggravated his sorrow for them. So he neither inquired what was the cause of this slaughter, nor stayed to hear any thing else, which yet it was but reasonable to have done, when so very great, and by that greatness so incredible a misfortune was related to him, he rent his clothes, and threw himself upon the ground, and there lay lamenting the loss of all his sons, but those who, as he was informed, were slain, and of him that slew them. But Jonadab, the son of his brother Shimeah, entreated him not to indulge his sorrow so far, for as to the rest of his sons he did not believe that they were slain, for he found no cause for such a suspicion; but he said it might deserve inquiry as to Amnon, for it was not unlikely that Absalom might venture to kill him on account of the injury he had offered to Tamar. In the mean time a great noise of horses, and a tumult of some people that were coming, turned their attention to them; they were the king's sons, who were fled away from the feast. So their father met them as they were in their grief; and he himself grieved with them; but it was more than he expected to see those his sons again, whom he had a little before heard to have perished. However, there were tears on both sides. They lamenting their brother who was killed, and the king lamenting his son, who was killed also: but Absalom fled to Geshur, to his grandfather by his mother's side, who was king of that country, and he remained with him three whole years.

4. Now David had a design to send to Absalom, not that he should come to be punished, but that he might be with him, for the effects of his anger were abated by length of time. It was Joab, the captain of his host, that chiefly persuaded him so to do; for he suborned an ordinary woman, that was stricken in age, to go to the king in mourning apparel, who said thus to him: "That two of her sons, in a course way, had some difference between them, and that in the progress of that difference they came to an open quarrel, and that one was smitten by the other, and was dead, and she desired him to interpose in this case, and to do her the favour to save this her son from her kindred, who was very zealous to

have him that had slain his brother put to death, that so she might not be farther deprived of the hopes she had of being taken care of in her old age by him; and that if he would hinder this slaughter of her son by those that wished for it, he would do her a great favour, because the kindred would not be restrained from their purpose by any thing else than by the fear of him." And when the king had given his consent to what the woman had begged of him, she made this reply to him: "I owe thee thanks for thy benignity to me in pitying my old age, and preventing the loss of my only remaining child; but in order to assure me of this thy kindness, be first reconciled to thine own son, and cease to be angry with him; for how shall I persuade myself that thou hast really bestowed this favour upon me, while thou thyself continuest after the like manner in thy wrath to thine own son? for it is a foolish thing to add wilfully another to thy dead son, while the death of the other was brought about without thy consent." And now the king perceived that this pretended story was a subornation derived from Joab, and was of his contrivance; and when, upon inquiry of the old woman, he understood it to be so in reality, he called for Joab, and told him he had obtained what he requested according to his own mind: and he bid him bring Absalom back, for he was not now displeased, but had already ceased to be angry with him. So Joab bowed himself down to the king, and took his words kindly, and went immediately to Geshur, and took Absalom with him, and came to Jerusalem.

5. However, the king sent a message to his son beforehand, as he was coming, and commanded him to retire to his own house, for he was not yet in such a disposition as to think fit at present to see him. Accordingly, upon the father's command, he avoided coming into his presence, and contented himself with the respects paid him by his own family only. Now his beauty was not impaired, either by the grief he had been under, or by the want of such care as was proper to be taken of a king's son; for he still surpassed and excelled all men in the tallness of his body, and was more eminent [in a fine appearance] than those that dieted the most luxuriously: and indeed such was the thickness of the hair of his head, that it was with difficulty that he was polled every eighth day; and his hair weighed two hundred shekels,* which are five pounds. However, he dwelt in Jerusalem two years, and became the father of three sons and one daughter; which daughter was of very great beauty, and which Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, took to wife afterward, and had by her a son named *Abijah*. But Absalom sent to Joab, and desired him to pacify his father entirely towards him; and to beseech him to give him leave to come to him to see him, and speak with him. But when Joab neglected so to do, he sent some of his own servants, and set fire to the field adjoining to him: which, when Joab understood, he came to Absalom, and accused him of what he had done; and asked him the reason why he did so? To which Absalom replied, that "I have found out this stratagem that might bring thee to us, while thou hast taken no care to perform the injunction I laid upon thee, which was this, to reconcile my father to me: and I really beg it of thee, now thou art here, to pacify my father as to me, since I esteem my coming hither to be more grievous than my banishment, while my father's wrath against me continues." Hereby Joab was persuaded, and pitied the distress that Absalom was in, and became an intercessor with the king for him. And when he had discoursed with his father, he soon brought him to that amicable disposition towards Absalom, that he presently sent for him to come to him: and when he had cast himself down upon the ground, and had begged for the forgiveness of his offences, the king raised him up, and promised him to forget what he had formerly done

* Of this weight of Absalom's hair, how in 20 or 30 years it might well amount to 200 shekels, or to somewhat above 6 lb. avoirdupois, see the Literal Accomplishment of Prophecies, page 77, 78. But a late very judicious author thinks that the LXXII meant not its *weight*, but its *value* was 200 shekels. Dr. Wall's critical notes on the Old Testament upon 2 Sam. xiv. 26. It does not appear what was Josephus's opinion: he sets the text down honestly as he found it in his copies; only he thought, that *at the end of* days, when Absalom polled or weighed his hair, was *once a week*.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Insurrection of Absalom against David; and concerning Ahithophel and Hushai; and concerning Ziba and Shimei; and how Ahithophel hanged himself.

§ 1. Now Absalom, upon this his success with the king, procured to himself a great many horses, and many chariots, and that in a little time also. He had moreover fifty armour-bearers that were about him, and he came early every day to the king's palace, and spake what was agreeable to such as came for justice, and lost their causes, as if that happened for want of good counsellors about the king, or perhaps because the judges mistook in that unjust sentence they gave; whereby he gained the good will of them all. He told them, that had he but such authority committed to him, he would distribute justice to them in a most equitable manner. When he had made himself so popular among the multitude, he thought he had already the good will of the people secured to him; but when four* years had passed since his father's reconciliation to him, he came to him, and besought him to give him leave to go to Hebron, and pay a sacrifice to God, because he vowed it to him when he fled out of the country. So when David had granted his request, he went thither, and great multitudes came running together to him, for he had sent to a great number so to do.

2. Among them came Ahithophel the Gilonite, a counsellor of David's and two hundred men out of Jerusalem itself, who knew not his intentions, but were sent for as to a sacrifice. So he was appointed king by all of them, which he obtained by this stratagem. As soon as this news was brought to David, and he was informed of what he did not expect from his son, he was affrighted at this his impious and bold undertaking, and wondered that he was so far from remembering how his offence had been so lately forgiven him, that he undertook much worse and more wicked enterprises; first, to deprive him of that kingdom which was given him of God; and secondly, to take away his own father's life. He therefore resolved to fly to the parts beyond Jordan: so he called his most intimate friends together, and communicated to them all that he had heard of his son's madness. He committed himself to God, to judge between them about all their actions; and left the care of his royal palace to his ten concubines, and went away from Jerusalem, being willingly accompanied by the rest of the multitude, who went hastily away with him, and particularly by those six hundred armed men, who had been with him from his first flight in the days of Saul: but he persuaded Abiathar and Zadok, the high priests, who had determined to go away with him, as also all the Levites, who were with the ark, to stay behind, as hoping that God would deliver him without its removal; but he charged them to let him know privately how all things went on: and he had their sons, Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, and Jonathan the son of Abiathar, for faithful ministers in all things; but Ittai the Gittite went out with him whether David would let him or not, for he would have persuaded him to stay, and on that account he appeared the more friendly to him. But as he was ascending the Mount of Olives barefooted, and all his company were in tears, it was told him that Ahithophel was with Absalom, and was of his side. This hearing augmented his grief; and he besought God earnestly to alienate the mind of Absalom from Ahithophel, for he was afraid that he should persuade him to follow his pernicious counsel; for he was a prudent man, and very sharp in seeing what was advantageous. When David was gotten upon the top of the mountain, he took a view of the city; and prayed to God with abundance of tears, as having already

* This is one of the best corrections that Josephus's copy affords us of a text that in our ordinary copies is grossly corrupted. They say, that this rebellion of Absalom was 40 years after what went before (of his reconciliation to his father,) whereas the series of the history shows it could not be more than four years after it, as here in Josephus; whose number is directly confirmed by that copy of the Septuagint version, whence the Armenian translation was made, which gives us the small number of four years.

lost his kingdom: and here it was that a faithful friend of his, whose name was Hushai, met him. When David saw him with his clothes rent, and having ashes all over his head, and in lamentation for the great change of affairs, he comforted him, and exhorted him to leave off grieving; nay, at length he besought him to go back to Absalom, and appear as one of his party, and to fish out the secretest counsels of his mind, and to contradict the counsels of Ahithophel; for that he could not do him so much good by being with him as he might by being with Absalom. So he was prevailed on by David, and left him, and came to Jerusalem, whither Absalom himself came also a little while afterward.

3. When David was gone a little farther, there met him Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth (whom he had sent to take care of the possessions which had been given him, as the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul,) with a couple of asses, loaden with provisions, and desired him to take as much of them as he and his followers stood in need of. And when the king asked him where he had left Mephibosheth? he said, "He had left him in Jerusalem expecting to be chosen king in the present confusions, in remembrance of the benefits Saul had conferred upon them." At this the king had great indignation, and gave to Ziba all that he had formerly bestowed on Mephibosheth, for he determined that it was much fitter that he should have them than the other; at which Ziba greatly rejoiced.

4. When David was at Bahurim, a place so called, there came out a kinsman of Saul's whose name was Shimei, and threw stones at him, and gave him reproachful words; and as his friends stood about the king and protected him, he persevered still more in his reproaches, and called him a bloody man, and the author of all sorts of mischief. He bid him also "go out of the land as an impure and accursed wretch: and he thanked God for depriving him of his kingdom, and causing him to be punished for what injuries he had done to his master [Saul,] and this by the means of his own." Now when they were all provoked against him, and angry at him, and particularly Abishai, who had a mind to kill Shimei, David restrained his anger: "Let us not," said he, "bring upon ourselves another fresh misfortune to those we have already, for truly I have not the least regard nor concern for this dog that raves at me: I submit myself to God, by whose permission this man treats me in such a wild manner; nor is it any wonder that I am obliged to undergo these abuses from him, while I experience the like from an impious son of my own; but perhaps God will have some commiseration upon us; if it be his will, we shall overcome them." So he went on his way without troubling himself with Shimei, who ran along the other side of the mountain, and threw out his abusive language plentifully: but when David was come to Jordan, he allowed those that were with him to refresh themselves; for they were weary.

5. But when Absalom, and Ahithophel his counsellor, were come to Jerusalem, with all the people, David's friend, Hushai came to them; and when he had worshiped Absalom, he withal wished that his kingdom might last a long time, and continue for all ages. But when Absalom said to him, "How comes this, that he who was so intimate a friend of my father's, and appeared faithful to him in all things, is not with him now, but hath left him, and is come over to me?" Hushai's answer was very pertinent and prudent; for he said, "We ought to follow God and the multitude of the people; while these, therefore, my lord and master, are with thee, it is fit that I should follow them; for thou hast received the kingdom from God. I will therefore, if thou believest me to be thy friend, show the same fidelity and kindness to thee, which thou knowest I have showed to thy father: nor is there any reason to be in the least dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, for the kingdom is not transferred into another, but remains still in the same family, by the son's receiving it after his father." This speech persuaded Absalom, who before suspected Hushai. And now he called Ahithophel, and consulted with him what he ought to do; he persuaded him to go in unto his father's concubines; for he said, that "by this action the people, would believe

that thy difference with thy father is irreconcilable, and will thence fight with great alacrity against thy father, for hitherto they are afraid of taking up open enmity against him, out of an expectation that you will be reconciled again." Accordingly Absalom was prevailed on by this advice and commanded his servants to pitch him a tent upon the top of the royal palace, in the sight of the multitude: and he went in and lay with his father's concubines. Now this came to pass according to the prediction of Nathan, when he prophesied and signified to him, that his son would rise up in rebellion against him.

6. And when Absalom had done what he was advised to by Ahithophel, he desired his advice in the second place, about the war against his father. Now Ahithophel only asked him to let him have ten thousand chosen men, and he promised he would slay his father, and bring the soldiers back again in safety; and he said, that "then the kingdom would be firm to him when David was dead [but not otherwise."] Absalom was pleased with this advice; and called for Hushai, David's friend (for so did he style him,) and informing him of the opinion of Ahithophel, he asked farther what was his opinion concerning that matter? Now he was sensible that if Ahithophel's counsel was followed, David would be in danger of being seized on, and slain; so he attempted to introduce a contrary opinion, and said, "Thou art not unacquainted, O king, with the valour of thy father, and of those that are now with him; that he hath made many wars, and hath always come off with victory: though probably he now abides in the camp, for he is very skilful in stratagems and in foreseeing the deceitful tricks of his enemies, yet will he leave his own soldiers in the evening, and will either hide himself in some valley, or will place an ambush at some rock; so that when our army joins battle with him, his soldiers will retire for a little while, but will come upon us again, as encouraged by the king's being near them, and in the mean time your father will show himself suddenly in the time of the battle, and will infuse courage into his own people when they are in danger, but bring consternation to thine. Consider, therefore, my advice, and reason upon it, and if thou canst not but acknowledge it to be the best, reject the opinion of Ahithophel. Send to the entire country of the Hebrews, and order them to come to fight with thy father; and do thou thyself take the army, and be thine own general in this war, and do not trust its management to another; then expect to conquer him with ease, when thou overtakest him openly with his few partisans, but hast thyself many ten thousands, who will be desirous to demonstrate to thee their diligence and alacrity. And if thy father shall shut himself up in some city, and bear a siege, we will overthrow that city by machines of war, and by undermining it." When Hushai had said this, he obtained his point against Ahithophel, for his opinion was preferred by Absalom before the other's: however, it was no other than* God who made the counsel of Hushai appear best to the mind of Absalom.

7. So Hushai made haste to the high priests, Zadok and Abiathar, and told them the opinion of Ahithophel, and his own, and that the resolution was taken to follow this latter advice. He therefore bid them send to David, and tell him of it, and to inform him of the counsels that had been taken; and to desire him farther to pass quickly over Jordan, lest his son should change his mind, and make

* This reflection of Josephus's, that God brought to nought the dangerous counsel of Ahithophel, and directly *infatuated* wicked Absalom to reject it (which *infatuation* is what the scripture styles the judicial *hardening the hearts and blinding the eyes* of men, who, by their former voluntary wickedness, have justly deserved to be destroyed, and are thereby brought to destruction,) is a very just one, and in him not unfrequent. Nor does Josephus ever puzzle himself, or perplex his readers, with subtile hypothesis as to the *manner* of such judicial infatuations by God, while the *justice* of them is generally so obvious. That peculiar *manner* of the divine operations, or permissions, or the *means* God makes use of in such cases, is often impenetrable by us, "Secret things belong to the Lord our God; but those things that are revealed belong to us, and to our children, for ever, that we may do all the words of this law." Deut. xxix. 29. Nor have all the subtilities of the moderns, so far as I see, given any considerable light in this, and many other the like points of difficulty relating either to divine or human operations. See also the notes on Antiq. B. v. ix. chap. i. sect. 2. and Antiq. B. ix. chap. iv. sect. 3.

haste to pursue him, and so prevent him, and seize upon him before he be in safety. Now the high priests had their sons concealed in a proper place out of the city, that they might carry news to David of what was transacted. Accordingly they sent a maid servant, whom they could trust, to them, to carry the news of Absalom's counsels, and ordered them to signify the same to David with all speed. So they made no excuse nor delay, but taking along with them their father's injunctions, became pious and faithful ministers, and judging that quickness and suddenness was the best mark of faithful service, they made haste to meet with David; but certain horsemen saw them when they were two furlongs from the city, and informed Absalom of them, who immediately sent some to take them; but when the sons of the high priests perceived this, they went out of the road, and betook themselves to a certain village; that village was called *Bahurim;* there they desired a certain woman to hide them, and afford them security. Accordingly she let the young men down by a rope into a well, and laid fleeces of wool over them; and when those that pursued them came to her, and asked her whether she saw them, she did not deny that she had seen them, for that they stayed with her some time, but she said, they then went their ways; and she foretold that, however, if they would follow them directly, they would catch them. But when, after a long pursuit, they could not catch them, they came back again; and when the woman saw those men were returned, and that there was no longer any fear of the young men's being caught by them, she drew them up by the rope, and bid them go on their journey. Accordingly they used great diligence in the prosecution of that journey, and came to David and informed him accurately of all the counsels of Absalom. So he commanded those that were with him to pass over Jordan while it was night, and not to delay at all on that account.

8. But Ahithophel, on rejection of his advice, got upon his ass and rid away to his own country Gilon; and calling his family together, he told them distinctly what advice he had given Absalom; and since he had not been persuaded by it, he said he would evidently perish, and this in no long time, and that David would overcome him and return to his kingdom again; so he said it was better that he should take his own life away with freedom and magnanimity, than expose himself to be punished by David, in opposition to whom he had acted entirely for Absalom. When he had discoursed thus to them, he went into the inmost room of his house and hanged himself; and this was the death of Ahithophel, who was self condemned; and when his relations had taken him down from the halter, they took care of his funeral. Now, as for David, he passed over Jordan, as we have said already, and came to Mahanaim, a very fine and very strong city; and all the chief men of the country received him with great pleasure, both out of the shame they had that he should be forced to flee away [from Jerusalem,] and out of the respect they bare him while he was in his former prosperity. These were Barzillai the Gileadite, and Siphar the ruler among the Ammonites, and Machir, the principal man of Gilead; and these furnished him with plentiful provisions for himself and his followers, insomuch that they wanted no beds nor blankets for them, nor loaves of bread nor wine; nay, they brought them a great many cattle for slaughter, and afforded them what furniture they wanted for their refreshment when they were weary, and for food; with plenty of other necessaries

CHAP. X

How when Absalom was beaten, he was caught in a Tree by his Hair, and was slain.

§ 1. And this was the estate of David and his followers; but Absalom got together a vast army of the Hebrews to oppose his father, and passed therewith over the river Jordan, and sat down not far off Mahanaim, in the country of

Gilead. He appointed Amasa to be captain of all his host, instead of Joab his kinsman; his father was Ithra, and his mother Abigail. Now she and Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, were David's sisters. But when David had numbered his followers, and found them to be about four thousand, he resolved not to tarry till Absalom attacked him, but set over his men captains of thousands and captains of hundreds, and divided his army into three parts; the one part he committed to Joab, the next to Abishai, Joab's brother, and the third part to Ittai, David's companion and friend, but one that came from the city Gath. And when he was desirous of fighting himself among them, his friends would not let him; and this refusal of theirs was founded upon very wise actions: "For" said they, "if we be conquered when he is with us, we have lost all good hopes of recovering ourselves; but if we should be beaten in one part of our army, the other parts may retire to him, and may thereby prepare a greater force, while the enemy will naturally suppose that he hath another army with him." So David was pleased with this their advice, and resolved himself to tarry at Mahanaim. And as he sent his friends and commanders to the battle, he desired them to show [all possible] alacrity and fidelity, and to bear in mind what advantages they had received from him, which, though they had not been very great, yet had they not been quite inconsiderable; and he begged of them to spare the young man Absalom lest some mischief should befall himself, if he should be killed. And thus did he send out his army to the battle, and wished them victory therein.

2. Then did Joab put his army in battle array over against the enemy in the great plain, where he had a wood behind him. Absalom also brought his army into the field to oppose him. Upon the joining of the battle, both sides showed great actions with their hands and their boldness; the one side exposing themselves to the greatest hazards, and using their utmost alacrity, that David might recover his kingdom; and the other being no way deficient, either in doing or suffering, that Absalom might not be deprived of that kingdom, and be brought to punishment by his father, for his impudent attempt against him. Those also that were the most numerous were solicitous that they might not be conquered by those few that were with Joab and with the other commanders, because that would be the greatest disgrace to them, while David's soldiers strove greatly to overcome so many ten thousands as the enemy had with them. Now David's men were conquerors, as superior in strength and skill in war; so they followed the others as they fled away through the forests and valleys; some they took prisoners and many they slew, and more in the flight than in the battle, for there fell about twenty thousand that day. But all David's men ran violently upon Absalom, for he was easily known by his beauty and tallness. He was himself also afraid lest his enemies should seize on him, so he got upon the king's mule and fled; but as he was carried with violence and noise, and a great motion, as being himself light, he entangled his hair greatly in the large boughs of a knotty tree that spread a great way, and there he hung after a surprising manner; and as for the beast, it went on farther, and that swiftly, as if his master had been still upon his back, but he hanging in the air upon the boughs, was taken by his enemies. Now when one of David's soldiers saw this, he informed Joab of it; and when the general said, that "if he had shot at and killed Absalom, he would have given him fifty shekels," he replied, "I would not have killed my master's son, if thou wouldst have given me a thousand shekels, especially when he desired that the young man might be spared in the hearing of us all." But Joab bade him show him where it was that he saw Absalom hang; whereupon he shot him to the heart, and slew him, and Joab's armour-bearers stood round about the tree, and pulled down his dead body, and cast it into a great chasm that was out of sight, and laid a heap of stones upon him till the cavity was filled up, and had both the appearance and the bigness of a grave. Then Joab sounded a retreat and recalled his own soldiers from pursuing the enemy's army, in order to spare their countrymen

3. Now Absalom had erected for himself a stone marble pillar in the king's dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named *Absalom's Hand*, saying, that if his children were killed, his name would remain by that pillar: for he had three sons and one daughter named *Tamar*, as we said before, who, when she was married to David's grandson, Rehoboam, bare a son, Abijah by name, who succeeded his father in the kingdom: but of these we shall speak in a part of our history which will be more proper. After the death of Absalom they returned every one to their own homes respectively.

4. But now Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok the high priest, went to Joab, and desired he would permit him to go and tell David of this victory, and to bring him the good news that God had afforded his assistance and his providence to him. However, he did not grant his request; but said to him, "Wilt thou that hast always been the messenger of good news, now go and acquaint the king that his son is dead?" So he desired him to desist. He then called Cushi, and committed the business to him, that he should tell the king what he had seen. But when Ahimaaz again desired him to let him go as a messenger, and assured him that he would only relate what concerned the victory, but not concerning the death of Absalom, he gave him leave to go to David. Now he took a nearer road than the former did, for nobody knew it but himself, and he came before Cushi. Now as David was sitting between the gates,* and waiting to see when somebody would come to him from the battle, and tell him how it went, one of the watchmen saw Ahimaaz running, and before he could discern who he was, he told David that he saw somebody coming to him; who said he was a good messenger. A little while after he informed him that another messenger followed him: whereupon the king said, that he was also a good messenger: but when the watchmen saw Ahimaaz, and that he was already very near, he gave the king notice that it was the son of Zadok the high priest, who came running. So David was very glad, and said, "He was a messenger of good tidings, and brought him some such news from the battle as he desired to hear."

5. While the king was saying thus, Ahimaaz appeared, and worshiped the king. And when the king inquired of him about the battle, he said, "He brought him the good news of victory and dominion." And when he inquired what he had to say concerning his son, he said that "he came away on the sudden as soon as the enemy was defeated, but that he heard a great noise of those that pursued Absalom, and that he could learn no more, because of the haste he made when Joab sent him to inform him of the victory." But when Cushi was come, and had worshiped him, and informed him of the victory, he asked him about his son; who replied, "May the like misfortune befal thine enemies as hath befallen Absalom." The word did not permit either himself or his soldiers to rejoice for the victory, though it was a very great one, but David went up to the highest part of the city,† and wept for his son, and beat his breast, tearing [the hair of] his head, and tormenting himself all manner of ways, and crying out, "O my son, I wish that I had died myself, and ended my days with thee!" for he was of a tender natural affection, and had extraordinary compassion for this son in particular. But when the army and Joab heard that the king mourned for his son, they were ashamed to enter the city in the habit of conquerors, but they all came in as cast down, and in tears, as if they had been beaten. Now while the

* The reader need not be surprised at this account of David's throne, both here, and 2 Sam. xviii. 24, that it was *between two gates* or *portals*, gates being in cities, as well as at the temple, large open places, with a portal at the entrance, and another at the exit, between which judicial causes were heard, and public consultations taken, as it is well known from several places of scripture, 2 Chron. xxxi. 2; Psal. ix. 14; cxxvii. 5; Prov. i. 21; viii. 3, 34; xxxi. 23; and often elsewhere.

† Since David was now in Mahanaim, and in the open place of that city gate, which seems still to have been built the highest of any part of the wall, and since our other copies say, he *went up to the chamber over the gate*, 2 Sam. xviii. 33. I think we ought to correct our present reading in Josephus, and for *city* should read *gate*, i. e. instead of the highest part of the *city*, should say the highest part of the *gate*. Accordingly we find David presently in Josephus, as well as in our other copies, 2 Sam. xix. 8, sitting as before in the *gate* of the city

king covered himself, and grievously lamented his son, Joab went in to him, and comforted him, and said, "O my lord the king, thou art not aware that thou layest a blot on thyself by what thou now doest, for thou seemest to hate those that love thee, and undergo dangers for thee, nay, to hate thyself and thy family, and to love those that are thy bitter enemies, and to desire the company of those that are no more, and who have been justly slain; for had Absalom gotten the victory, and firmly settled himself in the kingdom, there had been none of us left alive, but all of us, beginning with thyself and thy children, had miserably perished, while our enemies had not wept for us, but rejoiced over us, and punished even those that pitied us in our misfortunes; and thou art not ashamed to do this in the case of one that has been thy bitter enemy, who, while he was thine own son, hath proved so wicked to thee. Leave off, therefore, thy unreasonable grief, and come abroad and be seen by thy soldiers, and return them thanks for the alacrity they showed in the fight; for I myself will this day persuade the people to leave thee, and to give the kingdom to another, if thou continuest to do thus; and then I shall make thee to grieve bitterly and in earnest." Upon Joab's speaking thus to him, he made the king leave off his sorrow; and brought him to the consideration of his affairs. So David changed his habit, and exposed himself in a manner fit to be seen by the multitude, and sat at the gates; whereupon all the people heard of it, and ran together to him, and saluted him. And this was the present state of David's affairs.

CHAP. XI.

How David, when he had recovered his Kingdom, was reconciled to Shimei, and to Ziba; and showed a great Affection to Barzillai; and how, upon the Rise of a Sedition, he made Amasa Captain of his Host, in order to pursue Sheba; which Amasa was slain by Joab.

§ 1. Now those Hebrews that had been with Absalom, and had retired out of the battle, when they were all returned home, sent messengers to every city to put them in mind of what benefits David had bestowed upon them, and of that liberty which he had procured them, by delivering them from many and great wars. But they complained, that whereas they had ejected him out of his kingdom, and committed it to another governor, which other governor whom they had set up was already dead, they did not now beseech David to leave off his anger at them, and to become friends with them, and, as he used to do, to resume the care of their affairs, and take the kingdom again. This was often told to David. And this notwithstanding, David sent to Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, that they should speak to the rulers of the tribe of Judah after the manner following; That "it would be a reproach upon them to permit the other tribes to choose David for their king before their tribe, and this, said he, while you are akin to him, and of the same common blood." He commanded them also to say the same to Amasa, the captain of their forces, That, "whereas he was his sister's son, he had not persuaded the multitude to restore the kingdom to David: That he might expect from him not only a reconciliation, for that was already granted, but that supreme command of the army also which Absalom had bestowed upon him. Accordingly the high priests, when they had discoursed with the rulers of the tribe, and said what the king had ordered them, persuaded Amasa to undertake the care of his affairs. So he persuaded that tribe to send immediately ambassadors to him, to beseech him to return to his own kingdom. The same did all the Israelites, at the like persuasion of Amasa.

2. When the ambassadors came to him, he came to Jerusalem; and the tribe of Judah was the first that came to meet the king at the river Jordan. And Shimei, the son of Gera, came with a thousand men; which he brought with him out of the tribe of Benjamin, and Ziba, the freedman of Saul, with his sons

fifteen in number, and with his twenty servants. All these, as well as the tribe of Judah, laid a bridge [of boats] over the river, that the king and those that were with him might with ease pass over it. Now as soon as he was come to Jordan, the tribe of Judah saluted him. Shimei also came upon the bridge, and took hold of his feet, and prayed him "to forgive him what he had offended, and not to be too bitter against him, nor to think fit to make him the first example of severity under his new authority; but to consider that he had repented of his failure of duty; and had taken care to come first of all to him." While he was thus entreating the king, and moving him to compassion, Abishai, Joab's brother, said, "And shall not this man die for this, that he hath cursed the king whom God hath appointed to reign over us? But David turned himself to him and said, "Will you never leave off, ye sons of Zeruiah? Do not you, I pray, raise new troubles and seditions among us, now the former are over; for I would not have you ignorant, that I this day begin my reign, and therefore swear to remit to all offenders their punishments, and not to animadvert on any one that has sinned. Be thou therefore, said he, O Shimei, of good courage, and do not at all fear being put to death." So he worshiped him, and went on before him.

3. Mephibosheth also, Saul's grandson, met David, clothed in a sordid garment, and having his hair thick and neglected; for after David was fled away, he was in such grief that he had not polled his head, nor had he washed his clothes, as dooming himself to undergo such hardships upon occasion of the change of the king's affairs. Now he had been unjustly calumniated to the king by Ziba, his steward. When he had saluted the king, and worshiped him, the king began to ask him, "Why he did not go out of Jerusalem with him and accompany him during his flight?" he replied. "That this piece of injustice was owing to Ziba, because when he was ordered to get things ready for his going out with him, he took no care of it, but regarded him no more than if he had been a slave: and, indeed, had I had my feet sound and strong, I had not deserted thee, for I could then have made use of them in my flight: but this is not all the injury that Ziba has done me, as to my duty to thee, my lord and master, but he hath calumniated me besides, and told lies about me of his own invention; but I know thy mind will not admit of such calumnies, but is righteously disposed, and a lover of truth, which it is also the will of God should prevail. For when thou wast in the greatest danger of suffering by my grandfather, and, when, on that account, our whole family might justly have been destroyed, thou wast moderate and merciful, and didst then especially forget all those injuries, when, if thou hadst remembered them, thou hadst the power of punishing us for them: but thou hadst judged me to be thy friend, and hast set me every day at thine own table; nor have I wanted any thing which one of thine own kinsmen, of greatest esteem with thee, could have expected." When he had said this, David resolved neither to punish Mephibosheth, nor to condemn Ziba, as having belied his master; but said to him, that as he had [before] granted all his estate to Ziba, because he did not come along with him, so he [now] promised to forgive him, and ordered that the one half of his estate should be restored to him.* Whereupon Mephibosheth said, "Nay, let Ziba take all; it suffices me that thou hast recovered thy kingdom."

4. But David desired Barzillai the Gileadite, that great and good man, and one that had made a plentiful provision for him at Mahanaim, and had conducted him as far as Jordan, to accompany him to Jerusalem; for he promised to treat him in his old age with all manner of respect; would take care of him, and provide for him. But Barzillai was so desirous to live at home that he entreated him to ex-

* By David's disposal of half Mephibosheth's estate to Ziba, one would imagine that he was a good deal dissatisfied and doubtful whether Mephibosheth's story were entirely true or not. Nor does David now invite him to diet with him, as he did before, but only forgives him, if he had been at all guilty. Nor is this odd way of mourning that Mephibosheth made use of here, and 2 Sam. xix. 24, wholly free from suspicion of hypocrisy. If Ziba neglected or refused to bring Mephibosheth an ass of his own, on which he might ride to David, it is hard to suppose that so great a man as he was should not be able to procure some other beast for the same purpose.

cuse him from attendance on him; and said, That "his age was too great to enjoy the pleasures [of a court,] since he was fourscore years old, and was therefore making provision for his death and burial; so he desired him to gratify him in this request, and dismiss him; for that he had no relish for his meat or his drink, by reason of his age; and that his ears were too much shut up to hear the sound of pipes, or the melody of other musical instruments, such as all those that live with kings delight in." When he entreated for this so earnestly, the king said, I dismiss thee; but thou shalt grant me thy son Chimham, and upon him will I bestow all sorts of good things." So Barzillai left his son with him, and worshiped the king, and wished him a prosperous conclusion of all his affairs according to his own mind, and then returned home; But David came to Gilgal, having about him half the people [of Israel] and the [whole] tribe of Judah.

5. Now the principal men of the country came to Gilgal to him with a great multitude, and complained of the tribe of Judah, that they had come to him in a private manner, whereas they ought all conjointly, and with one and the same intention to have given him the meeting. But the rulers of the tribe of Judah desired them not to be displeased, if they had been prevented by them; for, said they, "We are David's kinsmen and on that account we the rather took care of him, and loved him; and so came first to him; yet had they not, by their early coming, received any gifts from him which might give them who came last any uneasiness." When the rulers of the tribe of Judah had said thus, the rulers of the other tribes were not quiet, but said farther, "O brethren, we cannot but wonder at you when you call the king your kinsman alone; whereas he that hath received from God the power over all of us in common, ought to be esteemed a kinsman to us all; for which reason the whole people have eleven* parts in him, and you but one part. We also are elder than you; wherefore you have not done justly in coming to the king in this private and concealed manner."

6. While these rulers were thus disputing one with another, a certain wicked man who took a pleasure in seditious practices (his name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin,) stood up in the midst of the multitude, and cried aloud, and spake thus to them: "We have no parts in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse." And when he had used those words, he blew with a trumpet, and declared war against the king; and they all left David, and followed him; the tribe of Judah alone staid with him, and settled him in his royal palace at Jerusalem. But as for his concubines, with whom Absalom his son had accompanied, truly he removed them to another house; and ordered those that had the care of them to make a plentiful provision for them, but he came not near them any more. He also appointed Amasa for the captain of his forces and gave him the same high office which Joab before had; and he commanded him to gather together, out of the tribe of Judah, as great an army as he could, and come to him within three days, that he might deliver to him his entire army, and might send him to fight against [Sheba] the son of Bichri. Now, while Amasa was gone out, and made some delay in gathering the army together, and so was not yet returned; on the third day the king said to Joab, "It is not fit we should make any delay in this affair of Sheba, lest he get a numerous army about him, and be the occasion of greater mischief, and hurt our affairs more than did Absalom himself; do not thou, therefore, wait any longer, but take such forces as thou hast at hand, and that [old] body of six hundred men, and thy brother Abishai with thee, and pursue after our enemy, and endeavour to fight him wheresoever thou canst overtake him. Make haste to prevent him, lest he seize upon some fenced cities, and cause us great labour and pains before we take him."

7. So Joab resolved to make no delay, but taking with him his brother, and those

* I clearly prefer Josephus's reading here, when it supposes eleven tribes, including Benjamin, to be on the one side, and the tribe of Judah alone on the other; since Benjamin in general had been still under of the house of Saul, and less firm to David hitherto than any of the rest, and so cannot be supposed to be joined with Judah at this time to make it double, especially when the following rebellion was headed by a Benjamite; see sect. 6. and 2 Sam. xx. 2, 4.

ndred men, and giving orders that the rest of the army which was at Je-
m should follow him, he marched with great speed against Sheba; and
he was come to Gibeon, which is a village forty furlongs distant from Je-
m, Amasa brought a great army with him, and met Joab. Now Joab was
d with a sword and his breastplate on; and when Amasa came near him to
e him, he took particular care that his sword should fall out as it were of its
accord; so he took it up from the ground, and while he approached Amasa,
was then near him, as though he would kiss him, he took hold of Amasa's
d with his other hand, and he smote him in his belly when he did not foresee
nd slew him. This impious and altogether profane action Joab did to a good
g man, and his kinsman, and one that had done him no injury, and this out
alousy that he would obtain the chief command of the army, and be in equal
ty with himself about the king; and for the same cause it was that he killed
r. But as to that former wicked action, the death of his brother Asahel,
h he seemed to revenge, afforded him a decent pretence, and made that
a pardonable one; but in this murder of Amasa there was no such cove-
or it. Now when Joab had killed this general, he pursued after Sheba, having
a man with the dead body, who was ordered to proclaim aloud to the army,
Amasa was justly slain, and deservedly punished. But, said he, if you be
e king, follow Joab his general, and Abishai Joab's brother: but because
ody lay on the road, and all the multitude came running to it, and, as is usual
the multitude, stood wondering a great while at it, he that guarded it re-
d it thence, and carried it to a certain place that was very remote from the
and there laid it, and covered it with his garment. When this was done,
e people followed Joab. Now as he pursued Sheba through all the country
rael, one told him that he was in a strong city called *Abel-beth-maachah*;
pon Joab went thither, and set about it with his army, and cast up a bank
l it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls and to overthrow them;
ince the people in the city did not admit him, he was greatly displeased at

Now there was a woman of small account, and yet both wise and intelli-
who seeing her native city lying at the last extremity, ascended upon the
and, by means of the armed men, called for Joab; and when he came to
she began to say, that "God ordained kings and generals of armies, that
might cut off the enemies of the Hebrews, and introduce a universal peace
g them; but thou art endeavouring to overthrow and depopulate a metro-
of the Israelites, which hath been guilty of no offence." But he replied,
d continue to be merciful unto me; I am disposed to avoid killing any one
people, much less would I destroy such a city as this; and if they will de-
me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who hath rebelled against the king, I will
off the siege, and withdraw the army from the place." Now as soon as the
an heard what Joab said, she desired him to intermit the siege for a little
, for that he should have the head of his enemy thrown out to him presently.
e went down to the citizens, and said to them, "Will you be so wicked as
rish miserably, with your children and wives, for the sake of a vile fellow,
ne whom nobody knows who he is? And will you have him for your king
nd of David, who hath been so great a benefactor to you, and oppose your
lone to such a mighty and strong army?" So she prevailed with them, and
cut off the head of Sheba, and threw it into Joab's army. When this was
, the king's general sounded a retreat, and raised the siege. And when
is come to Jerusalem he was again appointed to be general of all the people.
king also constituted Benaiah captain of the guards, and of the six hundred

He also set Adoram over the tribute, and Sabathes and Achilaus over the
ds. He made Sheva the scribe; and appointed Zadok and Abiathar the
priests

CHAP. XII.

How the Hebrews were delivered from a Famine when the Gibeonites had exacted Punishment to be inflicted for those of them that had been slain. As also, what great Actions were performed against the Philistines by David, and the Men of Valour about him.

§ 1. AFTER this, when the country was greatly afflicted with a famine, David besought God to have mercy on the people, and to discover to him what was the cause of it, and how a remedy might be found for that distemper. And when the prophets answered, "that God would have the Gibeonites avenged, whom Saul the king was so wicked as to betray to slaughter, and had not observed the oath which Joshua the general and the senate had sworn to them. If, therefore, said God, the king would permit such vengeance to be taken for those that were slain as the Gibeonites should desire, he promised that he would be reconciled to them, and free the multitude from their miseries." As soon, therefore, as the king understood that this it was which God sought, he sent for the Gibeonites, and asked them, What it was they would have? and when they desired to have seven sons of Saul delivered to them, to be punished, he delivered them up; but spared Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan. So when the Gibeonites had received the men, they punished them as they pleased; upon which God began to send rain, and to recover the earth to bring forth its fruits as usual, and to free it from the foregoing drought, so that the country of the Hebrews flourished again. A little afterward the king made war against the Philistines; and when he had joined battle with them, and put them to flight, he was left alone, as he was in pursuit of them; and when he was quite tired down, he was seen by one of the enemy—his name was Achmon, the son of Araph; he was of the sons of the giants. He had a spear, the handle of which weighed three hundred shekels, and a breastplate of chain work, and a sword. He turned back, and ran violently to slay [David] their enemy's king, for he was quite tired out with labour; but Abishai, Joab's brother, appeared on the sudden and protected the king with his shield, as he lay down, and slew the enemy. Now the multitude were very uneasy at these dangers of the king, and that he was very near to be slain; and the rulers made him swear that he would no more go out with them to battle, lest he should come to some misfortune by his courage and boldness, and thereby deprive the people of the benefits they now enjoyed by his means, and of those that they might hereafter enjoy by his living a long time among them.

2. When the king heard that the Philistines were gathered together at the city Gazara, he sent an army against them, when Sibbechai, the Hittite, one of David's most courageous men, behaved himself so as to deserve great commendation, for he slew many of those that bragged they were the posterity of the giants, and vaunted themselves highly on that account, and thereby was the occasion of victory to the Hebrews. After which defeat, the Philistines made war again: and when David had sent an army against them, Nephan, his kinsman, fought in a single combat with the stoutest of all the Philistines, and slew him, and put the rest to flight. Many of them also were slain in the fight. Now a little while after this, the Philistines pitched their camp at a city which lay not far off the bounds of the country of the Hebrews. They had a man who was six cubits tall, and had on each of his feet and hands one more toe and finger than men naturally have. Now the person who was sent against them by David out of his army was Jonathan, the son of Shimea, who fought this man in a single combat, and slew him; and as he was the person who gave the turn to the battle, he gained the greatest reputation for courage therein. This man also vaunted himself to be of the sons of the giants. But after this fight, the Philistines made war no more against the Israelites

3. And now David, being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying for the future a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre;* some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters, he also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on that called the Sabbath day, and on other festivals. Now the construction of the instruments was thus: The viol was an instrument of ten strings, it was played upon with a bow; the psaltery had twelve musical notes, and was played upon by the fingers, the cymbals were broad and large instruments, and were made of brass. And so much shall suffice to be spoken by us about these instruments, that the readers may not be wholly unacquainted with their nature.

4. Now all the men that were about David, were men of courage. Those that were most illustrious and famous of them for their actions were thirty-eight; of five of whom I will only relate the performances, for these will suffice to make manifest the virtues of the others also; for these were powerful enough to subdue countries, and conquer great nations. First, therefore, was Jessai, the son of Achimaas, who frequently leaped upon the troops of the enemy, and did not leave off fighting till he overthrew nine hundred of them. After him was Eleazar, the son of Dodo, who was with the king at Arasam. This man, when once the Israelites were under a consternation at the multitude of the Philistines, and were running away, stood alone, and fell upon the enemy, and slew many of them till his sword clung to his hand by the blood he had shed, and till the Israelites, seeing the Philistines retire by his means, came down from the mountains and pursued them, and at that time won a surprising and a famous victory, while Eleazar slew the men, and the multitude followed and spoiled their dead bodies. The third was Sheba, the son of Ilus. Now this man, when in the wars against the Philistines, they pitched their camp at a place called *Lehi*, and when the Hebrews were again afraid of their army, and did not stay, he stood still alone, as an army, and a body of men, and some of them he overthrew, and some, who were not able to abide his strength and force, he pursued. These are the works of the hands, and of fighting, which these three performed. Now at the time when the king was once at Jerusalem, and the army of the Philistines came upon him to fight him, David went up to the top of the citadel, as we have already said, to inquire of God concerning the battle, while the enemy's camp lay in the valley that extends to the city Bethlehem, which is twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem. Now David said to his companions, "We have exellent water in

* This section is a very remarkable one, and shows that, in the opinion of Josephus, David composed the Book of Psalms, not at several times before, as their present inscriptions frequently imply, but generally at the latter end of his life, or after his wars were over. Nor does Josephus, nor the authors of the known Books of the Old and New Testament, nor the Apostolical Constitutions, seem to have ascribed any of them to any other author than to David himself. See Essay on the Old Test. p. 174, 175. Of these metres of the Psalms, see the note on Antiq. B. ii. ch. xvi. sect. 4. However, we must observe here, that as Josephus says, Antiq. B. ii. ch. xvi. sect. 4, that the song at the Red Sea, Exod. xv. 1—21, was composed by Moses in the *hexameter tune* or *metre*, as also Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 44, that the song of Moses Deut. xxxii. 1—43, was an *hexameter poem*, so does he say, that the *Psalms of David* were of *various kinds of metre*, and particularly that they contained *trimeters* and *pentameters* Antiq. B. vii. ch. xii. sect. 3, all which implies, that he thought these Hebrew poems might be best described to the Greeks and Romans under those names and characters of *hexameters*, *trimeters* and *pentameters*. Now, it appears that the instruments of music that were originally used by the command of king David and Solomon, and were carried to Babylon at the captivity of the two tribes, were brought back after that captivity; as also, that the singers and musicians, who outlived that captivity, came back with those instruments, Ezra, ii. 41; vii. 24; Neh. vii. 44; Antiq. B. xi. ch. iii. sect. 8; and ch. iv. sect. ii; and that this music and these instruments at the temple could not but be well known to Josephus, a priest belonging to that temple; who accordingly gives us a short description of three of the instruments, Antiq. B. vii. ch. xii. sect. 3, and gives us a distinct account, that such psalms and hymns were sung in his days at that temple. Antiq. B. xx. ch. ix. sect. 6: so that Josephus's authority is beyond exception in these matters. Nor can any hypothesis of the moderns that does not agree with Josephus's characters, be justly supposed the true metre of the ancient Hebrews; nor indeed is there, I think, any other original authority now extant, hereto relating, to be opposed to these testimonies before us. That the ancient music of the Hebrews was very complete also, and had in it a great variety of tunes, is evident by the number of their musical instruments, and by the testimony of another most authentic witness, Jesus the son of Sirach. Eccles. 1, 18, who says that at the temple, in his days, "The singers sang praises with their voice; with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody."

my own city, especially that which is in the pit near the gate," wondering if any one would bring him some of it to drink; but he said, that "he would rather have it than a great deal of money." When these three men heard what he said, they ran away immediately, and burst through the midst of their enemy's camp, and came to Bethlehem; and when they had drawn the water, they returned again through the enemy's camp to the king, insomuch that the Philistines were so surprised at their boldness and alacrity that they were quiet, and did nothing against them, as if they despised their small number. But when the water was brought to the king, he would not drink it, saying, that "it was brought by the danger and the blood of men, and that it was not proper on that account to drink it." But he poured it out to God, and gave him thanks for the salvation of the men. Next to these were Abishai, Joab's brother; for he in one day slew six hundred. The fifth of these was Benaiah, by lineage a priest, for being challenged by [two] eminent men in the country of Moab, he overcame them by his valour. Moreover, there was a man, by nation an Egyptian, who was of a vast bulk, and challenged him; yet did he, when he was unarmed, kill him with his own spear, which he threw at him, for he caught him by force, and took away his weapons, while he was alive and fighting, and slew him with his own weapons. One may also add this to the forementioned actions of the same man, either as the principal of them in alacrity, or as resembling the rest. When God sent a snow, there was a lion who slipped and fell into a certain pit, and because the pit's mouth was narrow, it was evident he would perish, being enclosed with snow; so when he saw no way to get out and save himself, he roared. When Benaiah heard the wild beast, he went towards him, and coming at the noise he made, he went down into the mouth of the pit, and smote him, as he struggled, with a stake that lay there, and immediately slew him. The other thirty-three were like these in valour also

CHAP. XIII.

That when David had numbered the People, they were punished; and how the Divine Compassion restrained that Punishment.

§ 1. Now king David was desirous to know how many ten thousands there were of the people, but forgot the commands of Moses,* who told them beforehand, that if the multitude were numbered, they should pay half a shekel to God for every head. Accordingly the king commanded Joab, the captain of his host, to go and number the whole multitude; but when he said there was no necessity for such a numeration, he was not persuaded [to countermand it,] but he enjoined

* The words of God by Moses, Exod. xxx. 12, sufficiently justify the reason here given by Josephus for the great plagues mentioned in this chapter. "When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, after their number, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them, that there be no plague amongst them when thou numberest them." Nor indeed could David's or the Sanhedrim's neglect of executing this law at this numeration excuse the people, who ought still to have brought their bounden oblation of half a shekel a piece with them, when they came to be numbered. The great reason why nations are so constantly punished by and with their wicked kings and governors is this, that they almost constantly comply with them in their neglect of or disobedience to the divine laws, and suffer those divine laws to go into disuse or contempt, in order to please those wicked kings and governors; and that they submit to several wicked political laws and commands of those kings and governors, instead of the righteous laws of God, which all mankind ought ever to obey, let their kings and governors say what they please to the contrary; this preference of human before Divine laws seeming to me the principal character of idolatrous or anti-christian nations. Accordingly, Josephus well observes, Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 17, that it was the duty of the people of Israel to take care that their kings, when they should have them, did not exceed their proper limits of power, as prove ungovernable by the laws of God, which would certainly be a most pernicious thing to their Divine settlement. Nor do I think that negligence peculiar to the Jews; those nations which are called Christians are sometimes indeed very solicitous to restrain their kings and governors from breaking the human laws of their several kingdoms, but without the like care for restraining them from breaking the laws of God. "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto men more than to God, judge ye," Acts, iv. 19. "We ought to obey God rather than men," ver. 29.

him to make no delay, but to go about the numbering of the Hebrews immediately. So Joab took with him the heads of the tribes, and the scribes, and went over the country of the Israelites, and took notice how numerous the multitude were, and returned to Jerusalem to the king, after nine months and twenty days; and he gave in to the king the number of the people, without the tribe of Benjamin, for he had not yet numbered that tribe, no more than the tribe of Levi; for the king repented of his having sinned against God. Now the number of the rest of the Israelites was nine hundred thousand men, who were able to bear arms and go to war; but the tribe of Judah, by itself, was four hundred thousand men.

2. Now when the prophets had signified to David that God was angry at him, he began to entreat him, and to desire he would be merciful to him, and forgive his sin. But God sent Nathan the prophet to him, to propose to him the election of three things, that he might choose which he liked best; "Whether he would have a famine come upon the country for seven years? or would have a war, and be subdued three months by his enemies? or whether God should send a pestilence and a distemper upon the Hebrews for three days?" But as he was fallen to a fatal choice of great miseries, he was in trouble, and sorely confounded; and when the prophet had said that he must of necessity make his choice, and had ordered him to answer quickly, that he might declare what he had chosen to God, the king reasoned with himself, that in case he should ask for famine, he would appear to do it for others, and without danger to himself, since he had a great deal of corn hoarded up, but to the harm of others; that in case he should choose to be overcome [by his enemies] for three months, he would appear to have chosen war, because he had valiant men about him, and strong holds, and that, therefore, he feared nothing therefrom: so he chose that affliction which is common to kings and to their subjects, and in which the fear was equal on all sides; and said this beforehand, that "it was much better to fall into the hands of God, than into those of his enemies."

3. When the prophet had heard this, he declared it to God; who thereupon sent a pestilence and a mortality upon the Hebrews; nor did they die after one and the same manner, nor so that it was easy to know what the distemper was. Now the miserable disease was one indeed, but it carried them off by ten thousand causes and occasions, which those that were afflicted could not understand; for one died upon the neck of another, and the terrible malady seized them before they were aware, and brought them to their end suddenly; some giving up the ghost immediately with very great pains and bitter grief, and some were worn away by their distempers, and had nothing remaining to be buried, but as soon as ever they fell, were entirely macerated; some were choked, and greatly lamented their case, as being also stricken with a sudden darkness; some there were, who, as they were burying a relation, fell down dead* without finishing the rites of the funeral. Now there perished of this disease, which began with the morning, and lasted till the hour of dinner, seventy thousand. Nay, the angel stretched out his hand over Jerusalem, as sending this terrible judgment upon it. But David had put on sackcloth, and lay upon the ground, entreating God, and begging that the distemper might now cease, and that he would be satisfied with those that had already perished. And when the king looked up into the air, and saw the angel carried along thereby unto Jerusalem, with his sword drawn, he said to God, that "he might justly be punished who was their shepherd, but that the sheep ought to be preserved, as not having sinned at all; and he implored God that he would send his wrath upon him, and upon all his family, but spare the people."

4. When God heard his supplication, he caused the pestilence to cease; and sent Gad the prophet to him, and commanded him to go up immediately to the

* Whence Josephus took these his distinct and melancholy accounts of the particular symptoms, and most miserable methods of dying in this terrible pestilence, we cannot now tell, our other copies affording us no such accounts.

threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and build an altar there to God, and offer sacrifices. When David heard that, he did not neglect his duty, but made haste to the place appointed. Now Araunah was threshing wheat; and when he saw the king and all his servants coming to him, he ran before, and came to him, and worshiped him. He was by his lineage a Jebusite, but a particular friend of David's; and for that cause it was, that when he overthrew the city, he did him no harm, as we informed the reader a little before. Now Araunah inquired, "Wherefore is my lord come to his servant?" He answered, "To buy of him the threshing-floor, that he might therein build an altar to God, and offer a sacrifice." He replied, that "he freely gave him both the threshing-floor, and the ploughs and the oxen, for a burnt-offering; and he besought God graciously to accept his sacrifice." But the king made answer, That he took his generosity and magnanimity kindly, and accepted his good will, but he desired him to take the price of them all, for that it was not just to offer a sacrifice that cost nothing. And when Araunah said, he would do as he pleased, he bought the threshing-floor of him for fifty shekels. And when he had built an altar, he performed divine service, and brought a burnt-offering, and offered peace offerings also. With these God was pacified and became gracious to them again. Now it happened that Abraham came and offered his son Isaac for a burnt-offering at that very place;* and when the youth was ready to have his throat cut, a ram appeared on a sudden, standing by the altar, which Abraham sacrificed instead of his son, as we have before related. Now when king David saw that God had heard his prayer, and had graciously accepted of his sacrifice, he resolved to call that entire place the altar of all the people, and to build a temple to God there. Which words he uttered very appositely to what was to be done afterwards; for God sent the prophet to him, and told him, that there should his son build him an altar, that son who was to take the kingdom after him.

CHAP. XIV.

That David made great Preparations for the House of God; and that, upon Adonijah's Attempt to gain the Kingdom, he appointed Solomon to reign.

§ 1. After the delivery of this prophecy, the king commanded the strangers to be numbered, and they were found to be one hundred and eighty thousand; of these he appointed fourscore thousand to be hewers of stone, and the rest of the multitude to carry the stones, and of them he set over the workmen three thousand and five hundred. He also prepared a great quantity of iron and brass for the work, with many, and those exceeding large cedar trees—the Tyrians and Sidonians sending them to him; for he had sent to them for a supply of those trees. And he told his friends, that these things were now prepared, that he might leave materials ready for the building of the temple to his son, who was to reign after him, and that he might not have them to seek then, when he was very young, and by reason of his age unskilful in such matters, but might have them lying by him, and so might the more readily complete the work.

2. So David called his son Solomon, and charged him, when he had received the kingdom, to build a temple to God; and said, "I was willing to build God a temple myself, but he prohibited me, because I was polluted with blood and wars; but he hath foretold, that Solomon my youngest son should build him a temple, and should be called by that name; over whom he hath promised to take the like care as a father takes over his son; and that he would make the country of the Hebrews happy under him; and that not only in other respects, but by

* What Josephus adds here is very remarkable, that this Mount Moriah was not only the very place where Abraham offered up Isaac long ago, but that God had foretold to David by a prophet, that here his son should build him a temple, which is not directly in any of our other copies, though very agreeable to what is in them, particularly in 1 Chron. xxi. 26, 28; and xxii. 1; to which places I refer the reader.

giving it peace, and freedom from wars, and from internal seditions; which are the greatest of all blessings. Since, therefore," says he, "thou wast ordained king by God himself before thou wast born, endeavour to render thyself worthy of this his providence, as in other instances, so particularly in being religious, and righteous, and courageous. Keep thou also his commands and his laws, which he hath given us by Moses, and do not permit others to break them. Be zealous also to dedicate to God a temple, which he hath chosen to be built under thy reign; nor be thou affrighted by the vastness of the work, nor set about it timorously, for I will make all things ready before I die. And take notice, that there are already ten thousand talents of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver,* collected together. I have also laid together brass and iron without number, and an immense quantity of timber and of stones. Moreover, thou hast many ten thousand stone cutters and carpenters; and if thou shalt want any thing farther, do thou add somewhat of thine own. Wherefore, if thou performest this work, thou wilt be acceptable to God, and have him for thy patron." David also farther exhorted the rulers of the people to assist his son in this building, and to attend to the divine service, when they should be free from all their misfortunes; for that they by this means should enjoy, instead of them, peace and a happy settlement; with which blessings God rewards such men as are religious and righteous. He also gave orders, that when the temple should be once built, they should put the ark therein, with the holy vessels; and he assured them, that they ought to have had a temple long ago, if their fathers had not been negligent of God's commands, who had given it in charge, that when they had got the possession of this land, they should build him a temple. Thus did David discourse to the governors, and to his son.

3. David was now in years, and his body by length of time was become cold and benumbed, insomuch that he could get no heat by covering himself with many clothes. And when the physicians came together, they agreed to this advice, that a beautiful virgin, chosen out of the whole country, should sleep by the king's side, and that this damsel would communicate heat to him, and be a remedy against his numbness. Now there was found in the city one woman of a superior beauty to all other women (her name was *Abishag*,) who sleeping with the king did no more than communicate warmth to him, for he was so old that he could not know her as a husband does his wife. But of this woman we shall speak more presently.

4. Now the fourth son of David's was a beautiful young man, and tall, born to him of Haggith his wife. He was named *Adonijah*, and was in his disposition like to Absalom; and exalted himself, as hoping to be king, and told his friends that he ought to take the government upon him. He also prepared many chariots, and horses, and fifty men to run before him. When his father saw this, he did not reprove him, nor restrain him from his purpose, nor did he go so far as to ask wherefore he did so? Now Adonijah had for his assistants, Joab, the captain of the army, and Abiathar, the high priest; and the only persons that opposed him were Zadok, the high priest, and the prophet Nathan, and Benaiah, who was captain of the guards, and Shimei, David's friend, with all the other most mighty men. Now Adonijah had prepared a supper out of the city, near the fountain that was in the king's paradise, and had invited all his brethren except Solomon, and had taken with him Joab, the captain of the army, and Abiathar, and the rulers of the tribe of Judah; but had invited to this feast neither Zadok the high priest, nor Nathan the prophet, nor Benaiah, the captain of the guards, nor any of those of the contrary party. This matter was told by Nathan the prophet to Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, that Adonijah was king, and that David knew nothing of it; and he advised her to save herself, and her son Solomon, and to go by herself to David, and say to him, That "he had indeed sworn

* Of the quantity of gold and silver expended in the building of Solomon's temple, and whence it arose see the Description of the Temple, chap. xiii.

that Solomon should reign after him, but that, in the meantime, Adonijah had already taken the kingdom." He said, that he, the prophet himself, would come after her, and when she had spoken thus to the king, would confirm what she had said. Accordingly Bathsheba agreed with Nathan, and went into the king, and worshiped him; and when she had desired leave to speak with him, she told him all things in the manner that Nathan had suggested to her; and related what a supper Adonijah had made, and who they were whom he had invited, Abiathar the high priest, and Joab the general, and David's sons, excepting Solomon and his intimate friends. She also said, That "all the people had their eyes upon him, to know whom he would choose for their king." She desired him also to consider, how, after his departure, Adonijah, if he were king, would slay her, and her son Solomon.

5. Now as Bathsheba was speaking, the keepers of the king's chambers told him, that Nathan desired to see him. And when the king had commanded that he should be admitted, he came in, and asked him, whether he had ordained Adonijah to be king, and delivered the government to him or not? for that he had made a splendid supper, and invited all his sons, except Solomon; as also that he had invited Joab, the captain of his host [and Abiathar the high priest,] who are feasting with applauses, and many joyful sounds of instruments, and wish that his kingdom may last for ever; but he hath not invited me, nor Zadok the high priest, nor Benajah the captain of the guards; and it is but fit that all should know whether this be done by thy approbation or not. When Nathan had said thus, the king commanded that they should call Bathsheba to him, for she had gone out of the room when the prophet came. And when Bathsheba was come, David said, "I swear by Almighty God, that thy son Solomon shall certainly be king, as I formerly swore, and that he shall sit upon my throne, and that this very day also." So Bathsheba worshiped him, and wished him a long life; and the king sent for Zadok the high priest, and Benaiah the captain of the guards; and when they were come, he ordered to take with them Nathan the prophet, and all the armed men about the palace, and to set his son Solomon upon the king's mule, and to carry him out of the city to the fountain called *Gihon*, and to anoint him there with the holy oil, and to make him king. This he charged Zadok the high priest, and Nathan the prophet to do; and commanded them to follow Solomon through the midst of the city, and to sound the trumpets, and wish aloud, That "Solomon the king may sit upon the royal throne for ever," that so all the people may know that he is ordained king by his father. He also gave Solomon a charge concerning his government, to rule the whole nation of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah religiously and righteously. And when Benaiah had prayed to God to be favourable to Solomon, without any delay they set Solomon upon the mule, and brought him out of the city to the fountain, and anointed him with the oil, and brought him into the city again, with acclamations and wishes that his kingdom might continue a long time; and when they had introduced him into the king's house, they set him upon the throne. Whereupon all the people betook themselves to make merry, and to celebrate a festival, dancing, and delighting themselves with musical pipes, till both the earth and the air echoed with the multitude of the instruments of music.

6. Now when Adonijah and his guests perceived this noise, they were in disorder; and Joab the captain of the host said, "He was not pleased with these echoes, and the sound of these trumpets." And when supper was set before them, nobody tasted of it, but they were all very thoughtful what should be the matter. Then Jonathan the son of Abiathar the high priest came running to them; and when Adonijah saw the young man gladly, and said to him that he was a good messenger, he declared to them the whole matter about Solomon, and the determination of king David; hereupon both Adonijah and all his guests rose hastily from the feast, and every one fled to their own homes. Adonijah also, as afraid of the king for what he had done, became a supplicant to God, and took

hold of the horns of the altar, which were prominent. It was also told Solomor that he had so done; and that he desired to receive assurances from him, that he would not remember the injury he had done, and not inflict any severe punishment for it. Solomon answered very mildly and prudently, that "he forgave him this his offence; but said withal, that if he were found out in any attempt for new innovations, that he would be the author of his own punishment." So he sent to him, and raised him up from the place of his supplication. And when he was come to the king, and had worshiped him, the king bid him go away to his own house and have no suspicion of any harm; and desired him to show himself a worthy man, as what would tend to his own advantage.

7. But David being desirous of ordaining his son king of all the people, called together their rulers to Jerusalem, with the priests and the Levites; and having first numbered the Levites, he found them to be thirty-eight thousand, from thirty years old to fifty; out of which he appointed twenty-three thousand to take care of the building of the temple, and out of the same, six thousand to be judges of the people and scribes, four thousand for porters to the house of God, and as many for singers, to sing to the instruments which David had prepared, as we have said already. He divided them also into courses; and when he had separated the priests from them, he found of these priests twenty-four courses, sixteen of the house of Eleazar, and eight of that of Ithamar; and he ordained, that one course should minister to God eight days, from Sabbath to Sabbath. And thus were the courses distributed by lot, in the presence of David, and Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, and of all the rulers; and that course which came up first was written down as the first, and accordingly the second, and so on to the twenty-fourth; and this partition hath remained to this day. He also made twenty-four parts of the tribe of Levi; and when they cast lots, they came up in the same manner for their courses of eight days. He also honoured the posterity of Moses, and made them the keepers of the treasures of God, and of the donations which the kings dedicated. He also ordained, that all the tribe of Levi, as well as the priests, should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.

8. After this he parted the entire army into twelve parts, with their leaders [and captains of hundreds,] and commanders. Now every part had twenty-four thousand, which were ordered to wait on Solomon, by thirty days at a time, from the first day to the last, with the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds. He also set rulers over every part, such as he knew to be good and righteous men. He set others also to take care of the treasures, and of the villages, and of the fields, and of the beasts, whose names I do not think it necessary to mention When David had ordered all these officers after the manner before mentioned, he called the rulers of the Hebrews, and their heads of tribes, and the officers over the several divisions, and those that were appointed over every work, and every possession; and standing upon a high pulpit, he said to the multitude as follows "My brethren, and my people, I would have you know, that I intended to build a house for God, and prepared a large quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, but God prohibited me by the prophet Nathan, because of the wars I had on your account, and because my right hand was polluted with the slaughter of our enemies; but he commanded that my son, who was to succeed me in the kingdom, should build a temple for him. Now therefore, since you know that of the twelve sons whom Jacob our forefather had, Judah was appointed to be king, and that I was preferred before my six brethren, and received the government from God, and that none of them were uneasy at it, so do I also desire that my sons be not seditious one against another, now Solomon has received the kingdom, but to bear him cheerfully for their lord, as knowing that God hath chosen him; for it is not a grievous thing to obey even a foreigner as a ruler, if it be God's will, but it is fit to rejoice when a brother hath obtained that dignity, since the rest partake of it with him. And I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled; and that this happiness which he hath promised to bestow upon king

Solomon, over all the country, may continue therein for all time to come. And these promises, O son, will be firm, and come to a happy end, if thou showest thyself to be a religious and a righteous man, and an observer of the laws of thy country; but if not, expect adversity upon thy disobedience to them."

9. Now when the king had said this, he left off, but gave the description and pattern of the building of the temple in the sight of them all to Solomon; of the foundations and of the chambers, inferior and superior, how many they were to be, and how large in height and in breadth: as also he determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels; moreover, he earnestly excited them with his words, to use the utmost alacrity about the work; he exhorted the rulers also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist him, both because of his youth, and because God had chosen him to take care of the building of the temple, and of the government of the kingdom. He also declared to them that the work would be easy, and not very laborious to them, because he had prepared for it many talents of gold, and more of silver, with timber, and a great many carpenters and stone cutters, and a large quantity of emeralds, and all sorts of precious stones; and he said, that even now he would give up the proper goods of his own dominion two hundred talents and three hundred other talents of pure gold, for the most holy place, and for the chariot of God, the cherubim, which are to stand over and cover the ark. Now, when David had done speaking, there appeared great alacrity among the rulers, and the priests, and the Levites, who now contributed and made great and splendid promises for a future contribution; for they undertook to bring of gold five thousand talents, and ten thousand drachms, and of silver ten thousand talents, and many ten thousand talents of iron; and if any one had a precious stone he brought it, and bequeathed it to be put among the treasures; of which Jachiel, one of the posterity of Moses, had the care.

10. Upon this occasion all the people rejoiced, as in particular did David, when he saw the zeal and forward ambition of the rulers, and the priests, and of all the rest; and he began to bless God, with a loud voice, calling him "the Father and Parent of the universe, and the Author of human and divine things, with which he had adorned Solomon, the patron and guardian of the Hebrew nation, and of its happiness, and of that kingdom which he hath given his son. Besides this, he prayed for happiness to all the people; and to Solomon his son a sound and righteous mind, and confirmed in all sorts of virtue;" and then he commanded the multitude to bless God. Upon which they all fell down upon the ground, and worshiped him. They also gave thanks to David, on account of all the blessings which they had received ever since he had taken the kingdom. On the next day he presented sacrifices to God, a thousand bullocks, and as many lambs, which they offered for burnt offerings. They also offered peace-offerings, and slew many ten thousand sacrifices; and the king feasted all day, together with all the people: and they anointed Solomon a second time with the oil, and appointed him to be king, and Zadock to be the high priest of the whole multitude. And when they had brought Solomon to the royal palace, and had set him upon his father's throne, they were obedient to him from that day.

CHAP. XV.

What Charge David gave to his Son Solomon, at the Approach of his Death; and how many Things he left him for the Building of the Temple.

§ 1 A little afterward David also fell into a distemper, by reason of his age; and perceiving that he was near to death, he called his son Solomon, and discoursed to him thus: "I am now, O my son, going to my grave and to my fathers, which is the common way which all men that now are, or shall be hereafter, must go; from which way it is no longer possible to return, and to know anything that is done in this world. On which account I exhort thee, while I am still

alive, though already very near to death, in the same manner as I have formerly said in my advice to thee, to be righteous towards thy subjects, and religious towards God, that hath given thee thy kingdom; to observe his commands, and his laws, which he hath sent us by Moses; and neither do thou out of favour nor flattery allow any lust or other passion to weigh with thee, to disregard them: for if thou transgressest his laws, thou wilt lose the favour of God, and thou wilt turn away his providence from thee in all things; but if thou behave thyself so as it behoves thee, and as I exhort thee, thou wilt preserve our kingdom to our family, and no other house will bear rule over the Hebrews, but we ourselves, for all ages. Be thou also mindful of the transgressions of Joab,* the captain of the host, who hath slain two generals out of envy, and those righteous and good men, Abner the son of Ner, and Amasa the son of Jether, whose death do thou avenge as shall seem good to thee, since Joab hath been too hard for me, and more potent than myself, and so hath escaped punishment hitherto. I also commit to thee the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, whom, in order to gratify me, thou shalt have in great honour, and take great care of; for we have not done good to him first, but we only repay that debt which we owe his father, for what he did to me in my flight. There is also Shimei, the son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, who, after he had cast many reproaches upon me, when, in my flight I was going to Mahanaim, met me at Jordan, and received assurances that he should then suffer nothing. Do thou now seek out for some just occasion, and punish him."

2. When David had given these admonitions to his son about public affairs, and about his friends, and about those whom he knew to deserve punishment, he died, having lived seventy years, and reigned seven years and six months in Hebron, over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem, over all the country. This man was of an excellent character, and was endowed with all the virtues that were desirable in a king, and in one that had the preservation of so many tribes committed to him; for he was a man of valour in a very extraordinary degree, and went readily and first of all into dangers, when he was to fight for his subjects, as exciting the soldiers to action by his own labours, and fighting for them, and not commanding them in a despotic way. He was also of very great abilities in understanding, and apprehension of present and future circumstances, when he was to manage any affairs. He was prudent and moderate, and kind to such as were under any calamities; he was righteous and humane, which are good qualities, peculiarly fit for kings; nor was he guilty of any offence in the exercise of so great an authority, but in the business of the wife of Uriah. He also left behind him greater wealth than any other king, either of the Hebrews or of other nations, ever did.

3. He was buried by his son Solomon in Jerusalem, with great magnificence, and with all the other funeral pomp which kings used to be buried with. Moreover, he had great and immense wealth buried with him, the vastness of which may be easily conjectured at by what I shall now say; for a thousand and three hundred years afterward, Hyrcanus the high priest, when he was besieged by Antiochus, that was called *the Pious*, the son of Demetrius, and was desirous of

* David is here greatly blamed by some for recommending Joab and Shimei to be punished by Solomon, if he could find a proper occasion, after he had borne with the first a long while, and seemed to have pardoned the other entirely, which Solomon executed accordingly; yet I cannot discern any fault either in David or Solomon in these cases. Joab's murder of Abner and Amasa were very barbarous, and could not properly be forgiven either by David or Solomon; for a dispensing power in kings for the crime of wilful murder is warranted by no law of God, nay, is directly against it every where; nor is it for certain, in the power of men to grant such a prerogative to any of their kings. Though Joab was so nearly related to David, and so potent in the army under a warlike administration, that David durst not himself put him to death, 2 Sam. iii. 39, and xix. 7. Shimei's *cursing the Lord's anointed*, and this without any just cause, was the highest act of treason against God and his anointed king, and justly deserved death: and though David could forgive treason against himself, yet had he done no more in the case of Shimei than promised him that he would not *then*, on the day of his return and reinauguration, himself put him to death, 2 Sam. xix. 22, and he swore to him no farther, v. 23, as the words are in Josephus, than that he would not *then* put him to death, which he performed; nor was Solomon under any obligation to spare such a traitor.

giving him money to get him to raise the siege, and draw off his army, and having no other method of compassing the money, opened one room of David's sepulchre, and took out three thousand talents, and gave part of that sum to Antiochus, and by this means caused the siege to be raised, as we have informed the reader elsewhere. Nay, after him, and that many years, Herod the king opened another room, and took away a great deal of money, and yet neither of them came at the coffins of the kings themselves, for their bodies were buried under the earth so artfully that they did not appear to even those that entered into their monuments. But so much shall suffice us to have said concerning these matters.

BOOK VIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THREE YEARS

FROM THE DEATH OF DAVID TO THE DEATH OF AHAB.

CHAP. I.

How Solomon, when he had received the Kingdom, took off his Enemies.

. We have already treated of David, and his virtue, and of the benefits he
s the author of to his countrymen; of his wars also, and battles which he ma-
ed with success, and then died an old man, in the foregoing book. And when
omon his son, who was but a youth in age, had taken the kingdom, and whom
vid had declared, while he was alive, the lord of that people according to God's
l; when he sat upon the throne the whole body of the people made joyful ac-
mations to him, as is usual at the beginning of a reign, and wished that all his
irs might come to a blessed conclusion; and that he might arrive at a great
, and at the most happy state of affairs possible.
. But Adonijah, who, while his father was living, attempted to gain posses-
i of the government, came to the king's mother Bathsheba, and saluted her
i great civility; and when she asked him, whether he came to her as desiring
assistance in any thing or not? and bid him tell her if that were the case,
that she would cheerfully afford it him; he began to say, that "she knew
self that the kingdom was his, both on account of his elder age, and of the
osition of the multitude, and that yet it was transferred to Solomon her son,
ording to the will of God. He also said, that he was contented to be a ser-
t under him, and was pleased with the present settlement; but he desired her
e a means of obtaining a favour from his brother to him, and to persuade him
estow on him in marriage Abishag, who had indeed slept by his father, but
ause his father was too old, he did not lie with her, and she was still a virgin."
Bathsheba promised him to afford him her assistance very earnestly, and to
g this marriage about, because the king would be willing to gratify him in
i a thing, and because she would press him to it very earnestly. Accordingly
vent away in hopes of succeeding in this match. So Solomon's mother went
iently to her son, to speak to him about what she had promised, upon Ado-
h's supplication to her. And when her son came forward to meet her, and
raced her, and when he had brought her into the house where his royal throne
set, he sat thereon, and bid them set another throne on the right hand for his mo-
. When Bathsheba was sat down, she said, "O my son, grant me one request
I desire of thee, and do not any thing to me that is disagreeable or ungrateful,
ch thou wilt do if thou deniest me." And when Solomon bid her to lay her
mands upon him, because it was agreeable to his duty to grant her every thing
should ask, and complained that she did not at first begin her discourse with a
expectation of obtaining what she desired, but had some suspicion of a de
, she entreated him to grant that his brother Adonijah might marry Abishag.
. But the king was greatly offended at these words, and sent away his mother,
said, "that Adonijah aimed at great things, and that he wondered that she
not desire him to yield up the kingdom to him, as to his elder brother, since
desired that he might marry Abishag; and that he had potent friends, Joab
captain of the host, and Abiathar the priest." So he called for Benaiah, the

captain of the guards, and ordered him to slay his brother Adonijah. He also called for Abiathar the priest and said to him, "I will not put thee to death, because of those other hardships which thou hast endured with my father, and because of the ark which thou hast borne along with him: but I inflict this following punishment upon thee, because thou wast among Adonijah's followers, and wast of his party; Do not thou continue here, nor come any more into my sight, but go to thine own town, and live on thy own fields, and there abide all thy life; for thou hast offended so greatly, that it is not just that thou shouldest retain thy dignity any longer." For the forementioned cause, therefore, it was that the house of Ithamar was deprived of the sacerdotal dignity, as God had foretold to Eli, the grandfather of Abiathar. So it was transferred to the family of Phineas, to Zadok. Now those that were of the family of Phineas, but lived privately during the time that the high priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar (of which family Eli was the first that received it,) were these that follow: Bukki the son of Abishua the high priest; his son was Joathom; Joathom's son was Meraioth; Meraioth's son was Arophæus; Arophæus's son was Ahitub; and Ahitub's son was Zadok, who was first made high priest in the reign of David.

4. Now when Joab the captain of the host heard of the slaughter of Adonijah, he was greatly afraid, for he was a greater friend to him than to Solomon: and suspecting, not without reason, that he was in danger, on account of his favour to Adonijah, he fled to the altar, and supposed he might procure safety thereby to himself, because of the king's piety towards God. But when some told the king what Joab's supposal was, he sent Benaiah, and commanded him to raise him up from the altar, and bring him to the judgment seat, in order to make his defence. However Joab said, he would not leave the altar, but would die there, rather than in another place. And when Benaiah had reported this answer to the king, Solomon commanded him to cut off his head there,* and let him take that as a punishment for those two captains of the host whom he had wickedly slain, and to bury his body, that his sins might never leave his family, but that himself and his father, by Joab's death, might be guiltless. And when Benaiah had done what he was commanded to do, he was himself appointed to be captain of the whole army. The king also made Zadok to be alone the high priest, in the room of Abiathar, whom he had removed.

5. But as to Shimei, Solomon commanded that he should build him a house, and stay at Jerusalem, and attend upon him, and should not have authority to go over the brook Cedron; and that if he disobeyed that command, death should be his punishment. He also threatened him so terribly, that he compelled him to take an oath that he would obey. Accordingly Shimei said, that "he had reason to thank Solomon for giving him such an injunction; and added on oath, that he would do as he bid him;" and leaving his own country, he made his abode in Jerusalem. But three years afterwards, when he heard that two of his servants were run away from him, and were in Gath, he went for his servants in haste; and when he was come back with them, the king perceived it, and was much displeased that he had contemned his commands, and what was more, had no regard to the oaths he had sworn to God; so he called him, and said to him, "Didst thou not swear never to leave me, nor to go out of this city to another; thou shalt not therefore escape punishment for thy perjury, but I will punish thee, thou wicked wretch, both for this crime, and for those wherein thou didst abuse my father when he was in his flight, that thou mayest know that wicked men gain nothing at last, although they be not punished immediately upon their unjust practices, but that in all the time wherein they think themselves secure, because they have yet suffered nothing, their punishment increases, and is heavier upon them, and

* This execution upon Joab, as a murderer, by slaying him, even when he had taken sanctuary at God's altar, is perfectly agreeable to the law of Moses, which enjoins, that "If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from mine altar that he die." Exod. xxi. 14.

t to a greater degree than if they had been punished immediately upon the mission of their crimes." So Benaiah, on the king's command, slew Shimei.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Wife of Solomon; concerning his Wisdom and Riches, and concerning what he obtained of Hiram for the Building of the Temple.

1. Solomon having already settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having ught his enemies to punishment, he married the daughter of Pharaoh king of ypt, and built the walls of Jerusalem,* much larger and stronger than those ich had been before, and thenceforward he managed public affairs very peace-y. Nor was his youth any hinderance in the exercise of justice, or in the ervation of the laws, or in the remembrance of what charges his father had en him at his death, but he discharged every duty with great accuracy that ght have been expected from such as are aged, and of the greatest prudence. now resolved to go to Hebron, and sacrifice to God upon the brazen altar that s built by Moses. Accordingly he offered there burnt offerings, in number a usand; and when he had done this, he thought he had paid great honour to d; for as he was asleep that very night, God appeared to him, and commanded to ask of him some gifts which he was ready to give him as a reward for his y. So Solomon asked of God what was most excellent, and of the greatest th in itself, what God would bestow with the greatest joy, and what was most fitable for man to receive; for he did not desire to have bestowed upon him er gold or silver or any other riches, as a man and a youth might naturally e done, for these are the things that generally are esteemed by most men, as e of the greatest worth and the best gifts of God; "but," said he, "give me, ord, a sound mind, and a good understanding, whereby I may speak and e the people according to truth and righteousness." With these petitions God well pleased; and promised to give him all those things that he had not men-ed, in his option, riches, glory, victory over his enemies: and, in the first e, understanding and wisdom, and this in such a degree as no other mortal , neither kings nor ordinary persons, ever had. He also promised to pre-e the kingdom to his posterity for a very long time, if he continued righteous, obedient to him, and imitated his father in those things wherein he excelled. en Solomon heard this from God, he presently leaped out of his bed; and n he had worshiped him he returned to Jerusalem; and after he had offered t sacrifices before the tabernacle, he feasted all his own family.

2. In these days a hard cause came before him in judgment, which it was very cult to find any end of; and I think it necessary to explain the fact, about h the contest was, that such as light upon my writings may know what a dif-t cause Solomon was to determine, and those that are concerned in such ers may take this sagacity of the king's for a pattern, that they may the more ly give sentence about such questions:—There were two women, who were ots in the course of their lives, that came to him; of whom she that seemed to njured began to speak first, and said, O king, I and this other woman dwell ther in one room; now it came to pass that we both bore a son at the same of the same day, and on the third day, this woman overlaid her son, and d it, and then took my son out of my bosom and removed him to herself, and was asleep she laid her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning, s desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the an's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and found it so to be.

*This *building the walls of Jerusalem*, soon after David's death, illustrates the conclusion of the 51st , where David prays, *build thou the walls of Jerusalem*, they being, it seems, unfinished or imper-that time; see chap. vi. sect. 1; and ch. vii. sect. 7. also 1 Kings, ix. 15.

Hence it was that I demanded my son, and when I could not obtain him, I have recourse, my lord, to thy assistance; for since we were alone, and there was nobody there that could convict her, she cares for nothing, but perseveres in the stout denial of the fact." When this woman had told this her story, the king asked the other woman what she had to say in contradiction to that story? But when she denied that she had done what was charged upon her, and said, that it was her child that was living, and that it was her antagonist's child that was dead; and when no one could devise what judgment could be given, and the whole court were blind in their understanding, and could not tell how to find out this riddle, the king alone invented the following way how to discover it; he bade them bring in both the dead child and the living child; and sent one of his guards, and commanded him to fetch a sword, and draw it, and to cut both the children into two pieces, that each of the women might have half the living, and half the dead child. Hereupon all the people privately laughed at the king, as no more than a youth. But in the mean time, she that was the real mother of the living child cried out, that he should not do so, but deliver that child to the other woman as her own, for she would be satisfied with the life of the child, and with the sight of it, although it were esteemed the other's child; but the other woman was ready to see the child divided, and was desirous moreover that the first woman should be tormented. When the king understood that both their words proceeded from the truth of their passions, he adjudged the child to her that cried out to save it, for that she was the real mother of it, and he condemned the other as a wicked woman, who had not only killed her own child, but was endeavouring to see her friend's child destroyed also. Now the multitude looked on this determination as a great sign and demonstration of the king's sagacity and wisdom; and after that day, attended to him as to one that had a Divine mind.

3. Now the captains of his armies, and officers appointed over the whole country, were these: over the lot of Ephraim was Ures; over the toparchy of Bethlehem was Dioclerus; Abinadab, who married Solomon's daughter, had the region of Dora, and the sea coast under him; the great plain was under Benaiah, the son of Achilus, he also governed all the country as far as Jordan; Gabarias ruled over Gilead and Gaulanitis, and had under him the sixty great and fenced cities [of Og;] Achinadab managed the affairs of all Galilee, as far as Sidon, and had himself also married a daughter of Solomon's, whose name was *Basime*; Banacates had the sea coast about Arce, as had Shaphot Mount Tabor and Carmel, and [the lower] Galilee, as far as the river Jordan; one man was appointed over all this country; Shimei was intrusted with the lot of Benjamin; and Gaberes had the country beyond Jordan, over whom there was again one governor appointed. Now the people of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, received a wonderful increase when they betook themselves to husbandry, and the cultivation of their grounds; for as they enjoyed peace, and were not distracted with wars and troubles, and having besides an unbounded fruition of the most desirable liberty, every one was busy in augmenting the product of their own lands, and making them worth more than they had formerly been.

4. The king had also other rulers, who were over the land of Syria, and of the Philistines, which reached from the river Euphrates to Egypt, and these collected his tributes of the nations. Now these contributed to the king's table, and to his supper every day,* thirty cori of fine flour, and sixty of meal; as also ten fat

* It may not be amiss to compare the daily furniture of king Solomon's table, here set down, and 1 Kings, iv. 22, 23, with the like daily furniture of Nehemiah the governor's table, after the Jews were come back from Babylon; and to remember withal, that Nehemiah was now building the walls of Jerusalem, and maintained more than usual, above one hundred and fifty considerable men every day and that because the nation was then very poor, at his own charges also, without laying any burden upon the people at all. "Now that which was prepared for me daily was an ox and six choice sheep; also fowls were prepared for me; and once in ten days store of all sorts of wine; and yet for all this, I required not the bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy upon this people," Neh. v. 18. See the whole context, ver. 14—19. Nor did the Governor's usual allowance of forty shekels of silver a day, ver. 15, amount to 5*l.* a day, nor to 1800*l.* a year. Nor does it indeed appear, that under the

ten, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred fat lambs; all these ere besides what were taken by hunting harts and buffaloes, and birds, and hes, which were brought to the king by foreigners day by day. Solomon had so so great a number of chariots that the stalls of his horses for those chariots ere forty thousand; and besides these, he had twelve thousand horsemen, the e half of which waited upon the king in Jerusalem, and the rest were dispersed road, and dwelt in the royal villages; but the same officer who provided for e king his expenses, supplied also the fodder for the horses, and still carried it the place where the king abode at that time.

5. Now the sagacity and wisdom which God had bestowed on Solomon was so eat that he exceeded the ancients, insomuch that he was no way inferior to the gyptians, who are said to have been beyond all men in understanding; nay, in- ed, it is evident that their sagacity was very much inferior to that of the king's. e also excelled and distinguished himself in wisdom above those who were most minent among the Hebrews at that time for shrewdness; those I mean were Ethan, d Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol. He also composed oks of odes, and songs, a thousand and five, of parables and similitudes, three ousand; for he spake a parable upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the dar; and in like manner also about beasts, about all sorts of living creatures, hether upon the earth, or in the seas, or in the air; for he was not unacquainted ith any of their natures, nor omitted inquiries about them, but described them l like a philosopher, and demonstrated his exquisite knowledge of their severa operties. God also enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons,* which a science useful and sanative to him. He composed such incantations also by nich distempers are alleviated. And he left behind him the manner of using orcisms, by which they drive away demons, so that they never return; and this ethod of cure is of great force unto this day: for I have seen a certain man of my n country, whose name was Eleazer, releasing people that were demoniacal, in e presence of Vespasian, and his sons, and his captains, and the whole multi- le of his soldiers. The manner of the cure was this: he put a ring that had a ot of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon, to the nostrils of the demoniac, er which he drew out the demon through his nostrils; and when the man fell wn immediately, he adjured him to return into him no more, making still men- n of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. And when eazer would persuade and demonstrate to the spectators that he had such a power, set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon, as went out of the man, to overturn it, and thereby to let the spectators know that had left the man; and when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon s showed very manifestly; for which reason it is that all men may know the tness of Solomon's abilities, and how he was beloved of God, and that the ex- ordinary virtues of every kind with which this king was endowed may not be known to any people under the sun; for this reason, I say, it is that we have ceeded to speak so largely of these matters.

6. Moreover, Hiram king of Tyre, when he had heard that Solomon succeeded his father's kingdom, was very glad of it, for he was a friend of David's. So he t ambassadors to him, and saluted him, and congratulated him on the present

ges or under Samuel the prophet, there was any such public allowance to those governors at all. Those t charges upon the public for maintaining courts came in with kings, as God foretold they would, 1 . viii. 11—18.

Some pretended fragments of these books of conjuration of Solomon are still extant in Fabricius' . Pseudepigr. Vet. Test. p. 1054, though I entirely differ from Josephus in this his supposal, that such ts and arts of Solomon were parts of that wisdom which was imparted to him by God in his younger ; they must rather have belonged to such profane but curious arts as we find mentioned, Acts, xix. 20, and had been derived from the idolatry and superstition of his heathen wives and concubines in old age, when he had forsaken God, and God had forsaken him, and given him up to demoniacal de ms. Nor does Josephus's strange account for the root *Baara*. (Of the War, B. viii. ch. vi. sect. 3.) to be other than that of its magical use in such conjurations. As for the following history, it con s what Christ says, Matt. xii. 27. "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast your "

happy state of his affairs Upon which Solomon sent him an epistle, the contents of which here follow:

SOLOMON TO KING HIRAM.

"* Know thou that my father would have built a temple to God, but was hindered by wars and continual expeditions, for he did not leave off to overthrow his enemies till he made them all subject to tribute. But I give thanks to God for the peace I at present enjoy, and on that account I am at leisure, and design to build a house to God, for God foretold to my father that such a house should be built by me; wherefore I desire thee to send some of thy subjects with mine to Mount Lebanon to cut down timber, for the Sidonians are more skilful than our people in cutting of wood. As for wages to the hewers of wood, I will pay whatsoever price thou shalt determine".

7. When Hiram had read this epistle, he was pleased with it; and wrote back this answer to Solomon:

HIRAM TO KING SOLOMON.

"It is fit to bless God, that he hath committed thy father's government to thee, who art a wise man, and endowed with all virtues. As for myself, I rejoice at the condition thou art in, and will be subservient to thee in all that thou sendest to me about; for when by my subjects I have cut down many and large trees of cedar, and cypress wood, I will send them to sea, and will order my subjects to make floats of them, and to sail to what places soever of thy country thou shalt desire, and leave them there, after which thy subjects may carry them to Jerusalem. But do thou take care to procure us corn for this timber, which we stand in need of, because we inhabit in an island."†

8. The copies of these epistles remain at this day, and are preserved not only in our books, but among the Tyrians also, insomuch that if any one would know the certainty about them, he may desire of the keepers of the public records of Tyre to show him them; and he will find what is there set down to agree with what we have said. I have said so much out of a desire that my readers may know that we speak nothing but the truth, and do not compose a history out of some plausible relations which deceive men and please them at the same time, nor at-

* These epistles of Solomon and Hiram are those in 1 Kings, v. 3—9; and as enlarged, in 2 Chron. ii. 3—16; but here given us by Josephus in his own words.

† What Josephus here puts into his copy of Hiram's epistle to Solomon, and repeats afterwards, chap. v. sect. 3; that Tyre was now an *island*, is not in any of the three other copies, viz. that of the Kings, Chronicles, or Eusebius; nor is it any other, I suppose, than his own conjectural paraphrase; for when I many years ago inquired into this matter, I found the state of this famous city, and of the island whereupon it stood, to have been very different at different times. The result of my inquiries in this matter, with the addition of some later improvements, stands thus: That the best testimonies hereto relating imply that Palæterus, or oldest Tyre, was no other than that most ancient smaller fort or city Tyre, situated on the continent, and mentioned in Josh. xix. 29, out of which the Canaanite or Phœnician inhabitants were driven into a large island that lay not far off in the sea by Joshua; that this island was then joined to the continent at the present remains of Palæterus by a neck of land over against Solomon's cisterns, still so called; and the city's fresh water probably was carried along in pipes by that neck of land, and that this island was therefore in strictness no other than a peninsula, having *villages in its fields*, Ezek. xxvi. 6, and a *wall* about it, Amos, i. 10; and the city was not of so great reputation as Sidon for some ages; that it was attacked both by sea and land by Salmanasser, as Josephus informs us, Antiq. B. ix. ch. xiv. sect. 2; and afterwards came to the metropolis of Phœnicia, and was afterwards taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, according to the numerous scripture prophecies thereto relating, Isa. xxii; Jer. xxv. 22; xxvii. 3; xlvii. 4; Ezek. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. That seventy years after that destruction by Nebuchadnezzar this city was in some measure revived and rebuilt, Isaiah, xxiii. 17, 18, but that, as the prophet Ezekiel had foretold, xxvi. 3, 4, 5, 14; xxvii, 34; the sea arose higher than before, till at last it overflowed not only the neck of land, but the main island or peninsula itself, and destroyed that old and famous city for ever; that, however, there still remained an adjoining smaller island, once connected to old Tyre itself by Hiram, which was afterward inhabited; to which Alexander the Great, with incredible pains, raised a new bank or causeway; and that it plainly appears, from Maundrell, a most authentic eye-witness, that the old large and famous city, on the original large island, is now laid so generally under water, that scarce more than forty acres of it, or rather of that adjoining small island, remain at this day; so that perhaps not above a hundredth part of the first island and city is now above water. This was foretold in the same prophecies of Ezekiel; and, according to them, as Mr. Maundrell distinctly observes, these poor remains of old Tyre are now "become like the top of a rock a place of the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea."

tempt to avoid examination, nor desire men to believe us immediately; nor are we at liberty to depart from speaking truth, which is the proper commendation of an historian, and yet be blameless. But we insist upon no admission of what we say, unless we be able to manifest its truth by demonstration and the strongest vouchers.

9. Now king Solomon, as soon as this epistle of the king of Tyre was brought him, commended the readiness and good will he declared therein, and repaid him in what he desired, and sent him yearly twenty thousand cori of wheat and as many baths of oil; now the bath is able to contain seventy-two sextaries. He also sent him the same measure of wine. So the friendship between Hiram and Solomon hereby increased more and more; and they swore to continue it for ever. And the king appointed a tribute to be laid on all the people, of thirty thousand labourers, whose work he rendered easy to them by prudently dividing it among them; for he made ten thousand cut timber in Mount Lebanon for one month, and then to come home, and rest two months, until the time when the other twenty thousand had finished their task at the appointed time; and so afterward it came to pass, that the first ten thousand returned to their work every fourth month; and it was Adoram who was over this tribute. There were also of the strangers who were left by David, who were to carry the stones and other materials, seventy thousand; and of those that cut the stones eighty thousand. Of these, three thousand and three hundred were rulers over the rest. He also enjoined them to cut out large stones for the foundations of the temple, and that they should fit them and unite them together in the mountain, and so bring them to the city. This was done not only by our own country workmen, but by those workmen whom Hiram sent also.

CHAP. III.

Of the Building of the Temple.

§ 1. SOLOMON began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, on the second month, which the Macedonians call *Artemisius*, and the Hebrews *Jur*, five hundred and ninety-two years after the Exodus out of Egypt, but after one thousand and twenty years from Abraham's coming out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, and after the deluge one thousand four hundred and forty years; and from Adam the first man who was created, until Solomon built the temple, there had passed in all three thousand one hundred and two years. Now that year on which the temple began to be built was already the eleventh year of the reign of Hiram; but from the building of Tyre, to the building of the temple, there had passed two hundred and forty years.

2. Now therefore the king laid the foundations of the temple* very deep in the ground, and the materials were strong stones, and such as would resist the force of time; these were to unite themselves with the earth, and become a basis and a sure foundation for that superstructure which was to be erected over it; they were to be so strong, in order to sustain with ease those vast superstructures and precious ornaments, whose own weight was to be not less than the weight of those other high and heavy buildings which the king designed to be very ornamental and magnificent; they erected its entire body, quite up to the roof, of white stone; its height was sixty cubits, and its length was the same, and its breadth twenty. There was another building erected over it, equal to it in its measures; so that the entire altitude of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits. Its front was to the east. As to the porch, they built it before the tem-

* Of the temple of Solomon, here described by Josephus in this and the following sections of the chapter, see my Description of the Temples belonging to this work, chap. xiii

ple; its length was twenty cubits, and it was so ordered that it might agree with the breadth of the house; and it had twelve cubits in latitude, and its height was raised as high as a hundred and twenty cubits. He also built round about the temple thirty small rooms, which might include the whole temple, by their closeness one to another, and by their number and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that they might come into one through another. Every one of these rooms* had five cubits in breadth, and the same in length but in height twenty. Above these were other rooms, and others above them, equal both in their measures and number; so that these reached to a height equal to the lower part of the house; for the upper part had no buildings about it. The roof that was over the house was of cedar; and truly every one of these rooms had a roof of their own, that was not connected with the other rooms; but for the other parts there was a covered roof common to them all, and built with very long beams that passed through the rest, and through the whole building, that so the middle walls, being strengthened by the same beams of timber, might be thereby made firmer; but as for that part of the roof that was under the beams, it was made of the same materials, and was all made smooth, and had ornaments proper for roofs, and plates of gold nailed upon them; and as he enclosed the walls with boards of cedar, so he fixed on them plates of gold which had sculptures upon them, so that the whole temple shined, and dazzled the eyes of such as entered by the splendour of the gold that was on every side of them. Now the whole structure of the temple was made with great skill of polished stones, and those laid together so very harmoniously and smoothly, that there appeared to the spectators no sign of any hammer or other instrument of architecture, but as if, without any use of them, the entire materials had naturally united themselves together, that the agreement of one part with another seemed rather to have been natural than to have arisen from the force of tools upon them. The king also had a fine contrivance for an ascent to the upper room over the temple, and that was by steps in the thickness of its wall; for it had no large door on the east end, as the lower house had, but the entrances were by the sides, through very small doors. He also overlaid the temple, both within and without, with boards of cedar, that were kept close together by thick chains, so that this contrivance was in the nature of a support and a strength to the building.

3. Now when the king had divided the temple into two parts, he made the inner house of twenty cubits [every way] to be the most secret chamber, but he appointed that of forty cubits to be the sanctuary; and when he had cut a door-place out of the wall, he put therein doors of cedar, and overlaid them with a great deal of gold that had sculptures upon it. He also had veils of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and the brightest and softest linen, with the most curious flowers wrought upon them, which were to be drawn before those doors. He also dedicated for the most secret place, whose breadth was twenty cubits, and length the same, two cherubims of solid gold;† the height of each of them was five cubits; they had each of them two wings stretched out as far as five cubits; wherefore Solomon set them up not far from each other, that with one wing they might touch the southern wall of the secret place, and with another the northern; their other wings, which joined to each other, were a covering to the ark, which was set between them. But nobody can tell, or even conjecture, what was the shape of these cherubims. He also laid the floor of the temple with plates of gold; and he added doors to the gate of the temple, agreeable to the measure of the

* These small rooms or side chambers, seem to have been by Josephus's description, no less than twenty cubits high apiece, otherwise there must have been a large interval between one and the other that was over it, and this with double floors, the one of six cubits distance from the floor beneath it, as 1 Kings, vi. 5.

† Josephus says here, that the cherubims were of solid gold, and only five cubits high, while our Hebrew copies, 1 Kings, vi. 23. 28, say they were of the olive tree, and the LXXII of the cypress tree, and only overlaid with gold; and both agree they were ten cubits high. I suppose the number is here falsely transcribed, and that Josephus wrote ten cubits also

eight of the wall, but in breadth twenty cubits, and on them he glued gold plates. nd, to say all in one word, he left no part of the temple, neither internal nor ex rnal, but what was covered with gold. He also had curtains drawn over these oors, in like manner as they are drawn over the inner doors of the most holy lace; but the porch of the temple had nothing of that sort.

4. Now Solomon sent for an artificer out of Tyre, whose name was *Hiram*. e was by birth of the tribe of Naphtali, on the mother's side (for she was of at tribe,) but his father was Ur, of the stock of the Israelites. This man was ilful in all sorts of work; but his chief skill lay in working in gold, and silver, id brass, by whom were made all the mechanical works about the temple, ac rding to the will of Solomon. Moreover this Hiram made two [hollow] pil- rs,* whose outsides were of brass, and the thickness of the brass was four igers breadth, and the height of the pillars was eighteen cubits, and their cir- mference twelve cubits; but there was cast, with each of their chapiters, lily rk that stood upon the pillar, and it was elevated five cubits, round about which ere was net-work interwoven with small palms made of brass, and covered the y-work. To this also were hung two hundred pomegranates in two rows. he one of these pillars he set at the entrance of the porch on the right hand. d called it *Jachin*, and the other at the left hand, and called it *Boaz*.

5. Solomon also cast a brazen sea, whose figure was that of a hemisphere, s brazen vessel was called a sea for its largeness, for the laver was ten feet in meter, and cast of the thickness of a palm. Its middle part rested on a short lar that had ten spirals round it; and that pillar was ten cubits in diameter ere stood round about it twelve oxen, that looked to the four winds of heaven, e to each wind, having their hinder parts depressed, that so the hemispherical sel might rest upon them, which itself was also depressed round about in rdly. Now this sea contained three thousand baths.

6. He also made ten brazen bases for so many quadrangular lavers; the length every one of these bases was five cubits, and the breadth four cubits, and the ght six cubits. This vessel was partly turned, and was thus contrived: there e four small quadrangular pillars that stood one at each corner; these had sides of the base fitted to them on each quarter; they were parted into three s; every interval had a border fitted to support [the laver]; upon which was raven, in one place a lion, and in another place a bull and an eagle. The ll pillars had the same animals engraven that were engraven on the sides. whole work was elevated, and stood upon four wheels, which were also cast. h had also naves and felloes, and were a foot and a half in diameter. Any who saw the spokes of the wheels, how exactly they were turned, and united e sides of the bases, and with what harmony they agreed to the felloes, would der at them. However, their structure was this: certain shoulders of hands, ched out, held the corners above, upon which rested a short spiral pillar, that nder the hollow part of the laver, resting upon the fore-feet of the eagle and ion, which were adapted to them, insomuch that those who viewed them would : they were of one piece; between these were engravings of palm-trees, was the construction of the ten bases. He also made ten large round brass ls, which were the lavers themselves, each of which contained forty baths;† had its height four cubits, and its edges were as much distant from each

s for these two famous pillars Jachin and Boaz, their height could be no more than eighteen cubits, , and 1 Kings, vii. 15: 2 Kings xxv. 17; Jer. lii. 21; those thirty-five cubits in 2 Chron. iii. 15, ontrary to all the rules of architecture in the world.

e round or cylindrical lavers of four cubits in diameter, and four in height, both in our copies, 1 vii. 38, 39, and here in Josephus, must have contained a great deal more than the forty baths, are always assigned them. Where the error lies is hard to say. Perhaps Josephus honestly fol- is copies here, though they had been corrupted, and he was not able to restore the true read- the mean time, these forty baths are probably the true quantity contained in each laver, since nt upon wheels, and were to be drawn by the Levites about the courts of the priests for the wash- y were designed for; and had they held much more, they would have been too [illegible] to have drawn.

other. He also placed these layers upon the ten bases that were called *noth;* and he set five of the lavers on the left* side of the temple, which was side towards the north wind, and as many on the right side towards the south looking towards the east. The same [eastern] way he also set the sea. he appointed the sea to be for washing the hands and the feet of the priests they entered into the temple, and were to ascend the altar, but the lavers cleanse the entrails of the beasts that were to be burnt-offerings, with the also.

7. He also made a brazen altar, whose length was twenty cubits, and its breadth the same, and its height ten, for the burnt-offerings. He also made all its vessels of brass, the pots, and the shovels, and the basins, and besides these, the censers and the tongs, and all its other vessels he made of brass, and such as was in splendour and beauty like gold. The king also dedicated a great number of tables, but one that was large, and made of gold, upon which they set the loaves of God; and he made ten thousand more that resembled them, but were done after another manner, upon which lay the vials and the cups; those of gold were twenty thousand, those of silver were forty thousand. He also made ten thousand candlesticks, according to the command of Moses, one of which he dedicated for the temple, that it might burn in the daytime, according to the law; and one table with loaves upon it, on the north side of the temple, over against the candlestick; for this he set on the south side, but the golden altar stood between them. All these vessels were contained in that part of the holy house which was forty cubits long, and were before the vail of that most secret place wherein the ark was to be set.

8. The king also made pouring vessels, in number eighty thousand, and a hundred thousand golden vials, and twice as many silver vials. Of golden dishes, in order therein to offer kneaded fine flour at the altar, there were eighty thousand, and twice as many of silver. Of large basins also, wherein they mixed fine flour with oil, sixty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures like those which Moses called the *Hin*, and the *Assaron* [a tenth deal,] there were twenty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. The golden censers, in which they carried the incense to the altar, were twenty thousand. The other censers, in which they carried fire from the great altar to the little altar, within the temple, were fifty thousand. The sacerdotal garments, which belonged to the high-priest, with the long robes, and the oracle, and the precious stones, were a thousand. But the crown,† upon which Moses wrote [the name of] God, was only one, and hath remained to this very day. He also made ten thousand sacerdotal garments of fine linen, with purple girdles, for every priest; and two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the command of Moses. Also two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the singers, that were Levites. And he made musical instruments, and such as were invented for singing of hymns, called *Nablæ* and *Cinyræ* [psalteries and harps,] which were made of electrum [the finest brass,] forty thousand.

9. Solomon made all these things for the honour of God, with great variety and magnificence, sparing no cost, but using all possible liberality in adorning the temple: and these things he dedicated to the treasures of God. He also placed a partition round about the temple, which in our tongue we called *Gison*, but it is called *Thrigeos* by the Greeks, and he raised it up to the height of three cubits, and it was for the exclusion of the multitude from coming into the temple, as showing that it was a place that was free and open only for the priests. He also

* Here Josephus gives us a key to his own language, of right and left hand, in the tabernacle and temple, that by the right hand he means what is against our left, when we suppose ourselves going up the east gates of the courts towards the tabernacle or temple themselves, and so *vice versa;* which follows, that the pillar Jachin, on the right hand of the temple, was on the south, against our left hand, and Boaz on the north, against our right hand.

† Of the *golden plate* on the high-priest's forehead, that was in being in the days of Josephus, a century or two at least later, see the note on Antiq. b. iii. chap. vii. sect. 6.

built beyond this court a temple, whose figure was that of a quadrangle, and erected for it great and broad cloisters; this was entered into by very high gates, each of which had its front exposed to one of the [four] winds, and were shut by golden doors. Into this temple all the people entered that were distinguished from the rest by being pure, and observant of the laws. But he made that temple, which was beyond this, a wonderful one indeed, and such as exceeds all description in words; nay, if I may so say, is hardly believed upon sight; for when he had filled up great valleys with earth, which on account of their immense depth, could not be looked on, when you bended down to see them, without pain, and had elevated the ground four hundred cubits, he made it to be on a level with the top of the mountain on which the temple was built, and by this means the outmost temple, which was exposed to the air, was even with the temple itself.* He encompassed this also with a building of a double row of cloisters, which stood on high upon pillars of native stone, while the roofs were of cedar, and were polished in a manner proper for such high roofs, but he made all the doors of this temple of silver.

CHAP. IV.

How Solomon removed the Ark into the Temple; how he made Supplication to God, and offered public Sacrifices to him.

§ 1. When king Solomon had finished these works, these large and beautiful buildings, and had laid up his donations in the temple, and all this in the interval of seven years,† and had given a demonstration of his riches and alacrity therein, insomuch that any one who saw it would have thought it must have been an immense time ere it could have been finished; and [would be surprised] that so much should be finished in so short a time; short, I mean, if compared with the greatness of the work: he also wrote to the rulers and elders of the Hebrews, and ordered all the people to gather themselves together to Jerusalem, both to see the temple which he had built, and to remove the ark of God into it; and when this invitation of the whole body of the people to come to Jerusalem was every where carried abroad, it was the seventh month before they came together, which month is by our countrymen called *Thisri*, but by the Macedonians *Hyperberetæus*. The feast of tabernacles happened to fall at the same time, which was celebrated by the Hebrews as a most holy and most eminent feast. So they carried the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, and all the vessels that were for ministration to the sacrifices of God, and removed them to the temple.‡ The king himself, and all the people and the Levites went before, rendering the ground moist with sacrifices and drink-offerings, and the blood of a great number of oblations, and burning an immense quantity of incense, and this till the very air itself every where round about was so full of these odours, that it met, in a most agreeable manner, persons at a great distance, and was an indication of God's presence, and as men's opinions were, of his habitation with them in this

* When Josephus here says, that the floor of the outmost temple, or court of the Gentiles, was with vast labour raised to be *even*, or of *equal height*, with the floor of the inner, or court of the priests, he must mean this in a gross estimation only, for he and all others agree, that the inner temple, or court of the priests, was a few cubits more elevated than the middle court, the court of Israel, and that much more was the court of the priests elevated several cubits above that outmost court, since the court of Israel was lower than the one, and higher than the other.

† The Septuagint say, "that they prepared timber and stones to build the temple for three years," 1 Kings, v. 18; and although neither our present Hebrew copy nor Josephus directly name that number of years, yet do they both say the building itself did not begin till Solomon's *fourth* year; and both speak of the preparation of materials beforehand, 1 Kings, v. 18; Antiq. B. viii. ch. v. sect. 1. There is no reason therefore to alter the Septuagint's number, but we are to suppose three years to have been the just time of the preparation, as I have done in my computation of the expense in building that temple.

‡ This solemn removal of the ark from Mount Sion to Mount Moriah, at the distance of almost three quarters of a mile, confutes that notion, of the modern Jews, and followed by many Christians also, as if these two were after a sort one and the same mountain; for which there is, I think, very little foundation,

newly built and consecrated place, for they did not grow weary, either of sing ing hymns or of dancing, until they came to the temple; and in this manner, did they carry the ark. But when they should transfer it into the most secret place, the rest of the multitude went away, and only those priests that carried it set it between the two cherubims, which embracing it with their wings (for so were they framed by the artificer,) they covered it as under a tent or a cupola. Now the ark contained nothing else but those two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments, which God spake to Moses in Mount Sinai, and which were engraved upon them; but they set the candlestick, and the table, and the golden altar, in the temple, before the most sacred place, in the very same places wherein they stood till that time in the tabernacle. So they offered up the daily sacrifices; but for the brazen altar, Solomon set it before the temple, over against the door, that when the door was opened, it might be exposed to sight, and the sacred solemnities, and the richness of the sacrifices, might be thence seen; and all the rest of the vessels they gathered together, and put them within the temple.

2. Now as soon as the priests had put all things in order about the ark, and were gone out, there came down a thick cloud and stood there, and spread itself after a gentle manner into the temple, such a cloud it was as was diffused and temperate, not such a rough one as we see full of rain in the winter season. This cloud so darkened the place, that one priest could not discern another, but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image, and glorious appearance of God's having descended into this temple, and of his having gladly pitched his tabernacle therein. So these men were intent upon this thought. But Solomon rose up (for he was sitting before,) and used such words to God as he thought agreeable to the divine nature to receive, and fit for him to give; for he said, "Thou hast an eternal house, O Lord, and such a one as thou hast created for thyself out of thine own works; we know it to be the heaven, and the air, and the earth, and the sea, which thou pervadest, nor art thou contained within their limits. I have, indeed, built this temple to thee, and thy name, that from thence when we sacrifice, and perform sacred operations, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present, and art not remote from what is thine own; for neither when thou seest all things, and hearest all things, nor now, when it pleases thee to dwell here, dost thou leave off the care of all men, but rather thou art very near to them all, but especially thou art present to those that address themselves to thee, whether by night or by day." When he had thus solemnly addressed himself to God, he converted his discourse to the multitude, and strongly represented the power and providence of God to them; how he had showed all things that were to come to pass to David his father, as many of those things had already come to pass, and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter; and how he had given him his name, and told to David what he should be called before he was born; and foretold, that when he should be king, after his father's death, he should build him a temple, which since they saw accomplished according to his prediction, he required them to bless God, and by believing him, from the sight of what they had seen accomplished, never to despair of any thing that he had promised for the future, in order to their happiness, or suspect that it would not come to pass.

3. When the king had thus discoursed to the multitude, he looked again towards the temple, and lifting up his right hand to the multitude, he said, "It is not possible, by what men can do, to return sufficient thanks to God for his benefits bestowed upon them; for the Deity stands in need of nothing, and is above any such requital; but so far as we have been made superior, O Lord, to other animals by thee, it becomes us to bless thy majesty, and it is necessary for us to return thee thanks for what thou hast bestowed upon our house, and on the Hebrew people: for with what other instrument can we better appease thee, when thou art angry at us, or more properly preserve thy favour, than with our voice? which, as we have it from the air, so do we know that by that air it ascends up

wards [towards thee.] I therefore ought myself to return thee thanks thereby in the first place, concerning my father, whom thou hast raised from obscurity unto so great joy; and in the next place, concerning myself, since thou hast performed all that thou hast promised unto this very day. And I beseech thee for the time to come to afford us whatsoever thou, O God, hast power to bestow on such as thou dost esteem: and to augment our house for all ages, as thou hast promised to David my father to do, both in his lifetime and at his death, that our kingdom shall continue, and that his posterity should successively receive it to ten thousand generations. Do not thou, therefore, fail to give us these blessings, and to bestow on my children that virtue in which thou delightest. And besides all this, I humbly beseech thee, that thou wilt let some portion of thy spirit come down and inhabit in this temple, that thou mayest appear to be with us upon earth. As to thyself, the entire heavens, and the immensity of the things that are therein, are but a small habitation for thee, much more is this poor temple so; but I entreat thee to keep it as thine own house, from being destroyed by our enemies for ever, and to take care of it as thine own possession; but if this people be found to have sinned, and be thereupon afflicted by thee with any plague, because of their sin—as with dearth, or pestilence, or any other affliction which thou usest to inflict on those that transgress any of thy holy laws, and if they fly all of them to this temple, beseeching thee, and begging of thee to deliver them, then do thou hear their prayers, as being within thine house, and have mercy upon them, and deliver them from their afflictions; nay, moreover, this help is what I implore of thee, not for the Hebrews only, when they are in distress, but when any shall come hither from any ends of the world whatsoever, and shall return from their sins and implore thy pardon, do thou then pardon them, and hear their prayer. For hereby all shall learn that thou thyself was pleased with the building of this house for thee: and that we are not ourselves of an unsociable nature, nor behave ourselves like enemies to such as are not of our own people; but are willing that thy assistance should be communicated by thee to all men in common, and that they may have the enjoyment of thy benefits bestowed upon them."

4. When Solomon had said this, and had cast himself upon the ground, and worshiped a long time, he rose up, and brought sacrifices to the altar; and when he had filled it with unblemished victims, he most evidently discovered that God had with pleasure accepted of all that he had sacrificed to him, for there came a fire running out of the air, and rushed with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all, and caught hold of and consumed the sacrifices. Now, when this divine appearance was seen, the people supposed it to be a demonstration of God's abode in the temple, and were pleased with it, and fell down upon the ground, and worshiped. Upon which the king began to bless God, and exhorted the multitude to do the same, as now having sufficient indications of God's favourable disposition to them; and to pray that they might always have the like indications from him, and that he would preserve in them a mind pure from all wickedness, in righteousness and religious worship, and that they might continue in the observation of those precepts which God had given them by Moses, because by that means the Hebrew nation would be happy, and indeed the most blessed of all nations among all mankind. He exhorted them also to be mindful, that by what methods they had attained their present good things, by the same they must preserve them sure to themselves, and make them greater, and more than they were at present; for that it was not sufficient for them to suppose they had received them on account of their piety and righteousness, but that they had no other way of preserving them for the time to come; for that it is not so great a thing for men to acquire somewhat which they want, as to preserve what they have acquired, and to be guilty of no sin, whereby it may be hurt.

5. So when the king had spoken thus to the multitude, he dissolved the congregation, but not till he had completed his oblations, both for himself and for the

Hebrews, insomuch that he sacrificed twenty and two thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep: for then it was that the temple did first of all taste of the victims, and all the Hebrews, with their wives and children, feasted therein. Nay, besides this, the king then observed splendidly and magnificently the feast which is called the *Feast of Tabernacles*, before the temple, for twice seven days; and he then feasted, together with all the people.

6. When all these solemnities were abundantly satisfied, and nothing was omitted that concerned the divine worship, the king dismissed them; and they every one went to their own homes, giving thanks to the king for the care he had taken of them, and the works he had done for them; and praying to God to preserve Solomon to be their king for a long time. They also took their journey home with rejoicing, and making merry, and singing hymns to God: and, indeed, the pleasure they enjoyed took away the sense of the pains they all underwent in their journey home. So when they had brought the ark into the temple, and had seen its greatness, and how fine it was, and had been partakers of the many sacrifices that had been offered, and of the festivals that had been solemnized, they every one returned to their own cities. But a dream that appeared to the king in his sleep informed him, That God had heard his prayers: and that he would not only preserve the temple, but would always abide in it, in case his posterity and the whole multitude would be righteous. And for himself, it said, that if he continued according to the admonitions of his father, he would advance him to immense degrees of dignity and happiness, and that then his posterity should be kings of that country of the tribe of Judah, for ever; but that still, if he should be found a betrayer of the ordinances of the law, and forget them, and turn away to the worship of strange gods, he would cut him off by the roots, and would neither suffer any remainder of his family to continue, nor would overlook the people of Israel, or preserve them any longer from afflictions, but would utterly destroy them with ten thousand wars and misfortunes; would cast them out of the land which he had given their fathers, and make them sojourners in strange lands; and deliver that temple which was now built to be burnt and spoiled by their enemies; and that city to be utterly overthrown by the hands of their enemies; and make their miseries deserve to be a proverb, and such as should very hardly be credited for their stupendous magnitude, till their neighbours, when they should hear of them, should wonder at their calamities, and very earnestly inquire for the occasion, why the Hebrews, who had been so far advanced by God to such glory and wealth, should be then so hated by him? And that the answer that should be made by the remainder of the people should be, by confessing their sins, and their transgression of the laws of their country." Accordingly we have it transmitted to us in writing, that thus did God speak to Solomon in his sleep.

CHAP. V.

How Solomon built himself a royal Palace, very costly and splendid: and how he solved the Riddles which were sent him by Hiram. 1

§ 1. AFTER the building of the temple, which, as we have before said, was finished in seven years, the king laid the foundation of his palace, which he did not finish under thirteen years, for he was not equally zealous in the building of this palace as he had been about the temple; for as to that, though it was a great work, and required wonderful and surprising application, yet God for whom it was made, so far cooperated therewith, that it was finished in the forementioned number of years; but the palace, which was a building much inferior in dignity to the temple, both on account that its materials had not been so long beforehand gotten ready, nor had been so zealously prepared, and on account that thus was

a habitation for kings, and not for God, it was longer in finishing. However, building was raised so magnificently, as suited the happy state of the Hews, and of the king thereof. But it is necessary that I describe the entire cture and disposition of the parts, that so those that light upon this book may eby make a conjecture, and as it were have a prospect of its magnitude.

This house was a large and curious building, and was supported by many rs, which Solomon built to contain a multitude for hearing causes, and taking nizance of suits. It was sufficiently capacious to contain a great body of , who would come together to have their causes determined. It was a hun- cubits long, and fifty broad, and thirty high, supported by quadrangular pil- which were all of cedar, but its roof was according to the Corinthian order,* folding doors, and their adjoining pillars of equal mrgnitude, each fluted three cavities; which building was at once firm and very ornamental. re was also another house, so ordered, that its entire breadth was placed in niddle; it was quadrangular, and its breadth was thirty cubits, having a le over against it, raised upon massy pillars; in which temple there was a and very glorious room, wherein the king sat in judgment. To this was d another house that was built for his queen. There were other smaller es for diet, and for sleep, after public matters were over; and these were ored with boards of cedar. Some of these Solomon built with stones of ubits, and wainscoted the walls with other stones that were sawed, and were eat value, such as are dug out of the earth for the ornaments of temples, o make fine prospects in royal palaces, and which make the mines whence are dug famous. Now the contexture of the curious workmanship of stones was in three rows, but the fourth row would make one admire its ures, whereby were represented trees, and all sorts of plants, with the s that arose from their branches, and leaves that hung down from them. trees and plants covered the stone that was beneath them, and their leaves wrought so prodigious thin and subtile, that you would think they were in a. But the other part up to the roof was plastered over, and, as it were, idered with colours and pictures. He moreover built other edifices for re; as also very long cloisters, and those situate in an agreeable place of lace; and among them a most glorious dining room, for feasting and com- ns, and full of gold, and such other furniture as so fine a room ought to or the conveniency of the guests, and where all the vessels were made of Now it is very hard to reckon up the magnitude, and the variety of the partments; how many rooms there were of the largest sort; how many gness inferior to those; and how many that were subterraneous and invisi- he curiosity of those that enjoyed the fresh air; and the groves for the elightful prospect, for the avoiding the heat, and covering of their bodies. say all in brief, Solomon made the whole building entirely of white stone, dar wood, and gold, and silver. He also adorned the roofs and walls with set in gold, and beautified them thereby in the same manner as he had ed the temple of God with the like stones. He also made himself a of prodigious bigness, of ivory, constructed as a seat of justice, and having s to it; on every one of which stood, on each end of the step, two lions, er lions standing above also; but at the sitting place of the throne, hands

mention of the Corinthian ornaments of architecture in Solomon's palace by Josephus, seems s set down by way of prolepsis; for although it appears to me that the Grecian and Roman ent orders of architecture were taken from Solomon's temple, as from their original patterns, t so clear that the last and most ornamental order of the Corinthian was so ancient, although same Josephus says, Of the War, B. v. ch. v. sect. 3, that one of the gates of Herod's tem- uilt according to the rules of this Corinthian order, is no way improbable, that order being, ispute, much older than the reign of Herod. However, upon some trial, I confess I have not sonable fully to understand the structure of this palace of Solomon's, either as described m s, or even with the additional help of this description here by Josephus; only the reader may rve with me, that the measures of this first building in Josephus, one hundred cubits long, an s broad, are the very same with the area of the court of the tabernacle of Moses, and just half an arours or acre.

came out and received the king: and when he sat backward, he rested on half a bullock, that looked towards his back, but still all was fastened together with gold.

3. When Solomon had completed all this in twenty years time, because Hiram king of Tyre had contributed a great deal of gold, and more silver to these buildings, as also cedar wood and pine wood, he also rewarded Hiram with rich presents; corn he sent him also year by year, and wine and oil, which were the principal things that he stood in need of, because he inhabited an island, as we have already said. And besides these, he granted him certain cities of Galilee, twenty in number, that lay not far from Tyre; which, when Hiram went to, and viewed, and did not like the gift, he sent word to Solomon, that he did not want such cities as they were; and after that time those cities were called the land of *Cabul*, which name, if it be interpreted according to the language of the Phœnicians, denotes, *what does not please*. Moreover, the king of Tyre sent sophisms and enigmatical sayings to Solomon, and desired he would solve them, and free them from the ambiguity that was in them. Now so sagacious an understanding was Solomon, that none of these problems were too hard for him, but he conquered them all, by his reasonings, and discovered their hidden meaning, and brought it to light. Menander also, one who translated the Tyrian archives out of the dialect of the Phœnicians, into the Greek language, makes mention of these two kings, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram received the kingdom from him; who, when he had lived fifty-three years, reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank in the large place, and dedicated the golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple. He also went and cut down materials of timber out of the mountain called *Libanus*, for the roof of temples; and when he had pulled down the ancient temple, he both built the temple of Hercules and that of Astarte; and he first set up the temple of Hercules in the month Peritius; he also made an expedition against the Euchii [or Titii,] who did not pay their tribute, and when he had subdued them to himself he returned. Under this king there was Abdemon, a very youth in age, who always conquered the difficult problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem commanded him to explain." Dius also makes mention of him, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram reigned. He raised the eastern parts of the city higher, and made the city itself larger. He also joined the temple of Jupiter, which before stood by itself, to the city, by raising a bank in the middle between them, and he adorned it with donations of gold. Moreover, he went up to Mount Libanus, and cut down materials of wood for the building of the temples." He says also, that "Solomon, who was then king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and desired to receive the like from him? but that he who could not solve them should pay money to him that did solve them, and that Hiram accepted the conditions; when he was not able to solve the riddles [proposed by Solomon,] he paid a great deal of money for his fine; but that he afterward did solve the proposed riddles by the means of Abdemon, a man of Tyre; and that Hiram proposed other riddles, which, when Solomon could not solve, he paid back a great deal of money to Hiram." This it is which Dius wrote.

CHAP. VI.

How Solomon fortified the City Jerusalem, and built great Cities; and how he brought some of the Canaanites into Subjection, and entertained the Queen of Egypt and of Ethiopia.

§ 1. Now when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of being better secured, and made stronger (for he thought the walls that encompassed Jerusalem ought to correspond to the dignity of the city,) he both repaired them,

and made them higher, with great towers upon them; he also built cities which might be counted among the strongest, Hazor and Megiddo, and the third Gezer, which had indeed belonged to the Philistines; but Pharaoh the king of Egypt had made an expedition against it, and besieged it, and taken it by force; and when he had slain all its inhabitants, he utterly overthrew it, and gave it as a present to his daughter, who had been married to Solomon: For which reason the king rebuilt it, as a city that was naturally strong, and might be useful in wars, and the mutations of affairs that sometimes happen. Moreover, he built two other cities not far from it, Bethoren was the name of one of them, and Baalath of the other. He also built other cities that lay conveniently for these, in order to the enjoyment of pleasures and delicacies in them, such as were naturally of a good temperature of the air, and agreeable for fruits ripe in their proper seasons, and well watered with springs. Nay, Solomon went as far as the desert above Syria, and possessed himself of it, and built there a very great city, which was distant two days journey from the Upper Syria, and one day's journey from Euphrates, and six long days journey from Babylon the Great. Now the reason why this city lay so remote from the parts of Syria that are inhabited in this, that below there is no water to be had, and that it is in that place only that there are springs and pits of water. When he had therefore built this city, and encompassed it with very strong walls, he gave it the name of *Tadmor*, and that is the name it is still called by at this day among the Syrians, but the Greeks name it *Palmyra*.

2. Now Solomon the king was at this time engaged in building these cities. But if any inquire why all the kings of Egypt from Menes, who built Memphis, and was many years earlier than our forefather Abraham, until Solomon, where the inverval was more than one thousand three hundred years, were called Pharaohs, and took it from one Pharaoh that lived after the kings of that interval, I think it necessary to inform them of it, and this in order to cure their ignorance, and to make the occasion of that name manifest. Pharaoh in the Egyptian tongue signifies *a king*,* but I suppose they made use of other names from their childhood, but when they were made kings, they changed them into the name which in their own tongue denoted their authority; for thus it was also that the kings of Alexandria, who were called formerly by other names, when they took the kingdom, were named Ptolemies from their first king. The Roman emperors also were from their nativity called by other names, but are styled Cæsars, their empire and their dignity imposing that name upon them; and not suffering them to continue in those names which their fathers gave them. I suppose also that Herodotus of Halicarnassus, when he said there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Menes, who built Memphis, did therefore not tell us their names, because they were in common called Pharaohs; for when after death there was a queen reigned, he calls her by her name *Nicaule*, as thereby declaring, that while the kings were of the male line, and so admitted of the same name, while a woman did not admit the same, he did not therefore set down that her name, which she could not naturally have. As for myself, I have discovered from our own books, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, no other king of Egypt did any longer use that name: and that it was after that time when the fore-named queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon, concerning whom we shall inform the reader presently; but I have now made mention of these things, that I may prove that our books and those of the Egyptians agree together in many things.

* This signification of the name *Pharaoh* appears to be true. But what Josephus adds, presently, that *no king of Egypt was called Pharaoh after Solomon's father-in-law*, does hardly agree to our copies, which have long afterwards the names of *Pharaoh Necho* and *Hophra*, 2 Kings, xxiii. 29; Jer. xliv. 30, besides the frequent mention of that name *Pharaoh* in the prophets. However, Josephus himself, in his own speech to the Jews, Of the War, B. v. chap. ix. sect. 4, speaks of Nechao, *who was also called Pharaoh*, as the name of that king of Egypt with whom Abraham was concerned; of which name *Nechao* yet we have elsewhere no mention till the days of Josiah, but only of Pharaoh. And indeed it must be confessed, that here and sect. 5, we have more mistakes made by Josephus, and those relating to the kings of Egypt, and to that queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, whom he supposes to have come to see Solomon, than almost any where else in all his Antiquities

3. But king Solomon subdued to himself the remnant of the Canaanites, that had not before submitted to him; those I mean that dwelt in Mount Lebanon, and as far as the city Hamath: and ordered them to pay tribute. He also chose out of them every year such as were to serve him in the meanest offices, and to [illegible] works, and to follow husbandry; for none of the Hebrews were [illegible] [in such low employments:] nor was it reasonable, that when God had [illegible] under their power, they should depress their own people [illegible] rather than those nations; while all the Israelites were [illegible] affairs, and were in armour, and were set over the chariots, [illegible] leading the life of slaves. He appointed also five [illegible] over those Canaanites who were reduced to such [illegible] the entire care of them from the king, and instructed [illegible] and operations wherein he wanted their assistance.

4. [illegible] the king built many ships in the Egyptian bay of the Red Sea, [illegible] called *Ezion-geber*; it is now called *Berenice*, and is not far [illegible] This country belonged formerly to the Jews, and became [illegible] from the donations of Hiram king of Tyre; for he sent a [illegible] men thither for pilots, and such as were skilful in navigation, [illegible] gave this command, that they should go along with his own [illegible] the land that was of old called *Ophir*, but now the *Aurea Chersonesus*, [illegible] belongs to India, to fetch him gold. And when they had gathered four [illegible] talents together, they returned to the king again.

5. There was then a woman queen of Egypt and Ethiopia;* she was inquisitive into philosophy, and one that on other accounts also was to be admired. When [illegible] queen heard of the virtue and prudence of Solomon, she had a great mind [illegible] him, and the reports that went every day abroad induced her to come to [illegible] she being desirous to be satisfied by her own experience, and not by a bare [illegible] (for reports thus heard are likely enough to comply with a false opinion, while they wholly depend on the credit of the relators); so she resolved to come to him, and that especially, in order to have a trial of his wisdom while she proposed questions of very great difficulty, and entreated that he would solve their hidden meaning. Accordingly she came to Jerusalem with great splendour, and rich furniture; for she brought with her camels laden with gold, with several sorts of sweet spices, and with precious stones. Now, upon the king's kind reception of her, he both showed a great desire to please her, and easily comprehending in his mind the meaning of the curious questions she propounded to him, he resolved them sooner than any body could have expected. So she was amazed at the wisdom of Solomon, and discovered that it was more excellent upon trial, than what she had heard by report beforehand; and especially she was surprised at the fineness and largeness of his royal palace, and not less so at the good order of the apartments, for she observed that the king had therein shown great wisdom; but she was beyond measure astonished at the house which was called the forest of Lebanon, as also at the magnificence of his daily table, and the circumstances of his preparation and ministration, with the apparel of his servants that waited, and the skilful and decent management of their attendance; nor was she less affected with those daily sacrifices which were offered to God, and the careful management which the priests and Levites used about them. When she saw this done every day, she was in the greatest admiration imaginable, insomuch that she was not able to contain the surprise she was in, but openly confessed how wonderfully she was affected; for she proceeded to discourse with the king, and thereby owned that she was overcome with admiration at the things before rela-

* That this queen of Sheba was a queen of Sabæa in South Arabia, and not of Egypt and Ethiopia, as Josephus here asserts, is, I suppose now generally agreed. And since Sabæa is well known to be a country near the sea in the south of Arabia Felix, which lay south from Judea also; and since our Saviour calls this queen *the queen of the south*, and says *she came from the utmost parts of the earth*, Matt. xii. 42; Luke xi. 31; which descriptions agree better to this Arabia than to Egypt and Ethiopia, there is little occasion for doubting in this matter

; and said, "All things indeed, O king, that came to our knowledge by report, ne with uncertainty as to our belief of them; but as to those good things that thee appertain, both such as thou thyself possessest, I mean wisdom and pru- ıce, and the happiness thou hast from thy kingdom, certainly the same that ne to us was no falsity; it was not only a true report, but it related the happi- s after a much lower manner than I now see it to be before my eyes. For as the report, it only attempted to persuade our hearing, but did so make known dignity of the things themselves as does the sight of them, and being present ong them. I indeed, who did not believe what was reported by reason of the ltitude and grandeur of the things I inquired about, do see them to be much re numerous than they were reported to be. Accordingly I esteem the He- w people, as well as thy servants and friends, to be happy, who enjoy thy pre- ce, and hear thy wisdom every day continually. One would therefore bless l, who hath so loved this country, and those that inhabit therein, as to make ; king over them."

Now when the queen had thus demonstrated in words how deeply the king affected her, she made that her disposition known by certain presents, for she e him twenty talents of gold, and immense quantities of spices, and precious ies. They say also, that we possess the root of that balsam* which our coun- still bears by this woman's gift. Solomon also repaid her with many good gs, and principally by bestowing upon her what she chose of her own incli- on, for there was nothing that she desired which he denied her; and as he was r generous and liberal in his own temper, so did he show the greatness of his in bestowing on her what she herself desired of him. So when this queen Ethiopia had obtained what we have already given an account of, and had n communicated to the king what she brought with her, she returned to her kingdom.

CHAP. VII.

Solomon grew rich, and fell desperately in love with Women, and how God being incensed at it, raised up Ader and Jeroboam against him. Concerning the Death of Solomon.

About the same time there were brought to the king from the Aurea Cher sus, a country so called, precious stones, and pine trees; and these trees he ; use of for supporting the temple and the palace, as also for the materials usical instruments, the harps and the psalteries, that the Levites might ; use of in their hymns to God. The wood which was brought to him at this was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before; but let no magine that these pine trees were like those which are now so named, and h take that their denomination from the merchants, who so call them, that may procure them to be admired by those that purchase them; for those eak of were to the sight like the wood of the fig tree, but were whiter and shining. Now we have said thus much, that nobody may be ignorant of ifference between these sorts of wood, nor unacquainted with the nature of

me blame Josephus for supposing, that the balsam tree might be first brought out of Arabia, or ur Ethiopia, into Judea, by this queen of Sheba, since several have said that of old no country bore cious balsam but Judea; yet it is notoriously false that this balsam was peculiar to Judea, for ypt and Arabia, and particularly Sabea had it; which last was that very country whence Jose- understood not of Ethiopia but of Arabia, intimates this queen might bring it first into Judea. we to suppose that the queen of Sabea could well omit such a present as this balsam tree would imed by Solomon, in case it were then almost peculiar to her own country. Nor is the mention or balsam, as carried by merchants, and sent as a present out of Judea by Jacob, to the governor of Gen. xxxvii. 25; and xliii. 11, to be alleged to the contrary, since what we there render *balm* or denotes rather that *turpentine* which we now call *turpentine of Chio*, or *Cyprus*, the juice of the ine tree, than this precious balsam. This last is also the same word that we elsewhere render rue mistake *balm of Gilead;* should be rendered the *turpentine of Gilead*, Jer. viii. 22

the genuine pine tree; and we thought it both a seasonable and humane thing when we mentioned it, and the use the king made of it, to explain this difference so far as we have done.

2. Now the weight of gold that was brought him was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not including in that sum what was brought by the merchants, nor what the toparchs and kings of Arabia gave him in presents. He also cast two hundred targets of gold, each of them weighing six hundred shekels. He also made three hundred shields, every one weighing three pounds of gold, and he had them carried, and put into that house which was called the forest of Lebanon. He also made cups of gold, and of [precious] stones, for the entertainment of his guests, and had them adorned in the most artificial manner; and he contrived that all his other furniture of vessels should be of gold, for there was nothing then to be sold or bought for silver; for the king had many ships that lay upon the sea of Tarsus; these he commanded to carry out all sorts of merchandise unto the remotest nations, by the sale of which silver and gold were brought to the king, and a great quantity of ivory, and Ethiopians, and apes; and they finished their voyage, going and returning, in three years' time.

3. Accordingly there went out a great fame all round the neighbouring countries, which proclaimed the virtue and wisdom of Solomon, insomuch that all the kings every where were desirous to see him, as not giving credit to what was reported, on account of it being almost incredible; they also demonstrated the regard they had for him, by the presents they made him; for they sent him vessels of gold, and silver, and purple garments, and many sorts of spices, and horses, and chariots, and as many mules for his carriages as they could find proper to please the king's eyes, by their strength and beauty. This addition that he made to those chariots and horses which he had before from these that were sent him, augmented the number of his chariots by above four hundred, for he had a thousand before, and augmented the number of his horses by two thousand, for he had twenty thousand before. These horses also were so much exercised, in order to their making a fine appearance, and running swiftly, that no others could upon the comparison appear either finer or swifter, but they are at once the most beautiful of all others, and their swiftness was incomparable also. Their riders also were a farther ornament to them, being in the first place young men in the most delightful flower of their age, and being eminent for their largeness, and far taller than other men. They had also very long heads of hair hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They had also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their hair, so that their heads sparkled with the reflection of the sunbeams from the gold. The king himself rode upon a chariot in the midst of these men, who were still in armour, and had their bows fitted to them. He had on a white garment; and used to take his progress out of the city in the morning. There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called *Etham*;* very pleasant, it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he use to go out in the morning, sitting on high [in his chariot.]

4. Now Solomon had a divine sagacity in all things, and was very diligent and studious to have things done after an elegant manner; so he did not neglect the care of the ways, but he laid a causeway of black stone along the roads that led to Jerusalem, which was the royal city, both to render them easy for travellers and to manifest the grandeur of his riches and government. He also parted hi

* Whether these fine gardens and rivulets of Etham, about six miles from Jerusalem, whither Solomon rode so often in state, be not those alluded to Eccles. ii. 5, 6, where he says, "He made him gardens and orchards, and planted trees in them of all kind of fruits; he made him pools of water, to water the wood that bringeth forth trees;" and to the finest part whereof he seems to allude, when, in the Canticles, he compares his spouse to a "garden enclosed," to a "spring shut up," to a "fountain sealed," chap. iv. 12 (part of which fountains are still extant, as Mr. Maundrell informs us, page 87, 88); I cannot now be certainly determined, but may very probably be conjectured. But whether this *Etham* has any relation to those *rivers of Etham*, which Providence once dried up in a miraculous manner, Exod. xxiv. 25, and in the Septuagint, I cannot say

ariots, and set them in a regular order, that a certain number of them should
in every city, still keeping a few about him; and those cities he called the
es of his chariots. And the King made silver so plentiful in Jerusalem as stones
the street; and so multiplied cedar trees in the plains of Judea, which did not
w there before, that they were like the multitude of common sycamore trees.
also ordained the Egyptian merchants that brought him their merchandise,
ell him a chariot, with a pair of horses, for six hundred drachmæ of silver,
l he sent them to the kings of Syria, and to those kings that were beyond
phrates.

3. But although Solomon was become the most glorious of kings, and the best
oved by God, and had exceeded in wisdom and riches those that had been
ers of the Hebrews before him, yet did he not persevere in this happy state
he died. Nay, he forsook the observation of the laws of his fathers, and came
n end no way suitable to our foregoing history of him. He grew mad in
love of women, and laid no restraint on himself in his lusts: nor was he satis-
with the women of his own country alone, but he married many wives out of
ign nations, Sidonians, and Tyrians, and Ammonites, and Edomites; and he
ıgressed the laws of Moses, which forbade Jews to marry any but those tha
s of their own people. He also began to worship their gods, which he did in
st to the gratification of his wives, and out of his affection for them. This very
g our legislator suspected, and so admonished us beforehand, that we should
marry women of other countries, lest we should be entangled with foreign
oms and apostatize from our own; lest we should leave off to honour our own
, and should worship their gods. But Solomon was fallen headlong into un-
onable pleasures, and regarded not those admonitions. For when he had mar-
seven hundred wives,* the daughters of princes and of eminent persons, and
o hundred concubines, and these beside the king of Egypt's daughter, he soon
governed by them, till he came to imitate their practices. He was forced to give
this demonstration of his kindness and affection to them, to live according
e laws of their countries. And as he grew into years, and his reason be-
e weaker by length of time, it was not sufficient to recall to his mind the in-
tions of his own country, so he still more and more contemned his own God,
continued to regard the gods that his marriages had introduced; nay, before
happened, he sinned, and fell into an error about the observation of the laws,
he made the images of brazen oxen† that supported the brazen sea, and the
es of lions about his own throne; for these he made, although it was not
sable to piety so to do. And this he did, notwithstanding that he had his fa-
s a most excellent and domestic pattern of virtue, and knew what a glorious
cter he had left behind him, because of his piety towards God. Nor did he
te David, although God had twice appeared to him in his sleep, and exhor-
im to imitate his father. So he died ingloriously. There came, therefore,
phet to him, who was sent by God, and told him that "his wicked actions
not concealed from God; and threatened him that he should not long re-
in what he had done; that indeed the kingdom should not be taken from
while he was alive, because God had promised to his father David, that he

ese seven hundred wives, or the daughters of great men, and the three hundred concubines, the
ers of the ignoble, make one thousand in all; and are, I suppose, those very one thousand women
id elsewhere by Solomon himself, when he speaks of his not having found one [good] woman
that very number. Eccles. vii. 28.

sephus is here certainly too severe upon Solomon, who in making the cherubims, and these twelve
oxen, seems to have done no more than imitate the patterns left him by David, which were all
avid by Divine inspiration. See my description of the temples, chap. x. And although God gave
tion for the lions that adorned his throne, yet does not Solomon seem therein to have broken any
loses; for although the Pharisees and latter rabbins have extended the second command-ment, to
e very *making* of any image, though without any intention to have it worshiped, yet do not I sup
t Solomon so understood it, nor that it ought to be so understood. The making any other altar
hip but that at the tabernacle, was equally forbidden by Moses, Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 5; yet
the two tribes and a half offend, when they made an altar for a memorial only, Josh. xxi. Antiq
i. sect. 26, 27.

would make him his successor, but that he would take care that this should befal his son when he was dead; not that he would withdraw all the people from him, but that he would give ten tribes to a servant of his, and leave only two tribes to David's grandson, for his sake, because he loved God, and for the sake of the city of Jerusalem, wherein he would have a temple."

6. When Solomon heard this he was grieved, and greatly confounded, upon this change of almost all that happiness which had made him to be admired, into so bad a state; nor had there much time passed after the prophet had foretold what was coming, before God raised up an enemy against him, whose name was *Ader*, who took the following occasion of his enmity to him. He was a child of the stock of the Edomites, and of the blood royal; and when Joab, the captain of David's host, laid waste the land of Edom, and destroyed all that were men grown, and able to bear arms, for six months' time, this Hadad fled away, and came to Pharaoh the king of Egypt, who received him kindly, and assigned him a house to dwell in, and a country to supply him with food; and when he was grown up, he loved him exceedingly, insomuch that he gave him his wife's sister, whose name was *Taphenes*, to wife, by whom he had a son, who was brought up with the king's children. When Hadad heard in Egypt that both David and Joab were dead, he came to Pharaoh, and desired that he would permit him to go to his own country. Upon which the king asked what it was that he wanted, and what hardship he had met with, that he was so desirous to leave him. And when he was often troublesome to him, and entreated him to dismiss him, he did not then do it; but at the time when Solomon's affairs* began to grow worse, on account of his forementioned transgressions, and God's anger against him for the same, Hadad, by Pharaoh's permission, came to Edom; and when he was not able to make the people forsake Solomon, for it was kept under by many garrisons, and an innovation was not to be made with safety, he removed thence, and came into Syria; there he lighted upon one Rezon, who had run away from Hadadezer, king of Zobah, his master, and was become a robber in that country, and joined friendship with him, who had already a band of robbers about him. So he went up, and seized upon that part of Syria, and was made king thereof. He also made incursions into the land of Israel, and did it no small mischief, and spoiled it, and that in the lifetime of Solomon. And this was the calamity which the Hebrews suffered by Hadad.

7. There was also one of Solomon's own nation that made an attempt against him, Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who had an expectation of rising, from a prophecy that had been made to him long before. He was left a child by his father, and brought up by his mother; and when Solomon saw that he was of an active and bold disposition, he made him the curator of the walls which he built round about Jerusalem: and he took such care of those works, that the king approved of his behaviour, and gave him, as a reward for the same, the charge over the tribe of Joseph. And when about that time Jeroboam was once going out of Jerusalem, a prophet of the city Shilo, whose name was *Ahijah*, met him and saluted him; and when he had taken him a little aside, to a place out of the way, where there was not one other person present, he rent the garment he had on into twelve pieces, and bid Jeroboam take ten of them; and told him beforehand, that "This is the will of God: he will part the dominion of Solomon, and give one tribe, with that which is next it, to his son, because of the promise made to David for his succession; and will give ten tribes to thee, because Solomon hath sinned against him, and delivered himself up to women, and to their gods. Seeing, therefore, thou knowest the cause for which God hath changed his mind, and is alienated from Solomon, be thou righteous, and keep the laws, because he hath

* Since the beginning of Solomon's evil life and adversity was the time when Hadad or Ader, who was born at least twenty or thirty years before Solomon came to the crown, in the days of David, began to give him disturbance, this implies that Solomon's evil life began early and continued very long, which the multitude of his wives and concubines does imply also: I suppose when he was not fifty years of age.

oposed to thee the greatest of all rewards for thy piety, and the honour thou alt pay to God, namely, to be as greatly exalted as thou knowest David to ve been."

8. So Jeroboam was elevated by these words of the prophet, and being a young n* of a warm temper, and ambitious of greatness he could not be quiet; and en he had so great a charge in the government, and called to mind what had en revealed to him by Ahijah, he endeavoured to persuade the people to for te Solomon, to make a disturbance and to bring the government over to him- f. But when Solomon understood his intention and treachery, he sought to ch him and kill him; but Jeroboam was informed of it beforehand, and fled to shak, the king of Egypt, and there abode till the death of Solomon; by ich means he gained these two advantages, to suffer no harm from Solomon, l to be preserved for the kingdom. So Solomon died when he was already old man, having reigned eighty years, and lived ninety-four. He was buried erusalem, having been superior to all other kings in happiness, and riches, and lom, excepting that when he was growing into years, he was deluded by nen, and transgressed the law; concerning which transgressions, and the ries which befell the Hebrews thereby, I think proper to discourse at another rtunity.

CHAP. VIII.

, upon the death of Solomon, the People forsook his Son Rehoboam and ordained Jeroboam King over the Ten Tribes.

1. Now when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam (who was born of mmonite wife, whose name was *Naamah*) had succeeded him in the king- the rulers of the multitude sent immediately into Egypt, and called back oam; and when he was come to them, to the city Shechem, Rehoboam to it also, for he had resolved to declare himself king to the Israelites, they were there gathered together. So the rulers of the people, as well roboam, came to him, and besought him, and said, that "he ought to relax, o be gentler than his father, in the servitude he had imposed on them, be- they had born a heavy yoke, and that then they should be better affected , and be well contented to serve him under his moderate government, and l do it more out of love than fear." But Rehoboam told them, they should to him again in three days time, when he would give an answer to their re-

This delay gave occasion to a present suspicion, since he had not given favorable answer to their mind immediately, for they thought that he have given them a humane answer off hand, especially since he was but . However, they thought that his consultation about it, and that he did not tly give them a denial, afforded them some good hope of success.

Rehoboam now called his father's friends, and advised with them what sort answer he ought to give to the multitude: upon which they gave him the which became friends, and those that knew the temper of such a multi- hey advised him "to speak in a way more popular than suited the grandeur ng, because, he would thereby oblige them to submit to him with good being most agreeable to subjects that their kings should be almost upon el with them." But Rehoboam rejected this so good, and in general so le, advice (it was such, at least, at that time when he was to be made God himself, I suppose, causing what was most advantageous to be con-

* youth of Jeroboam, when Solomon built the walls of Jerusalem, not very long after he had is twenty years' building of the temple, and his own palace, or not very long after the twenty- ir of his reign, 1 Kings, ix. 24: 2 Chron. viii. 11; and his youth here still mentioned, when s wickedness was become intolerable, fully confirm my former observation, that such his wick- gan early, and continued very long. See Eccles. xlvii. 14.

demned by him. So he called for the young men, who were brought up with him, and told them what advice the elders had given him, and bade them speak what they thought he ought to do. They advised him to give the following answer to the people (for neither their youth, nor God himself suffered them to discern what was best:) "That his little finger should be thicker than his father's loins; and if they had met with hard usage from his father, they should experience much rougher treatment from him; and if his father had chastised them with whips, they must expect that he would do it with scorpions."* The king was pleased with this advice, and thought it agreeable to the dignity of his government to give them such an answer. Accordingly, when the multitude was come together to hear his answer on the third day, all the people were in great expectation, and very intent to hear what the king would say to them, and supposed they should hear somewhat of a kind nature, but he passed by his friends, and answered as the young men had given him counsel. Now this was done according to the will of God, that what Ahijah had foretold might come to pass.

3. By these words the people were struck as it were by an iron hammer, and were so grieved at the words, as if they had already felt the effects of them, and they had great indignation at the king; and all cried out aloud, and said, "We will have no longer any relation to David or his posterity after this day." And they said farther, "We only leave to Rehoboam the temple which his father built;" and they threatened to forsake him. Nay, they were so bitter, and retained their wrath so long, that when he sent Adoram, which was over the tribute, that he might pacify them, and render them milder, and persuade them to forgive him, if he had said any thing that was rash or grievous to them in his youth, they would not bear it, but threw stones at him, and killed him. When Rehoboam saw this, he thought himself aimed at by those stones with which they had killed his servant, and feared lest he should undergo the last of punishments in earnest; so he got immediately into his chariot, and fled to Jerusalem, where the tribe of Judah and that of Benjamin ordained him king; but the rest of the multitude forsook the sons of David from that day, and appointed Jeroboam to be the ruler of their public affairs. Upon this Rehoboam, Solomon's son, assembled a great congregation of those two tribes that submitted to him, and was ready to take a hundred and eighty thousand chosen men out of the army, to make an expedition against Jeroboam and his people, that he might force them by war to be his servants; but he was forbidden of God by the prophet [Shemaiah] to go to war, for that it was not just that brethren of the same country should fight one against another. He also said, that this defection of the multitude was according to the purpose of God. So he did not proceed in this expedition. And now I will relate first the actions of Jeroboam the king of Israel, after which we will relate what are therewith connected, the actions of Rehoboam, the king of the two tribes; by this means we shall preserve the good order of the history entire.

4. When therefore Jeroboam had built him a palace in the city Shechem, he dwelt there. He also built him another at Penuel, a city so called. And now the feast of tabernacles was approaching in a little time, Jeroboam considered, that if he should permit the multitude to go to worship God at Jerusalem, and there to celebrate the festival, they would probably repent of what they had done, and be enticed by the temple, and by the worship of God there performed, and would leave him, and return to their first king; and if so, he should run the risk of losing his own life, so he invented this contrivance: he made two golden heifers, and built two little temples for them, the one in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, which last was at the fountains of the lesser Jordan,† and he put

* That by *scorpions* is not here meant that small animal so called, which was never used in corrections; but either a shrub, with sharp prickles like the stings of scorpions, such as our furze bush, or else some terrible sort of whip of the like nature; see Hudson's and Spanheim's notes here.

† Whether these *fountains of the lesser Jordan* were near a place called *Dan*, and the fountains of the *greater* near a place called *Jor*, before their conjunction: or whether there was only one fountain, arising at the lake Phiala, at first sinking under ground, and then arising near the mountain Paneum, and

heifers into both the little temples, in the forementioned cities. And when had called those ten tribes together, over whom he ruled, he made a speech to people in these words: "I suppose, my countrymen, that you know this, that ery place hath God in it, nor is there any one determinate place in which he but he every where hears and sees those that worship him; on which account o not think it right for you to go so long a journey to Jerusalem, which is an emy's city, to worship him. It was a man that built the temple: I have also de two golden heifers, dedicated to the same God; and the one of them I have secrated in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, to the end that those of you t dwell nearest those cities, may go to them, and worship God there: and I will lain for you certain priests and Levites from among yourselves, that you may e no want of the tribe of Levi, or of the sons of Aaron; but let him that is irous among you of being a priest, bring to God a bullock and a ram, which y say Aaron the first priest brought also." When Jeroboam had said this, he uded the people, and made them to revolt from the worship of their forefathers, l to transgress their laws. This was the beginning of miseries to the Hebrews, l the causes why they were overcome in war by foreigners, and so fell into tivity. But we shall relate those things in their proper places hereafter.

1. When the feast [of tabernacles] was just approaching, Jeroboam was de- us to celebrate it himself in Bethel, as did the two tribes celebrate it in Jeru- m. Accordingly he built an altar before the heifer, and undertook to be high st himself. So he went up to the altar, with his own priests about him; but n he was going to offer the sacrifices, and the burnt-offerings, in the sight of the people, a prophet, whose name was *Jadon*, was sent by God, and came to from Jerusalem, who stood in the midst of the multitude, and in the hearing he king, and directing his discourse to the altar, said thus "God foretells that e shall be a certain man of the family of David, Josiah by name, who shall slay n thee those false priests that shall live at that time, and upon thee shall burn bones of those deceivers of the people, those impostors and wicked wretches. vever, that this people may believe that these things shall so come to pass, I tell a sign to them that shall also come to pass: this altar shall be broken to es immediately, and all the fat of the sacrifices that is upon it, shall be poured n the ground." When the prophet had said this, Jeroboam fell into a passion, stretched out his hand, and bid them lay hold of him; but that hand which he tched out was enfeebled, and he was not able to pull it in again to him, for it become withered, and hung down, as if it were a dead hand. The altar also broken to pieces, and all that was upon it was poured out, as the prophet had told should come to pass. So the king understood that he was a man of ve- ty, and had a divine foreknowledge; and entreated him to pray unto God that would restore his right hand. Accordingly the prophet did pray to God to it him that request. So the king having his hand recovered to its natural state, ced at it, and invited the prophet to sup with him; but Jadon said, that "he d not endure to come into his house, nor to taste of bread and water in this for that was a thing God had forbidden him to do; as also to go back by the e way which he came, but he said he was to return by another way." So ing wondered at the abstinence of the man, but was himself in fear, as sus- ing a change of his affairs for the worse, from what had been said to him.

s running through the lake Semochonitis to the sea of Galilee, and so far called the *lesser Jordan*, dly certain even in Josephus himself, though the latter account be the most probable. However, rthern idolatrous calf, set up by Jeroboam, was where Little Jordan fell into Great Jordan, near s called *Daphne*, as Josephus elsewhere informs us. Of the War, B. iv. ch. i. sect. 1. See the here

CHAP. IX.

How Jadon the Prophet was persuaded by another lying Prophet, and returned [to Bethel,] and was afterwards slain by a Lion. As also what Words the wicked Prophet made use of to persuade the King, and thereby alienated his Mind from God.

§ 1. Now there was a certain wicked man in that city, who was a false prophet, whom Jeroboam had in great esteem, but was deceived by him, and his flattering words. This man was bedrid by reason of the infirmities of old age; however he was informed by his sons concerning the prophet that was come from Jerusalem, and concerning the signs done by him; and how, when Jeroboam's right hand had been enfeebled, at the prophet's prayer he had it revived again. Whereupon he was afraid that this stranger and prophet should be in better esteem with the king than himself, and obtain greater honour from him, and he gave order to his sons to saddle his ass presently, and make all ready that he might go out. Accordingly they made haste to do what they were commanded; and he got upon the ass and followed after the prophet; and when he had overtaken him, as he was resting himself under a very large oak tree that was thick and shady, he at first saluted him, but presently he complained of him, because he had not come into his house, and partaken of his hospitality. And when the other said, that "God had forbidden him to taste of any one's provision in that city," he replied, that "for certain God had not forbidden that I should set food before thee, for I am a prophet as thou art, and worship God in the same manner that thou dost, and I am now come as sent by him, in order to bring thee into my house, and make thee my guest." Now Jadon gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner, and were merry together, God appeared to Jadon, and said, that "he should suffer punishment for transgressing his commands: and he told him what that punishment should be, for he said, that he should meet with a lion as he was going on his way, by which lion he should be torn in pieces, and be deprived of burial in the sepulchre of his fathers." Which things came to pass, as I suppose, according to the will of God, that so Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jadon, as of one that had been convicted of lying. However, as Jadon was again going to Jerusalem, a lion assaulted him, and pulled him off the beast he rode on, and slew him, yet did he not at all hurt the ass, but sat by him, and kept him, as also the prophet's body. This continued till some travellers that saw it came and told it in the city to the false prophet, who sent his sons, and brought the body into the city, and made a funeral for him at great expense. He also charged his sons to bury himself with him; and he said, that "all which he had foretold against that city, and the altar and priests, and false prophets, would prove true, and that if he were buried with him, he should receive no injurious treatment after his death, the bones not being then to be distinguished asunder." But now, when he had performed those funeral rites to the prophet, and had given that charge to his sons, as he was a wicked and an impious man, he goes to Jeroboam, and says to him, "And wherefore is it now that thou art disturbed at the words of this silly fellow?" And when the king had related to him what had happened about the altar, and about his own hand, and gave him the names of a divine man, and an excellent prophet, he endeavoured by a wicked trick to weaken that his opinion, and by using plausible words concerning what had happened, he aimed to injure the truth that was in them; for he attempted to persuade him, that "his hand was enfeebled by the labour it had undergone in supporting the sacrifices, and that upon its resting a while it returned to its former nature again; and that as to the altar, it was but new, and had borne abundance of sacrifices, and those large ones too, and was accordingly broken to pieces, and fallen down by the weight of what had

:n laid upon it." He also informed him of the death of him that had foretold se things, and how he perished; [whence he concluded that] he had not any ıg in him of a prophet, nor spake any thing like one. When he had thus spo-ı, he persuaded the king, and entirely alienated his mind from God, and from ng works that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to go on in his ›ious practices*; and accordingly he was to that degree injurious to God, and great a transgressor, that he sought for nothing else every day but how he ght be guilty of some new instances of wickedness, and such as should be more estable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall present suffice to have said concerning Jeroboam.

CHAP. X.

ncerning Rehoboam, and how God inflicted Punishment upon him for his Impiety by Shishak [King of Egypt.]

1. Now Rehoboam the son of Solomon, who as we said before, was king of two tribes, built strong and large cities, Bethlehem, and Etam, and Tekoa, Bethzur, and Shoco, and Adullam, and Ipan, and Maresha, and Ziph, and ›raim, and Lachish, and Azekah, and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron; these ›uilt first of all in the tribe of Judah. He also built other large cities in the e of Benjamin, and walled them about, and put garrisons in them all, and cap-s, and a great deal of corn, and wine, and oil, and he furnished every one of n plentifully with other provisions that were necessary for sustenance; more-', he put therein shields and spears for many ten thousand men. The priests that were in all Israel, and the Levites, and if there were any of the multi-that were good and righteous men, they gathered themselves together to having left their own cities, that they might worship God in Jerusalem; for were not willing to be forced to worship the heifers which Jeroboam had e, and they augmented the kingdom of Rehoboam for three years. And af-ıe had married a woman of his own kindred, and had by her three children to him, he married also another of his own kindred, who was daughter of dom by Tamar, whose name was *Maachah*, and by her he had a son, whom amed *Abijah*. He had moreover many other children by other wives; but ved Maachah above them all. Now he had eighteen legitimate wives, and concubines; and he had born to him twenty-eight sons and threescore hters; but he appointed Ahijah, whom he had by Maachah, to be his suc-›r in the kingdom; and entrusted him already with the treasures and the gest cities.

Now I cannot but think, that the greatness of a kingdom, and its change ›rosperity, often becomes the occasion of mischief and of transgression to for when Rehoboam saw that his kingdom was so much increased, he went f the right way, unto unrighteousness and irreligious practices, and he de-l the worship of God, till the people themselves imitated his wicked actions, it usually happens, that the manners of subjects are corrupted at the same with those of their governors, which subjects then lay aside their own sober of living, as a reproof of their governors' intemperate courses; and follow wickedness, as if it were virtue; for it is not possible to show that men ap-

w much a larger and better copy Josephus had in this remarkable history of the true prophet of and his concern with Jeroboam, and with the false prophet of Bethel, than our other copies have, nt at first sight. This prophet's very name, *Jadon*, or as the Constitutions call him, *Adonias*, is ; in our other copies; and it is there with no little absurdity said, that God revealed Jadon the true 's death, not to *himself*, as here, but *to the false prophet*. Whether the particular account of the ns made use of, after all, by the false prophet against his own belief, and his own conscience, in persuade Jeroboam to persevere in his idolatry and wickedness, than which more plausible could nvented, was intimated in Josephus's copy, or in some other ancient book, cannot now be deter-our other copies say not one word of it.

prove of the actions of their kings, unless they do the same actions with them. Agreeably whereto, it now happened to the subjects of Rehoboam; for when he was grown impious, and a transgessor himself, they endeavoured not to offend him by resolving still to be righteous. But God sent Shishak king of Egypt to punish them for their unjust behaviour towards him; concerning whom Herodotus was mistaken, and applied his actions to Sesostris, for this Shishak,* in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, made an expedition [into Judea] with many ten thousand men, for he had one thousand two hundred chariots in number that followed him and threescore thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand footmen. These he brought with him, and they were the greatest part of them Libyans and Ethiopians. Now, therefore, when he fell upon the country of the Hebrews, he took the strongest cities of Rehoboam's kingdom without fighting; and when he had put garrisons in them, he came last of all to Jerusalem.

Now when Rehoboam, and the multitude with him, were shut up in Jerusalem by the means of the army of Shishak, and when they besought God to give them victory and deliverance, they could not persuade God to be on their side. But Shemaiah the prophet told them, that God threatened to forsake them, as they had themselves forsaken his worship. When they heard this they were immediately in a consternation of mind, and seeing no way of deliverance, they all earnestly set themselves to confess that God might justly overlook them, since they had been guilty of impiety towards him, and had let his laws lie in confusion. So when God saw them in that disposition, and that they acknowledged their sins, he told the prophet he would not destroy them, but that he would however make them servants to the Egyptians, that they may learn whether they will suffer less by serving men or God. So when Shishak had taken the city without fighting, because Rehoboam was afraid, and received him into it, yet did not Shishak stand to the covenants he had made, but he spoiled the temple, and emptied the treasures of God, and those of the king, and carried off innumerable ten thousands of gold and silver, and left nothing at all behind him. He also took away the buckelers of gold and the shields which Solomon the king had made; nay, he did not leave the golden quivers which David had taken from the king of Zobah, and had dedicated to God; and when he had thus done, he returned to his own kingdom. Now Herodotus of Halicarnassus mentions this expedition, having only mistaken the king's name; and [in saying that] he made war upon many other nations also, and brought Syria of Palestine into subjection, and took the men that were therein prisoners without fighting. Now it is manifest, that he intended to declare that our nation was subdued by him; for he saith, that "he left behind him pillars in the land of those that delivered themselves up to him without fighting and engraved upon them the secret parts of women." Now our king Rehoboam delivered up our city without fighting. He says withal,† that "the Ethiopians learned to circumcise their privy parts from the Egyptians, with this addition, that the Phœnicians and Syrians that live in Palestine confess that they had learned it of the Egyptians." Yet is it evident that no other of the Syrians that live in Pa

* That this Shishak was not the same person with the famous Sesostris, as some have very lately, in contradiction to all antiquity, supposed, and that our Josephus did not take him to be the same as they pretend, but that Sesostris was many centuries earlier than Shishak, see Authent. Records, part I. p. 1024.

† Herodotus, as here quoted by Josephus, and as this passage still stands in his present copies B. II. chap. civ. affirms, that "the Phœnicians and Syrians in Palestine [which last are generally supposed to mean the Jews] owned their receiving circumcision from the Egyptians;" whereas it is abundantly evident, that the Jews received their circumcision from the patriarch Abraham, Gen. xvii. 9.—14, John vii. 22, 23, and I conclude the Egyptian priests themselves did also. It is not, therefore, very unlikely that Herodotus, because the Jews had lived long in Egypt, and came out of it circumcised, did thereupon think they had learned that circumcision in Egypt, and had it not before. Manetho, the famous Egyptian chronologer and historian, who knew the history of his own country much better than Herodotus, complains frequently of his mistakes about their affairs, as does Josephus more than once in this chapter; nor indeed does Herodotus seem at all acquainted with the affairs of the Jews; for as he never names them, so little or nothing of what he says about them, their country, or maritime cities, two of which he alone mentions, Cadytus and Jenysus, proves true; nor indeed do there appear to have ever been any such cities there extant.

lestine besides us alone are circumcised; but as to such matters, let every one speak what is agreeable to his own opinion.

4. When Shishak was gone away, king Rehoboam made bucklers and shields of brass, instead of those of gold, and delivered the same number of them to the keepers of the king's palace. So, instead of warlike expeditions, and that glory which results from those public actions, he reigned in great quietness, though not without fear as being always an enemy to Jeroboam, and he died when he had lived fifty-seven years and reigned seventeen. He was in his disposition a proud and a foolish man, and lost [part of] his dominion by not hearkening to his father's friends. He was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchres of the kings; and his son Abijah succeeded him in the kingdom, and this in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes; and this was the conclusion of these affairs, It must be now our business to relate the affairs of Jeroboam, and how he ended his life; for he ceased not, nor rested to be injurious to God, but every day raised up altars upon high mountains, and went on making priests out of the multitude.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the Death of a Son of Jeroboam's. How Jeroboam was beaten by Abijah, who died a little afterward, and was succeeded in his Kingdom by Asa. And also how, after the Death of Jeroboam, Baasha destroyed his Son Nadab, and all the House of Jeroboam.

§ 1. However, God was in no long time ready to return to Jeroboam's wicked actions and the punishment they deserved upon his own head, and upon the heads of all his house. And whereas a son of his lay sick at that time, who was called *Abijah*, he enjoined his wife to lay aside her robes, and to take the garments belonging to a private person, and to go to Abijah the prophet, for that he was a wonderful man in foretelling futurities, it having been he who told me that I should be king. He also enjoined her, when she came to him, to inquire concerning the child, as if she were a stranger, whether he should escape this distemper. So she did as her husband bade her, and changed her habit, and came to the city Shiloh, for there did Abijah live. And as she was going into his house, his eyes being then dim with age, God appeared to him, and informed him of two things, that the wife of Jeroboam was come to him, and what answer he should make to her inquiry. Accordingly, as the woman was coming into the house, like a private person and a stranger, he cried out, "Come in, O thou wife of Jeroboam! Why concealest thou thyself? thou art not concealed from God, who hath appeared to me, and informed me that thou wast coming, and hath given me in command what I shall say unto thee." So he said that "She should go away to her husband, and speak to him thus: Since I made thee a great man when thou wast little, or rather wast nothing, and rent the kingdom from the house of David, and gave it to thee, and thou hast been unmindful of these benefits, hast left off my worship, hast made thee molten gods, and honoured them, I will in like manner cast thee down again, and will destroy all thy house, and make them food for the dogs and the fowls; for a certain king is rising up, by my appointment, over all this people, who shall leave none of the family of Jeroboam remaining. The multitude also shall themselves partake of the same punishment, and shall be cast out of this good land, and shall be scattered into the places beyond Euphrates, because they have followed the wicked practices of their king, and have worshiped the gods that he made, and forsaken my sacrifices. But do thou, O woman, make haste back to thy husband, and tell him this message: but thou shalt then find thy son dead, for as thou enterest the city, he shall depart this life; yet shall he be buried with the lamentation of all the multitude, and honoured with a general mourning, for he is the only person of good-

ness of Jeroboam's family." When the prophet had foretold these events, the woman went hastily away with a disordered mind, and greatly grieved at the death of the forenamed child. So she was in lamentation as she went along the road, and mourned for the death of her son that was just at hand. She was indeed in a miserable condition at the unavoidable misery of his death, and went apace, but in circumstances very unfortunate, because of her son; for the greater haste she made, she would the sooner see her son dead, yet was she forced to make such haste on account of her husband. Accordingly, when she was come back, she found that the child had given up the ghost, as the prophet had said; and she related all the circumstances to the king.

2. Yet did not Jeroboam lay any of these things to heart, but he brought together a very numerous army, and made a warlike expedition against Abijah the son of Rehoboam, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of the two tribes, for he despised him because of his age. But when he heard of the expedition of Jeroboam, he was not affrighted at it, but proved of a courageous temper of mind, superior both to his youth, and to the hopes of his enemy; so he chose him an army out of the two tribes, and met Jeroboam at a place called Mount *Zemariam*, and pitched his camp, near the others, and prepared every thing necessary for the fight. His army consisted of four hundred thousand, but the army of Jeroboam was double to it. Now, as the armies stood in array ready for action and dangers, and were just going to fight, Abijah stood upon an elevated place, and beckoning with his hand, he desired the multitude and Jeroboam himself to hear first with silence what he had to say. And when silence was made, he began to speak, and told them, "God had consented that David and his posterity should be their rulers for all time to come, and this you yourselves are not unacquainted with; but I cannot but wonder how you should forsake my father, and join yourselves to his servant Jeroboam, and are now here with him to fight against those who by God's own determination are to reign, and to deprive them of that dominion which they have still retained, for as to the greater part of it Jeroboam is unjustly in possession of it. However, I do not suppose he will enjoy it any longer, but when he hath suffered that punishment which God thinks due to him for what is past, he will leave off the transgression he hath been guilty of, and the injuries he hath offered to him, and which he hath still continued to offer, and hath persuaded you to do the same; yet when you were not any further unjustly treated by my father, than that he did not speak to you so as to please you, and this only in compliance with the advice of wicked men, you in anger forsook him, as you pretended, but, in reality, you withdrew yourselves from God and from his laws, although it would have been right for you to have forgiven a man that was young in age and not used to govern people, not only some disagreeable words, but if his youth and his unskilfulness in affairs had led him into some unfortunate actions, and that for the sake of his father Solomon, and the benefits you received from him; for men ought to excuse the sins of posterity on account of the benefactions of parents; but you consider nothing of all this then, neither do you consider it now, but come with so great an army against us. And what is that you depend upon for victory? Is it upon these golden heifers and the altars that you have on high places, which are demonstrations of your impiety, and not of religious worship? Or is it the exceeding multitude of your army which gives you such good hopes? Yet certainly there is no strength at all in an army of many ten thousands, when the war is unjust; for we ought to place our surest hope of success against our enemies in righteousness alone, and in piety towards God; which hope we justly have, since we have kept the laws from the beginning, and have worshiped our own God, who was not made by hands out of corruptible matter, nor was he formed by a wicked king, in order to deceive the multitude, but who is his own workmanship,* and the be-

* This is a strange expression in Josephus, that *God is his own workmanship*, or that *he made himself*, contrary to common sense, and to Catholic Christianity. Perhaps he only means that he was made by none, but was unoriginated.

ıning and end of all things. I therefore give you counsel even now to repent, d to take better advice, and leave off the prosecution of the war; to call to nd the laws of your country, and to reflect what it hath been that hath advanced u to so happy a state as you are now in."

3. This was the speech which Abijah made to the multitude. But while he s still speaking, Jeroboam sent some of his soldiers privately to encompass ıijah round about, on certain parts of the camp that were not taken notice of; d when he was thus within the compass of the enemy, his army was affrighted, d their courage failed them; but Abijah encouraged them, and exhorted them place their hopes on God, for that he was not encompassed by the enemy. So y all at once implored the divine assistance, while the priests sounded with trumpets, and they made a shout, and fell upon their enemies, and God brake courage, and cast down the force of their enemies, and made Abijah's army erior to them; for God vouchsafed to grant them a wonderful and very famous tory; and such a slaughter* was now made of Jeroboam's army as is never orded to have happened in any other war, whether it were of the Greeks or of Barbarians, for they overthrow [and slew] five hundred thousand of their mies, and they took their strongest cities by force, and spoiled them; and ides those, they did the same to Bethel and her towns, and Jeshanah and her ns. And after this defeat Jeroboam never recovered himself during the life Abijah, who yet did not long survive, for he reigned but three years, and was ied in Jerusalem, in the sepulchres of his forefathers. He left behind him nty-two sons and sixteen daughters; and he had also those children by four- wives; and Asa his son succeeded in the kingdom; and the young man's her was Michaiah. Under his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed ce for ten years.

4. And so far concerning Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, is history hath come down to us; but Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes l when he had governed them two and twenty years; whose son Nadab suc ded him, in the second year of the reign of Asa. New Jeroboam's son erned two years and resembled his father in impiety and wickedness. In e two years he made an expedition against Gibbethon, a city of the Phi- nes, and continued the siege in order to take it; but he was conspired against le he was there by a friend of his, whose name was *Baasha*, the son of Abijah, was slain; which Baasha took the kingdom after the other's death, and de- yed the whole house of Jeroboam. It also came to pass, according as God foretold, that some of Jeroboam's kindred that died in the city were torn to es and devoured by dogs, and that others of them that died in the fields were and devoured by the fowls. So the house of Jeroboam suffered the just shment of his impiety and of his wicked actions.

CHAP. XII.

ow Zerah, King of the Ethiopians, was beaten by Asa; and how Asa upon Baasha's making War against him, invited the King of Damascens to assist him; and how, on the Destruction of the House of Baasha, Zimri got the Kingdom, as did his Son Ahab after him.

Now Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was of an excellent character, and had a rd to God, and neither did nor designed any thing but what had relation to bservation of the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cut off

* this terrible and perfectly unparalleled slaughter of five hundred thousand men of the newly rous and rebellious ten tribes, God's high displeasure and indignation against that idolatry and re fully appeared; the remainder were thereby seriously cautioned not to persist in them, and a kind ance or equilibrium was made between the ten and the two tribes for the time to come; while other

whatsoever was wicked therein, and purified it from every impurity. Now he had an army of chosen men that were armed with targets and spears; out of the tribe of Judah three hundred thousand, and out of the tribe of Benjamin, that bore shields and drew bows, two hundred and fifty thousand. But when he had already reigned ten years, Zerah, king of Ethiopia,* made an expedition against him with a great army of nine hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen, and three hundred chariots, and came as far as Mareshah, a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zerah had passed so far with his own army, Asa met him, and put his army in array over against him in a valley called *Zephathah*, not far from the city; and when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and besought God to give them the victory, and that he might kill many ten thousands of the enemy. "For," said he, "I depend on nothing else but that assistance which I expect from thee, which is able to make the fewer superior to the more numerous, and the weaker to the stronger; and thence it is alone that I venture to meet Zerah, and fight him."

2. While Asa was saying this, God gave him a signal of victory, and joining battle cheerfully on account of what God had foretold about it, he slew a great many of the Ethiopians; and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them to the country of Gerar: and when they had left off killing their enemies, they betook themselves to spoiling them (for the city of Gerar was already taken,) and to spoiling their camp, so that they carried off much gold and much silver, and a great deal of [other] prey, and camels, and great cattle, and flocks of sheep. Accordingly when Asa and his army had obtained such a victory, and such wealth from God, they returned to Jerusalem. Now as they were coming, a prophet whose name was Azariah met them on the road, and bade them stop their journey a little; and began to say to them thus: "That the reason why they had obtained this victory from God was this, that they had showed themselves righteous and religious men, and had done every thing according to the will of God: that therefore, he said, if they persevered therein, God would grant that they should always overcome their enemies, and live happily; but that, if they left off his worship, all things shall fall out on the contrary; and a time† should come, wherein no true prophet shall be left in your whole multitude, nor a priest who shall deliver you a true answer from the oracle; but your cities shall be overthrown, and your nation scattered over the whole earth, and live the life of strangers and wanderers." So he advised them, while they had time, to be good, and not to deprive themselves of the favour of God. When the king and the people heard this, they rejoiced; and all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to behave themselves righteously. The king also sent some to take care that those in the country should observe the laws also.

3. And this was the state of Asa, king of the two tribes. I now return to Baasha, the king of the multitude of the Israelites who slew Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, and retained the government. He dwelt in the city Tirzah, having made that his habitation, and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked and impious than Jeroboam or his son. He did a great deal of mischief to the multitude, and was injurious to God, who sent the prophet Jehu, and told him beforehand, that "his whole family should be destroyed, and that he would bring the same miseries on his house which had brought that of Jeroboam to ruin; because, when he had been made king by him, he had not requited his kindness by governing the multitude righteously and religiously; which things, in the first place, tended to their own happiness, and in the next place were pleasing to God; that he had imitated this very wicked king, Jeroboam: and although that man's soul

wise the perpetually idolatrous and rebellious ten tribes would naturally have been too powerful for the two tribes, which were pretty frequently free both from such idolatry and rebellion. Nor is there any reason to doubt of the truth of this prodigious number slain upon so signal an occasion.

* The reader is to remember that *Cush* is not *Ethiopia*, but *Arabia*. See Bochart, B. iv. chap. ii.

† Here is a very great error in our Hebrew copy in this place, 2 Chron. xvi. 3—6, as applying what follows to times past, and not to times future; whence that text is quite misapplied by Sir Isaac Newton.

perished, yet did he express to the last his wickedness; and he said, that he ld therefore justly experience the like calamity with him, since he had been r of the like wickedness." But Baasha, though he heard beforehand wha: ies would befall him and his whole family for their insolent behaviour, yet ot he leave off his wicked practices for the time to come, nor did he care to ar to be other than worse and worse till he died; nor did he then repent of ast actions, nor endeavour to obtain pardon of God for them, but did as those o have rewards proposed to them when they have once in earnest set about work, they do not leave off their labours; for thus did Baasha, when the et foretold to him what would come to pass, grow worse, as if what were tened, the perdition of his family and the destruction of his house (which ally among the greatest of evils,) were good things; and as if he were a atant for wickedness, he every day took more and more pains for it; and at e took his army, and assaulted a certain considerable city called Ramah, a was forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and when he had taken it, he ed it, having determined beforehand to leave a garrison in it, that they t thence make excursions and do mischief to the kingdom of Asa.

Whereupon Asa was afraid of the attempts the enemy might make upon and considering with himself, how many mischiefs this army that was left mah might do to the country over which he reigned, he sent ambassadors king of the Damascens, with gold and silver, desiring his assistance, and g him in mind that we have had a friendship together from the times of our thers. So he gladly received the sum of money, and made a league with nd broke the friendship he had with Baasha, and sent the commanders of m forces into the cities that were under Baasha's dominion, and ordered to do them mischief. So they went and burnt some of them, and spoiled , Ijon, and Dan, and Abelmain,* and many others. Now when the king ael heard this, he left off building and fortifying Ramah, and returned pre- to assist his own people under the distresses they were in; but Asa made the materials that were prepared for building that city, for building in the place two strong cities, the one of which was called *Gebah*, and the other h; so that after this Baasha had no leisure to make expeditions against Asa, was prevented by death, and was buried in the city Tirzah; and Elah his k the kingdom, who, when he had reigned two years, died, being treach- r slain by Zimri, the captain of half his army; for when he was at Arza, ward's house, he persuaded some of the horsemen that were under him to Elah, and by that means he slew him, when he was without his armed id his captains, for they were all busied in the siege of Gibbethon, a city Philistines.

When Zimri, the captain of the army, had killed Elah, he took the king- mself, and according to Jehu's prophecy, slew all the house of Baasha; ame to pass that Baasha's house utterly perished, on account of his impie- he same manner as we have already described the destruction of the house boam. But the army that was besieging Gibbethon, when they heard ad befallen the king, and that when Zimri had killed him, he had gained gdom, he made Omri, their general, king, who drew off his army from hon, and came to Tirzah, where the royal palace was, and assaulted the d took it by force. But when Zimri saw that the city had none to defend ed into the inmost part of the palace, and set it on fire, and burnt himself

Abelmain, or, in Josephus's copy, Abellare, that belonged to the land of Israel, and bordered ntry of Damascus, is supposed both by Hudson and Spanheim to be the same with Abel or Abila, me Abilene. This may be that city so denominated from Abel the righteous, there buried, con- e shedding of whose blood within the compass of the land of Israel, I understand our Saviour's out the fatal war and overthrow of Judea by Titus and his Roman army, "That upon you may he righteous blood shed upon the land, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zacha- f Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, all these ll come upon this generation." Matt. xxiii. 35, 36; Luke, xi. 51.

with it, when he had reigned only seven days. Upon which the people of Israel were presently divided, and part of them would have Tibni to be king, and part Omri; but when those that were for Omri's ruling had beaten Tibni, Omri reigned over all the multitude. Now it was in the thirtieth year of the reign of Asa, that Omri reigned for twelve years; six of these years he reigned in the city Tirzah, and the rest in the city called *Semareon* but named by the Greeks Samaria; but he himself called it *Semareon*, from Semer, who sold him the mountain where he built it. Now Omri was no way different from those kings that reigned before him, but that he grew worse than they, for they all sought how they might turn the people away from God, by their daily wicked practices; and on that account it was that God made one of them to be slain by another, and that no one person of their families should remain. This Omri also died at Samaria, and Ahab his son succeeded him.

6. Now by these events we may learn what concern God hath for the affairs of mankind, and how he loves good men and hates the wicked, and destroys them root and branch; for many of these kings of Israel, they and their families were miserably destroyed, and taken away one by another, in a short time, for their transgression and wickedness: but Asa, who was king of Jerusalem, and of the two tribes, attained, by God's blessing, a long and a blessed old age, for his piety and righteousness, and died happily, when he had reigned forty and one years; and when he was dead, his son Jehoshaphat succeeded him in the government. He was born of Asa's wife Azubah. And all men allowed that he followed the works of David his forefather, and this both in courage and piety; but we are not obliged now to speak any more of the affairs of this king.

CHAP. XIII.

How Ahab, when he had taken Jezebel to Wife, became more wicked than all the Kings that had been before him. Of the Actions of the Prophet Elijah, and what befell Naboth.

§ 1. Now Ahab, the king of Israel, dwelt in Samaria, and held the government for twenty-two years; and made no alteration in the conduct of the kings that were his predecessors, but only in such things as were of his own invention for the worse, and in his most gross wickedness. He imitated them in their wicked courses, and in their injurious behaviour towards God, and most especially he imitated the transgression of Jeroboam; for he worshiped the heifers that he had made; and he contrived other absurd objects of worship besides those heifers; he also took to wife the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose name was *Jezebel*, of whom he learned to worship her own gods. This woman was active and bold, and fell into so great a degree of impurity and madness, that she built a temple to the god of the Tyrians, which they call *Belus*, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. The king also himself had many such about him, and so exceeded in madness and wickedness all [the kings] that went before him.

2. There was now a prophet of God Almighty, of Thesbon, a country in Gilead, that came to Ahab, and said to him, that "God foretold he would not send rain nor dew in those years upon the country but when he should appear." And when he had confirmed this by an oath, he departed into the southern parts, and made his abode by a brook, out of which he had water to drink; for as for his food, ravens brought it to him every day; but when that river was dried up for want of rain, he came to Zarepath, a city not far from Sidon and Tyre, for it lay between them, and this at the command of God, for [God told him] that he should there find a woman who was a widow, that should give him sustenance.

en he was not far off the city, he saw a woman that laboured with her own
, gathering of sticks; so God informed him that this was the woman whc
give him sustenance; so he came and saluted her, and desired her to bring
me water to drink; but as she was going so to do, he called to her, and
have her bring him a loaf of bread also; whereupon she affirmed upon
hat she had at home nothing more than one handful of meal, and a little
d that she was going to gather some sticks, that she might knead it, and
bread for herself and her son: after which, she said, they must perish, and
sumed by the famine, for they had nothing for themselves any longer.
pon he said, "Go on with good courage, and hope for better things; and
all make me a little cake, and bring it to me, for I foretell to thee that this
of meal and this cruise of oil shall not fail until God send rain." When
phet had said this, she came to him, and made him the before named
of which she had part for herself, and gave the rest to her son, and to the
t also; nor did any thing of this fail until the drought ceased. Now
der mentions this drought in his account of the acts of Ethbaal, king of
ians, where he says thus: "Under him there was a want of rain from the
of Hyperberetæus till the month Hyperberetæus in the year following;
en he made supplications, there came great thunders. This Ethbaal built
r Botrys in Phœnicia, and the city Auza in Libya." By these words he
d this want of rain that was in the days of Ahab, for at that time it was
hbaal also reigned over the Tyrians, as Menander informs us.

ow this woman, of whom we spake before, that sustained the prophet,
er son was fallen into a distemper till he gave up the ghost, and appeared
ead, came to the prophet weeping, and beating her breast with her hands,
ding out such expressions as her passions dictated to her, and complained
that he had come to her to reproach her for her sins, and that on this ac-
was that her son was dead. But he bid her be of good cheer, and de-
r son to him, for that he would deliver him again to her alive. So when
delivered her son up to him, he carried him into an upper room, where he
lodged, and laid him down upon the bed, and cried unto God, and said,
od had not done well in rewarding the woman who had entertained him,
tained him, by taking away her son; and he prayed that he would send
e soul of the child into him, and bring him to life again." Accordingly
k pity on the mother, and was willing to gratify the prophet, that he might
n to have come to her to do her a mischief; and the child, beyond all ex-
n, came to life again. So the mother returned the prophet thanks, and
e was then clearly satisfied that God did converse with him.

ter a little while* Elijah came to king Ahab, according to God's will, to
him that rain was coming. Now the famine had seized upon the whole
, and there was a great want of what was necessary for sustenance, inso-
at it was not only men that wanted it, but the earth itself also, which did
uce enough for the horses and the other beasts, of what was useful for
feed on, by reason of the drought. So the king called for Obadiah, who
vard over his cattle, and said to him, that "he would have him go to the
s of water, and to the brooks, that if any herbs could be found for them,
ght mow it down, and reserve it for the beasts." And when he had sent
over all the habitable earth,† to discover the prophet Elijah, and they

hus, in his present copies, says, that *a little while after* the recovery of the widow's son of
od sent rain upon the earth; whereas, in our other copies, it is *after many days*, 1 Kings,
Several years are also intimated there, and in Josephus, sect. 2, as belonging to this drought
e; nay, we have the express mention of the *third year*, which I suppose was reckoned from
ry of the widow's son, and the ceasing of this drought in Phœnicia which, (as Menander in
ere) lasted one whole year. And both our Saviour and St. James affirm, that this drought
ll three years and six months, as their copies of the Old Testament then informed them, Luke,
mes, v. 17.

ius here seems to mean, that this drought affected *all the habitable earth*, and presently *all the*
ur Saviour says it was *upon all the earth*, Luke, iv. 25. They who restrain these expressions
of Judea alone go without sufficient authority or examples.

could not find him, he bid Obadiah accompany him. So it was resolved they should make a progress, and divide the ways between them, and Obadiah took one road, and the king another. Now it happened, that the same time when queen Jezebel slew the prophets, that this Obadiah had hidden a hundred prophets, and had fed them with nothing but bread and water. But when Obadiah was alone, and absent from the king, the prophet Elijah met him; and Obadiah asked him who he was; and when he had learned it from him, he worshiped him. Elijah then bid him go to the king, and tell him that I am here ready to wait on him. But Obadiah replied, "What evil have I done to thee, that thou sendest me to one who seekest to kill thee, and hath sought over all the earth for thee? Or was he so ignorant as not to know that the king had left no place untouched unto which he had not sent persons to bring him back, in order, if they could take him, to have him put to death?" For he told him he was afraid lest God should appear to him again, and he should go away into another place, and that when the king should send him for Elijah, and he should miss of him, and not be able to find him any where upon earth, he should be put to death. He desired him, therefore, to take care of his preservation; and told him how diligently he had provided for those of his own profession, and had saved a hundred prophets, when Jezebel slew the rest of them, and had kept them concealed, and that they had been sustained by him. But Elijah bid him fear nothing, but go to the king; and he assured him upon oath, that he would certainly show himself to Ahab that very day.

5. So when Obadiah had informed the king that Elijah was there, Ahab met him, and asked him in anger, "If he were the man that afflicted the people of the Hebrews, and was the occasion of the drought they lay under?" But Elijah, without any flattery, said, that "he was himself the man, he and his house, which brought such sad afflictions upon them, and that by introducing strange gods into their country and worshiping them, and by leaving their own, who was the only true God, and having no manner of regard to him." However, he made him go his way, and gather together all the people to him, to Mount Carmel, with his own prophets, and those of his wife's, telling him how many there were of them, as also the prophets of the groves, about four hundred in number. And as all the men whom Ahab sent for ran away to the forenamed mountain, the prophet Elijah stood in the midst of them, and said, "How long will you live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion?" He also exhorted them, that in case they esteemed their own country God to be the true and the only God, they would follow him and his commandments; but in case they esteemed him to be nothing, but had an opinion of the strange gods, and that they ought to worship them, his counsel was, that they should follow them. And when the multitude made no answer to what he said, Elijah desired, that for a trial of the power of the strange gods, and of their own God, he, who was his only prophet, while they had four hundred, might take a heifer and kill it as a sacrifice, and lay it upon pieces of wood, and not kindle any fire, and that they should do the same things, and call upon their own gods to set the wood on fire; for if that were done, they would thence learn the nature of the true God. This proposal pleased the people. So Elijah bid the prophets to choose out a heifer first, and kill it, and to call on their gods. But when there appeared no effect of the prayer or invocation of the prophets upon their sacrifice, Elijah derided them, and bade them call upon their gods with a loud voice, for they might either be on a journey, or asleep; and when these prophets had done so from morning till noon, and cut themselves with swords and lances,* according to the customs of their country, and he was about to offer his sacrifice, he bid [the prophets] go away, but bid [the people] come near and observe what he did, lest he should privately hide fire among the pieces of wood.

* Mr. Spanheim takes notice here, that in the worship of Mithra [the god of the Persians,] the priests cut themselves in the same manner as did these priests in their invocation of Baal [the god of the Phœnicians.]

So, upon the approach of the multitude, he took twelve stones, one for each tribe of the people of the Hebrews, and built an altar with them, and dug a very deep trench; and when he had laid the pieces of wood upon the altar, and upon them had laid the pieces of the sacrifices, he ordered them to fill four barrels with the water of the fountain, and to pour it upon the altar, till it ran over it, and till the trench was filled with the water poured into it. When he had done this, he began to pray to God, and to invocate him to make manifest his power to a people that had already been in an error a long time; upon which words a fire came on a sudden from heaven, in the sight of the multitude, and fell upon the altar, and consumed the sacrifice, till the very water was set on fire, and the place was become dry.

6. Now when the Israelites saw this, they fell down upon the ground, and worshiped one God, and called him the great and the only true God, but they called the others mere names, framed by the evil and wild opinions of men. So they caught their prophets, and, at the command of Elijah, slew them. Elijah also said to the king, that he should go to dinner without any further concern, for that in a little time he would see God send them rain. Accordingly Ahab went his way: but Elijah went up to the highest top of Mount Carmel, and sat down upon the ground, and leaned his head upon his knees, and bade his servant go up to a certain elevated place, and look towards the sea, and when he should see a cloud rising any where, he should give him notice of it, for till that time the air had been clear. When the servant had gone up, and had said many times that he saw nothing, at the seventh time of his going up, he said that he saw a small black thing in the sky, not larger than a man's foot. When Elijah heard that, he sent to Ahab, and desired him to go away to the city before the rain came down. So he came to the city Jezreel: and in a little time the air was all obscured, and covered with clouds, and a vehement storm of wind came upon the earth, and with a great deal of rain; and the prophet was under a divine fury, and ran along with the king's chariot unto Jezreel, a city of Izar* [Isachar.]

7. When Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, understood what signs Elijah had wrought, and how he had slain her prophets, she was angry, and sent messengers to him, and by them threatened to kill him, as he had destroyed her prophets. At this Elijah was affrighted, and fled to the city called *Beersheba*, which is situate at the utmost limits of the country belonging to the tribe of Judah, towards the land of Edom; and there he left his servant, and went away into the desert. He prayed also that he might die, for that he was not better than his fathers, nor need he be very desirous to live, when they were dead; and he lay and slept under a certain tree; and when somebody awakened him, and he was risen up, he found food set by him, and water; so when he had eaten, and recollected his strength by that his food, he came to that mountain which is called *Sinai*, where it is related that Moses received his laws from God; and finding there a certain hollow cave, he entered into it, and continued to make his abode in it. But when a certain voice came to him, but from whence he knew not, and asked him, "Why he was come thither, and had left the city?" He said, that "because he had slain the prophets of the foreign gods, and had persuaded the people that he alone whom they had worshiped from the beginning was God, he was sought for by the king's wife to be punished for so doing." And when he had heard another voice telling him that he should come out on the next day into the open air, and should thereby know what he was to do, he came out of the cave the next day accordingly, when he both heard an earthquake, and saw the bright splendour of a fire and after a silence made, a divine voice exhorted him not to be disturbed with the circumstances he was in, for that none of his enemies should have power

* For Izar we may here read (with Hudson and Cocceius) *Isachar*, i. e. of the tribe of Isachar, for to that tribe did Jezreel belong: and presently at the beginning of sect. 8, as also ch. xv. sect. 4, we may read for *Izar*, with one MS. nearly, and the scripture, *Jezreel*; for that was the city meant in the history of Naboth.

over him. The voice also commanded him to return home, and to ordain Jehu the son of Nimshi, to be king over their own multitude; and Hazael of Damascus to be over the Syrians; and Elisha of the city Abel to be a prophet in his stead; and that of the impious multitude some should be slain by Hazael, and others by Jehu. So Elijah, upon hearing this charge, returned into the land of the Hebrews. And when he found Elisha, the son of Shaphat, ploughing, and certain others with him, driving twelve yoke of oxen, he came to him, and cast his own garment upon him; upon which Elisha began to prophesy presently, and leaving his oxen, he followed Elijah. And when he desired leave to salute his parents, Elijah gave him leave so to do: and when he had taken his leave of them, he followed him, and became the disciple and the servant of Elijah all the days of his life. And thus have I dispatched the affairs in which this prophet was concerned.

8. Now there was one Naboth of the city Izar [Jezreel,] who had a field adjoining to that of the king's: the king would have persuaded him to sell him that his field, which lay so near to his own lands, at what price he pleased, that he might join them together, and make them one farm; and if he would not accept of money for it, he gave him leave to choose any of his other fields in its stead. But Naboth said, he would not do so, but would keep the possession of that land of his own, which he had by inheritance from his father. Upon this the king was grieved, as if he had received an injury, when he could not get another man's possession, and would neither wash himself nor take any food; and when Jezebel asked him, what it was that troubled him, and why he would neither wash himself, nor eat either dinner or supper? he related to her the perverseness of Naboth; and how, when he had made use of gentle words to him, and such as were beneath the royal authority, he had been affronted, and had not obtained what he desired. However, she persuaded him not to be cast down at this accident, but to leave off his grief, and to return to the usual care of his body; for that she would take care to have Naboth punished; and she immediately sent letters to the rulers of the Israelites [Jezreelites] in Ahab's name, and commanded them to fast, and to assemble a congregation, and to set Naboth at the head of them, because he was of an illustrious family, and to have three bold men ready to bear witness that he had blasphemed God and the king, and then to stone him, and slay him in that manner. Accordingly, when Naboth had been thus testified against, as the queen had written to them, and that he had blasphemed against God and Ahab the king, and desired him to take possession of Naboth's vineyard on free-cost. So Ahab was glad at what had been done, and rose up immediately from the bed whereon he lay, to go to see Naboth's vineyard; but God had great indignation at it, and sent Elijah the prophet to the field of Naboth, to speak to Ahab, and to say to him, that "he had slain the true owner of that field unjustly." And as soon as he came to him, and the king had said that he might do with him what he pleased (for he thought it a reproach to him to be thus caught in his sin,) Elijah said, that "in that very place in which the dead body of Naboth was eaten up by dogs, both his own blood and that of his wife's should be shed, and that all his family should perish, because he had been so insolently wicked, and had slain a citizen unjustly, and contrary to the laws of his country." Hereupon Ahab began to be sorry for the things he had done, and to repent of them, and he put on sackcloth, and went barefoot,* and would not touch any food: he also confessed his sins, and endeavoured thus to appease God. But God said to the prophet, that "while Ahab was living he would put off the punishment of his family, because he repented of those insolent crimes he had been guilty of, but that still he would fulfil his threatenings under Ahab's son." Which message the prophet delivered to the king.

* "The Jews weep to this day (says Jerom, here cited by Reland,) and roll themselves upon sackcloth, in ashes, barefoot upon such occasions." To which Spanheim adds, "that after the same manner Berenice, when his life was in danger, stood at the tribunal of Florus barefoot." Of the War, B. II. c. xv. sect. 1. See the like of David, 2 Sam. xv. 30; Antiq. B. vii. ch. ix. sect. 2.

CHAP. XIV.

Hadad, King of Damascus and of Syria, made two Expeditions against Ahab, and was beaten.

When the affairs of Ahab were thus, at that very time the son of Hadad hadad,] who was king of the Syrians and of Damascus, got together an army of all his country, and procured thirty-two kings beyond Euphrates to be his liaries; so he made an expedition against Ahab; but because Ahab's army not like that of Benhadad's, he did not set it in array to fight him, but having up every thing that was in the country, in the strongest cities he had, he e in Samaria himself; for the walls about it were very strong, and it aped to be not easily to be taken in other respects also. So the king of Syria his army with him, and came to Samaria, and placed his army round about ity, and besieged it. He also sent a herald to Ahab, and desired he would t the ambassadors he would send him, by whom he would let him know his ure. So upon the king of Israel's permission for him to send, those ambass came, and, by their king's command, spake thus:—"That Ahab's riches, his children, and his wives were Benhadad's; and if he would make an agree, and give him leave to take as much of what he had as he pleased, he would raw his army, and leave off the siege." Upon this Ahab bid the ambassadors back, and tell their king that "both he himself, and all that he hath, are his essions." And when these ambassadors had told this to Benhadad, he sent n again, and desired, since he confessed that all he had was his, that he would those servants of his which he should send the next day; and he commanhim to deliver to those whom he should send whatsoever upon their search- is palace, and the houses of his friends and kindred, they should find to be lent in its kind, but that what did not please them they should leave to him. is second embassage of the king of Syria, Ahab was surprised, and gathered ier the multitude to a congregation, and told them, that "for himself he was , for their safety and peace, to give up his own wives and children to the y, and to yield to him all his own possessions; for that was what the Syrian required at his first embassage; but that now he desires to send his ser- to search all their houses, and in them to leave nothing that is excellent in nd, seeking an occasion of fighting against him, as knowing that I would are what is mine own for your sakes, but taking a handle from the disagree- erms he offers concerning you to bring a war upon us: however, I will do you shall resolve is fit to be done." But the multitude advised him to en to none of his proposals, but to despise him, and be in readiness to fight

Accordingly, when he had given the ambassadors this answer to be re-, that "he still continued in the mind to comply with what terms he at first d, for the safety of the citizens, but as for his second desires, he cannot t to them," he dismissed them.

Now when Benhadad heard this, he had indignation, and sent ambassadors ab the third time, and threatened "that his army would raise a bank higher hose walls in confidence of whose strength he despised him, and that by ach man of his army taking a handful of earth;" hereby making a show great number of his army, and aiming to affright him. Ahab answered, he ought not to vaunt himself when he had only put on his armour, but he should have conquered his enemies in the battle." So the ambassado back, and found the king at supper with his thirty-two kings, and inform Ahab's answer; who then immediately gave order for proceeding t ke lines round the city, and raise a bulwark, and to prosecute the siege r of ways. Now, as this was doing, Ahab was in a and ople with him; but he took courage, and was freed f a prophet's coming to him, and saying to him, that "

subdue so many ten thousands of his enemies under him." And when he inquired by whose means the victory was to be obtained, he said, "By the sons of the princes, but under thy conduct, as their leader, by reason of their unskilfulness [in war.]" Upon which he called for the sons of the princes, and found them to be two hundred and thirty-two persons. So when he was informed that the king of Syria had betaken himself to feasting and repose, he opened the gates, and sent out the princes' sons. Now when the sentinels told Benhadad of it, he sent some to meet them, and commanded them, that "if these men were come out for fighting, they should bind them, and bring them to him; and that if they came out peaceably, they should do the same." Now Ahab had another army ready within the walls, but the sons of the princes fell upon the outguard, and slew many of them, and pursued the rest of them to the camp: and when the king of Israel saw that these had the upper hand, he sent out all the rest of his army, which falling suddenly upon the Syrians, beat them, for they did not think they would have come out: on which account it was that they assaulted them when they were naked and drunk,* insomuch that they left all their armour behind them, when they fled out of the camp, and the king himself escaped with difficulty, by flying away on horseback: but Ahab went a great way in pursuit of the Syrians; and when he had spoiled their camp, which contained a great deal of wealth, and, moreover, a large quantity of gold and silver, he took Benhadad's chariots and horses, and returned to the city: but as the prophet told him, he ought to have his army ready, because the Syrian king would make another expedition against him the next year, Ahab was busy in making provision for it accordingly.

3. Now Benhadad, when he had saved himself, and as much of his army as he could, out of the battle, he consulted with his friends how he might make another expedition against the Israelites. Now those friends advised him not to fight with them on the hills, because their God was potent in such places, and thence it had come to pass that they had very lately been beaten; but they said, that if they joined battle with them in the plain, they should beat them. They also gave him this farther advice, to send home those kings whom he had brought as his auxiliaries, but to retain their army, and to set captains over it instead of the kings, and to raise an army out of their country, and let them be in the place of the former who perished in the battle, together with horses and chariots. So he judged their counsel to be good, and acted according to it in the management of the army.

4. At the beginning of the spring Benhadad took his army with him, and led it against the Hebrews, and when he was come to a certain city which was called *Aphek*, he pitched his camp in the great plain. Ahab also went to meet him with his army, and pitched his camp over against him, although his army was a very small one, if it were compared with the enemies: but the prophet came again to him, and told him, that "God would give him the victory, that he might demonstrate his own power to be not only on the mountains, but on the plains also;" which it seems was contrary to the opinion of the Syrians. So they lay quiet in their camp seven days, but on the last of those days, when the enemies came out of their camp, and put themselves in array, in order to fight, Ahab also brought out his own army: and when the battle was joined, and they fought valiantly, he

* Mr. Reland notes here very truly, that the word *naked* does not always signify *entirely naked*, but sometimes without men's usual armour, without their usual robes or upper garments; as when Virgil bids the husbandman plough *naked* and sow naked; when Josephus says, Antiq. B. iv. ch. iii. sect. 2, that God had given the Jews the security of armour when they were *naked*; and when he here says, that Ahab fell on the Syrians when they were *naked and drunk*; when, Antiq. B. xi. ch. v. sect. 8, he says, that Nehemiah commanded those Jews that were building the walls of Jerusalem, to take care to have their armour on upon occasion, that the enemy might not fall upon them *naked*. I may add, that the case seems to be the same in scripture, when it says, that Saul lay down *naked* among the prophets, 1 Sam. xix. 24; when it says, that Isaiah, walked *naked and barefoot*, Isaiah, xx. 2, 3; and when it says that Peter, before he girt his fisher's coat to him, was *naked*, John, xxi. 7. What is said of David also gives light to this, who was reproached by Michal for *dancing before the ark and uncovering himself in the eyes of the handmaids, as one of the vain fellows shamefully uncovereth himself*, 2 Sam. vi. 14, 20; yet it is there expressly said, ver. 14, that *David was girded with a linen ephod*, i. e. he had laid aside his robes of state, and put on the sacerdotal, Levitical, or sacred garments, proper for such a solemnity.

put the enemy to flight, and pursued them, and pressed upon them, and slew them; nay, they were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another; nor could any more than a few of them escape to their own city Aphek, who were also killed by the walls falling upon them, being in number twenty-seven thousand.* Now there were slain in this battle a hundred thousand more; but Benhadad, king of the Syrians, fled away, with certain others of his most faithful servants, and hid himself in a cellar under ground: and when these told him, that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men, and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication, and obtain deliverance from Ahab, in case he would give them leave to go to him, he gave them leave accordingly. So they came to Ahab, clothed in sackcloth, with ropes about their heads† (for this was the ancient manner of supplication among the Syrians,) and said, that "Benhadad desired he would save him, and that he would ever be a servant to him for that favour." Ahab replied, "he was glad that he was alive, and not hurt in the battle." And he further promised him the same honour and kindness that a man would show to his brother. So they received assurances upon oath from him, that when he came to him he should receive no harm from him, and then went and brought him out of the cellar wherein he was hid, and brought him to Ahab as he sat in the chariot. So Benhadad worshiped him, and Ahab gave him his hand, and made him come up to him into his chariot, and kissed him, and bid him be of good cheer, and not to expect that any mischief should be done to him. So Benhadad returned him thanks, and professed that he would remember his kindness to him all the days of his life; and promised he would restore those cities of the Israelites which the former kings had taken from them, and grant that he should have leave to come to Damascus, as his forefathers had to come to Samaria. So they confirmed their covenants by oaths, and Ahab made him many presents, and sent him back to his own kingdom. And this was the conclusion of the war that Benhadad made against Ahab and the Israelites.

5. But a certain prophet, whose name was *Micaiah*,‡ came to one of the Israelites, and bid him smite him on the head, for by so doing he would please God: but when he would not do so, he foretold to him, that since he disobeyed the commands of God, he should meet with a lion, and be destroyed by him. When that sad accident had befallen the man, the prophet came again to another, and gave him the same injunction; so he smote him, and wounded his skull: upon which he bound up his head, and came to the king, and told him, that he had been a soldier of his, and had the custody of one of the prisoners committed to him by an officer; and that the prisoner being run away, he was in danger of losing his own life by the means of that officer, who had threatened him, that, if the prisoner escaped he would kill him. And when Ahab had said, that he would justly die, he took off the binding about his head, and was known by the king to be Micaiah the prophet, who made use of this artifice as a prelude to his following words: for he said, that "God would punish him who had suffered Benhadad, a blasphemer against him, to escape punishment, and that he would so bring it about, that he

* Josephus's number, two myriads and seven thousand, agrees here with that in our other copies, as those that were slain by the falling down of the walls of Aphek; but I suspected at first that this number in Josephus's present copies could not be his original number, because he calls them origot, *a few*, which could hardly be said of so many as twenty-seven thousand, and because of the improbability of the fall of a particular wall's killing so many; yet, when I consider Josephus's next words, how the rest which were slain in the battle were *ten other myriads*, that twenty-seven thousand are but a *few* in comparison of one hundred thousand; and that it was not *a wall*, as in our English version, but *the wall*, or *the entire walls* of the city, that fell down, as in all the originals.

† This manner of supplication for men's lives among the Syrians, with ropes or halters about their heads or necks, is, I suppose, no strange thing in later ages, even in our own country.

‡ It is here remarkable, that in Josephus's copy this prophet, whose severe denunciation of a disobedient person's slaughter by a lion had lately come to pass, was no other than Micaiah, the son of Imlaih the prophet, who denounced God's judgment on disobedient Ahab, seems directly to have been that very prophet whom the same Ahab in 1 Kings, xxii. 8, 18, complains of, *as one whom he hated, because he did not prophesy good concerning him, but evil.* and who in that chapter openly repeats his denunciations against him; all which came to pass accordingly: nor is there any reason to doubt but this and that latter were the very same prophet.

should die by the other's means, and his people by the other's army.*" Upon which Ahab was very angry at the prophet, and gave command that he should be put in prison, and there kept; but for himself he was in confusion at the words of Micaiah, and returned to his own house.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Jehoshaphat, the King of Jerusalem, and how Ahab made an Expedition against the Syrians, and was assisted therein by Jehoshaphat, but was himself overcome in Battle, and perished therein.

§ 1. And these were the circumstances in which Ahab was. But I now return to Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who, when he had augmented his kingdom, and had set garrisons in the cities of the country belonging to his subjects, and had put such garrisons no less into those cities which were taken out of the tribe of Ephraim by his grandfather Abijah, when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes [than he did into the other:] but then he had God favourable and assisting to him, as being both righteous and religious, and seeking to do somewhat every day that should be agreeable and acceptable to God. The kings also that were round about him honoured him with the presents they made him, till the riches that he had acquired were immensely great, and the glory he had gained was of a most exalted nature.

2. Now, in the third year of his reign, he called together the rulers of the country, and the priests, and commanded them to go round the land, and teach all the people that were under him, city by city, the laws of Moses, and to keep them, and to be diligent in the worship of God. With this the whole multitude was so pleased, that they were not so eagerly set upon, or affected with, any thing so much as the observation of the laws. The neighbouring nations also continued to love Jehoshaphat, and to be at peace with him. The Philistines paid their appointed tribute, and the Arabians supplied him every year with three hundred and sixty lambs, and as many kids of the goats. He also fortified the great cities, which were many in number, and of great consequence. He prepared also a mighty army of soldiers and weapons against their enemies. Now the army of men that wore their armour was three hundred thousand of the tribe of Judah, of whom Adnah was the chief: but John was chief of two hundred thousand. The same man was chief of the tribe of Benjamin, and had two hundred thousand archers under him. There was another chief, whose name was *Jehozabad*, who had a hundred and four score thousand armed men. This multitude was distributed to be ready for the king's service, besides those whom he sent to the best fortified cities.

3. Jehoshaphat took for his son Jehoram to wife, the daughter of Ahab, the king of the ten tribes, whose name was *Athaliah* And when, after some time, he went to Samaria, Ahab received him courteously, and treated the army that followed him in a splendid manner, with great plenty of corn, and wine, and of slain beasts; and desired that he would join with him in his war against the king of Syria, that he might recover from him the city of Ramoth in Gilead; for though it had belonged to his father, yet had the king of Syria's father taken it away from him: and upon Jehoshaphat's promise to afford him assistance (for, indeed, his army was not inferior to the other's,) and his sending for his army from Jerusalem to Samaria, the two kings went out of the city, and each of them sat on his own

* What is most remarkable in this history, and in many histories on other occasions in the Old Testament, is this, that during the Jewish theocracy God acted entirely as the supreme king of Israel, and the supreme general of their armies, and always expected that the Israelites should be in such absolute subjection to him, their supreme and heavenly king, and general of their armies, as subjects and soldiers are to their earthly kings and generals, and that usually without knowing the particular reasons of their injunctions.

throne, and each gave their orders to their several armies. Now Jehoshaphat bid them call some of the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of them concerning this expedition against the king of Syria, whether they would give them counsel to make that expedition at this time; for there was peace at that time between Ahab and the king of Syria, which had lasted three years, from the time he had taken him captive till that day.

4. So Ahab called his own prophets, being in number about four hundred, and bid them inquire of God, whether he would grant him the victory, if he made an expedition against Benhadad, and enable him to overthrow that city, for whose sake it was that he was going to war. Now these prophets gave their counsel for making this expedition; and said, that "he would beat the king of Syria, and, as formerly, would reduce him under his power." But Jehoshaphat, understanding by their words that they were false prophets, asked Ahab, whether there were not some other prophet, and he belonging to the true God, that we may have surer information concerning futurities? Hereupon Ahab said, "there was, indeed, such a one, but that he hated him, as having prophesied evil to him, and having foretold that he should be overcome and slain by the king of Syria, and that for this cause he had him now in prison, and that his name was *Micaiah*, the son of Imlah." But upon Jehoshaphat's desire that he might be produced, Ahab sent an eunuch, who brought Micaiah to him. Now the eunuch had informed him, by the way, that all the other prophets had foretold that the king should gain the victory; but he said, that "it was not lawful for him to lie against God, but that he must speak what he should say to him about the king, whatsoever it were." When he came to Ahab, and he had adjured him upon oath to speak the truth to him, he said, that "God had showed to him the Israelites running away, and pursued by the Syrians, and dispersed upon the mountains by them, as are flocks of sheep dispersed when their shepherd is slain." He said farther, that "God signified to him, that those Israelites should return in peace to their own home, and that he only should fall in the battle." When Micaiah had thus spoken, Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, "I told thee a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he uses to prophecy evil to me." Upon which Micaiah replied, "that he ought to hear all, whatsoever it be, that God foretells; and that in particular, they were false prophets that encouraged him to make this war in hope of victory, whereas he must fight and be killed." Whereupon the king was in suspense with himself. But Zedekiah, one of those false prophets, came near, and exhorted him not to hearken to Micaiah, for he did not at all speak truth; as a demonstration of which, he instanced in what Elijah* had said, who was a better prophet in foretelling futurities than Micaiah, for he foretold that "the dogs should lick his blood in the city Jezreel, in the field of Naboth, as they licked the blood of Naboth, who by his means was there stoned to death by the multitude; that therefore it was plain that this Micaiah was a liar, as contradicting a greater prophet than himself, and saying, that he should be slain at three days' journey distance. And [said he] you shall soon know whether he be a true prophet, and hath the power of the Divine Spirit; for I will smite him, and let him then hurt my hand, as Jadon caused the hand of Jeroboam the king to wither when he would have caught him; for I suppose thou hast certainly heard of that accident." So when, upon his smiting Micaiah, no harm happened to him, Ahab took courage, and readily led his army against the king of Syria; for, as I suppose, fate was too hard for him, and made him believe that the false prophets spake truer than the true one, that it might take an occasion of bringing him to his end. However, Zedekiah made horns of iron, and said to Ahab, that "God made those horns signals, that by them he should overthrow all Syria." But Micaiah re-

* These reasonings of Zedekiah, the false prophet, in order to persuade Ahab not to believe Micaiah, the true prophet, are plausible, but being omitted in our other copies, we cannot now tell whence Josephus had them, whether from his own temple copy, from some other original author, or from certain ancient notes. That some such plausible objection was now raised against Micaiah is very likely, otherwise Jehoshaphat, who used to disbelieve all such false prophets, could never have been induced to accompany Ahab in these desperate circumstances.

plied, "that Zedekiah, in a few days, should go from one secret chamber to another, to hide himself, that he might escape the punishment of his lying." Then did the king give orders that they should take Micaiah away, and guard him to Amon, the governor of the city, and to give nothing but bread and water.

5. Then did Ahab, and Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem, take their forces, and marched to Ramoth, a city of Gilead; and when the king of Syria heard of this expedition, he brought out his army to oppose them, and pitched his camp not far from Ramoth. Now Ahab and Jehoshaphat had agreed, that Ahab* should lay aside his royal robes, but that the king of Jerusalem should put on his [Ahab's] proper habit, and stand before the army, in order to disprove, by this artifice, what Micaiah had foretold; but Ahab's fate found him out without his robes; for Benhadad, the king of Assyria, had charged his army, by the means of their commanders, to kill nobody else but only the king of Israel. So when the Syrians, upon their joining battle with the Israelites, saw Jehoshaphat stand before the army, and conjectured that he was Ahab, they fell violently upon him, and encompassed him round; but when they were near, and knew that it was not he, they all returned back; and while the fight lasted from the morning light till late in the evening, and the Syrians were conquerors, they killed nobody, as their king had commanded them. And when they sought to kill Ahab alone, but could not find him, there was a young nobleman belonging to king Benhadad, whose name was *Naaman*; he drew his bow against the enemy, and wounded the king, through his breast plate, in his lungs. Upon this Ahab resolved not to make his mischance known to his army, lest they should run away, but he bid the driver of his chariot to turn it back, and carry him out of the battle, because he was sorely and mortally wounded. However, he sat in his chariot and endured the pain till sunset, and then he fainted away and died.

6. And now the Syrian army, upon the coming on of the night, retired to their camp; and when the herald belonging to the camp gave notice that Ahab was dead, they returned home; and they took the dead body of Ahad to Samaria, and buried it there; but when they had washed his chariot in the fountain of Jezreel which was bloody with the dead body of the king, they acknowledged that the prophecy of Elijah was true, for the dogs licked his blood, and the harlots continued afterwards to wash themselves in that fountain; but still he died at Ramoth, as Micaiah had foretold. And as what things were foretold† should happen to Ahab, by the two prophets, came to pass, we ought thence to have high notions of God, and every where to honour and worship him, and never to suppose that what is pleasant and agreeable is worthy of belief before what is true; and to esteem nothing more advantageous than the gift of prophecy, and that foreknowledge of future events which is derived from it, since God shows men thereby what we ought to avoid. We may also guess from what happened to this king, and have reason to consider the power of fate, that there is no way of avoiding it, even when we know it. It creeps upon human souls, and flutters them with pleasing hopes, till it leads them about to the place whence it will be too hard for them. Accordingly Ahab appears to have been deceived thereby, till he disbelieved those that foretold his defeat, but by giving credit to such as foretold what was grateful to him, was slain: and his son Ahaziah succeeded him.

* The reading of Josephus, that Jehoshaphat put on not his own, but Ahab's robes, in order to appear to be Ahab, while Ahab was without any robes at all, and hoped thereby to escape his own evil fate, and disprove Micaiah's prophecy against him, is exceeding probable. It gives great light also to his whole history, and shows, that although Ahab hoped Jehoshaphat would be mistaken for him, and run the only risk of being slain in the battle, yet was he entirely disappointed, while still the escape of the good man Jehoshaphat, and the slaughter of the bad man Ahab, demonstrated the great distinction that Divine Providence made betwixt them.

† We have here a very wise reflection of Josephus about Divine Providence, and what is derived from it, *prophecy;* and the inevitable certainty of its accomplishment; and that when wicked men think they take proper methods to elude what is denounced against them, and to escape the divine judgments thereby threatened them, without repentance, they are ever by Providence infatuated to bring about their own destruction, and thereby withal to demonstrate the perfect veracity of that God whose predictions they in vain endeavour to elude.

BOOK IX

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF AHAB TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Jehoshaphat again; how he constituted Judges, and, by God's Assistance, overcame his Enemies.

§ 1. When Jehoshaphat the king was come to Jerusalem, from the assistance he had afforded Ahab, the king of Israel, when he fought with Benhadad, king of Syria, the prophet Jehu met him, and accused him for assisting Ahab, a man both impious and wicked; and said to him, that "God was displeased with him for so doing, but that he delivered him from the enemy, notwithstanding he had sinned, because of his own proper disposition, which was good." Whereupon the king betook himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God; after which he presently went over all that country which he ruled round about, and taught the people, as well the laws which God gave them by Moses, and that religious worship that was due to him. He also constituted judges in every one of the cities in his kingdom, and charged them "to have regard to nothing so much in judging the multitude as to do justice, and not to be moved by bribes, nor by the dignity of men eminent for either their riches or their high birth, but to distribute justice equally to all, as knowing that God is conscious of every secret action of theirs." When he had himself instructed them thus, and gone over every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem. He there also constituted judges out of the priests* and the Levites, and principal persons of the multitude, and admonished them to pass all their sentences with care and justice. And that if any of the people of his country had differences of great consequence, they should send them out of the other cities to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such causes; and this with the greater care, because it is proper that the sentences which are given in that city wherein the temple of God is, and wherein the king dwells, be given with great care and the utmost justice. Now he set over them Amariah the priest, and Zebadiah [both] of the tribe of Judah; and after this manner it was that the king ordered these affairs.

2. About the same time the Moabites and Ammonites made an expedition against Jehoshaphat, and took with them a great body of Arabians, and pitched their camp at Engedi, a city that is situate at the lake Asphaltitis, and distant three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. In that place grows the best kind of palm-trees, and the opobalsamum.† Now Jehoshaphat heard that the enemies had passed over the lake, and had made an irruption into that country which belonged to his kingdom; at which news he was affrighted, and called the people of Jerusalem to a congregation in the temple; and standing over against the temple itself, he called upon God "to afford him power and strength, so as to inflict punishment on those that made this expedition against them (for that those who built this his temple had prayed that he would protect that city, and take vengeance on

* These judges, constituted by Jehoshaphat, were a kind of Jerusalem Sanhedrim, out of the priests, the Levites, and the principal of the people, both here and 2 Chron. xix. 8, much like the old Christian judicatures of the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons, and the people.

† Concerning this precious balsam, see the note on Antiq. B. viii. chap. vi. sect. 6.

those that were so bold as to come against it,) for they are come to take from us that land which thou hast given us for a possession." When he had prayed thus, he fell into tears; and the whole multitude, together with their wives and children, made their supplications also. Upon which a certain prophet, Jahazaleel by name, came into the midst of the assembly, and cried out and spake both to the multitude and to the king, that God heard their prayers, and promised to fight against their enemies. He also gave order that the king should draw his forces out the next day, for that he should find them between Jerusalem and the ascent of Engedi, at a place called the *Eminence;* and that he should not fight against them, but only stand still, and see how God would fight against them. When the prophet had said this, both the king and the multitude fell upon their faces, and gave thanks to God, and worshiped him; and the Levites continued singing hymns to God with their instruments of music.

3. As soon as it was day, and the king was come into that wilderness which is under the city of Tekoa, he said to the multitude, that "they ought to give credit to what the prophet had said, and not to set themselves in array for fighting, but to set the priests with their trumpets, and the Levites, with the singers of hymns, to give thanks to God, as having already delivered our country from our enemies." This opinion of the king pleased [the people,] and they did what he advised them to do. So God caused a terror and a commotion to arise among the Ammonites, who thought one another to be enemies, and slew one another, insomuch that not one man out of so great an army escaped; and when Jehoshaphat looked upon that valley wherein the enemies had been encamped, and saw it full of dead men, he rejoiced at so surprising an event as was this assistance of God, while he himself, by his own power, and without their labour, had given them the victory. He also gave his army leave to take the prey of the enemies' camp, and to spoil their dead bodies; and indeed so they did for three days together, till they were weary, so great was the number of the slain; and on the fourth day all the people were gathered together unto a certain hollow place or valley, and blessed God for his power and assistance, from which the place had this name given it, *The valley of* [*Berachah*, or] *blessing*.

4. And when the king had brought his army back to Jerusalem, he betook himself to celebrate festivals, and offer sacrifices, and this for many days. And, indeed, after this destruction of their enemies, and when it came to the ears of the foreign nations, they were all greatly affrighted, as supposing that God would openly fight for him hereafter. So Jehoshaphat from that time lived in great glory and splendour, on account of his righteousness and his piety towards God. He was also in friendship with Ahab's son, who was king of Israel; and he joined with him in the building of ships that were to sail to Pontus,* and the trafic cities of Thrace; but he failed of his gains, for the ships were destroyed by being so great [and unwieldy;] on which account he was no longer concerned about shipping. And this is the history of Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem.

* What are here *Pontus* and *Thrace*, as the places whither Jehoshaphat's fleet sailed, are in our other copies *Ophir* and *Tarshish*, and the place whence it sailed is in them *Exiongeber*, which lay on the Red Sea, whence it was impossible for any ships to sail to Pontus or Thrace; so that Josephus's copy differed from our other copies, as is farther plain from his own words, which render what we read, that *the ships were broken at Exiongeber, from their* unwieldly *greatness*. But so far we may conclude, that Josephus thought one *Ophir* to be somewhere in the Mediterranean, and not in the South Sea, though perhaps there might be another Ophir in that South Sea also, and that fleets might then sail both from Phœnicia and from the Red Sea to fetch the *gold of Ophir*.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Ahaziah, the King of Israel; and again concerning the Prophet Elijah

§ 1. And now Ahaziah, the son of Ahab reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and in all respects like to both his parents and to Jeroboam, who first of all transgressed, and began to deceive the people. In the second year of his reign, the king of Moab fell off from his obedience, and left off paying those tributes which he before paid to his father Ahab. Now it happened that Ahaziah, as he was coming down from the top of his house, fell down from it, and in his sickness sent to the Fly,* which was the god of Ekron, for that was this god's name, to inquire about his recovery. But the God of the Hebrews appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent, and to ask them "Whether the people of Israel had not a God of their own, that the king sent to a foreign god to inquire about his recovery; and to bid them return and tell the king, that he would not escape this disease." And when Elijah had performed what God had commanded him, and the messengers had heard what he said, they returned to the king immediately; and when the king wondered how they could return so soon, and asked them the reason of it, they said, that a "certain man met them, and forbade them to go on any farther, but to return and tell thee, from the command of the God of Israel, that this disease will have a bad end." And when the king bid them describe the man that said this to them, they replied, "That he was a hairy man, and was girt about with a girdle of leather." So the king understood by this that the man who was described by the messengers was Elijah; whereupon he sent a captain to him, with fifty soldiers, and commanded them to bring Elijah to him; and when the captain that was sent found Elijah sitting upon the top of a hill, he commanded him to come down, and to come to the king, for so he had enjoined, but that in case he refused, they would carry him by force. Elijah said to him, "That you may have a trial whether I be a true prophet, I will pray that fire† may fall from heaven, and destroy both the soldiers and yourself." So he prayed, and a whirlwind of fire fell [from heaven,] and destroyed the captain and those that were with him. And when the king was informed of the destruction of these men, he was very angry, and sent another captain, with the like number of armed men that were sent before. And when this captain also threatened the prophet, that unless he came down of his own accord, he would take him and carry him away; upon his prayer against him, the fire [from heaven] slew this captain as well as the other. And when, upon inquiry, the king was informed of what happened to him, he sent out a third captain. But when this captain, who was a wise man, and of a mild disposition, came to the place where Elijah happened to be, and spake civilly to him; and said, "That he knew that it was without his own con-

* This *god of flies* seems to have been so called, as was the like god among the Greeks, from his supposed power over flies in driving them away from the flesh of their sacrifices, which otherwise would have been very troublesome to them.

† It is commonly esteemed a very cruel action of Elijah's, when he called for fire from heaven, and consumed no fewer than two captains and a hundred soldiers, and this for no other crime than obeying the orders of their king, in attempting to seize him; and it is owned by our Saviour that it was an instance of greater severity than the spirit of the New Testament allows, Luke, ix. 54. But then we must consider, that it is not unlikely that these captains and soldiers believed that they were sent to fetch the prophet, that he might be put to death for foretelling the death of the king, and this while they knew him to be the prophet of the true God, the supreme king of Israel (for they were still under the theocracy,) which was no less than impiety, rebellion, and treason in the highest degree. Nor would the command of a subaltern, or inferior captain contradicting the commands of the general, when the captain and soldiers both knew it to be so, as I suppose, justify or excuse such gross rebellion and disobedience in soldiers at this day. Accordingly, when Saul commanded his guards to slay Ahimelech and the priests at Nob, they knew it to be an unlawful command, and would not obey it, 1 Sam. xxii. 17. From which cases both officers and soldiers may learn, that the commands of their leaders or kings cannot justify or excuse them in doing what is wicked in the sight of God, or in fighting in an unjust cause when they know it to be so.

sent, and only in submission to the king's command that he came to him; and that those that came before did not come willingly, but on the same account; he therefore desired him to have pity on those armed men that were with him; and that he would come down and follow him to the king." So Elijah accepted of his discreet words and courteous behaviour, and came down and followed him. And when he came to the king, he prophesied to him, and told him that "God said, since thou hast despised him as not being God, and so unable to foretell the truth about thy distemper, but hast sent to the god of Ekron to inquire of him what will be the end of this thy distemper, know this, that thou shalt die."

2. Accordingly the king in a very little time died, as Elijah had foretold; but Jehoram his brother succeeded him in the kingdom, for he died without children, but for this Jehoram he was like his father Ahab in wickedness and reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all sorts of wickedness and impiety towards God; for, leaving off his worship, he worshiped foreign gods, but in other respects he was an active man. Now at this time it was that Elijah disappeared from among men, and no one knows of his death to this very day; but he left behind him his disciple Elisha, as we have formerly declared. And indeed, as to Elijah, and as to Enoch, who was before the deluge, it is written in the sacred books that they disappeared, but so that nobody knew that they died.

CHAP. III.

How Joram and Jehoshaphat made an Expedition against the Moabites; as also concerning the Wonders of Elisha, and the death of Jehoshaphat.

§ 1. When Joram had taken upon him the kingdom, he determined to make an expedition against the king of Moab, whose name was Mesha; for, as we told you before, he was departed from his obedience to his brother [Ahaziah,] who he paid to his father Ahab two hundred thousand sheep, with their fleeces of wool. When, therefore, he had gathered his own army together, he sent also to Jehoshaphat, and entreated him, that since he had from the beginning been a friend to his father, he would assist him in the war that he was entering into against the Moabites, who had departed from their obedience; who not only himself promised to assist him, but would also oblige the king of Edom, who was under his authority, to make the same expedition also. When Joram had received these assurances of assistance from Jehoshaphat, he took his army with him, and came to Jerusalem; and when he had been sumptuously entertained by the king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by them to take their march against their enemies through the wilderness of Edom; and when they had taken a compass of seven days journey, they were in distress for want of water for the cattle and for the army, from the mistake of their roads by the guides that conducted them, insomuch that they were all in an agony, especially Joram; and cried to God, by reason of their sorrow, and [desired to know] what wickedness had been committed by them, that induced him to deliver three kings together, without fighting, into the king of Moab. But Jehoshaphat, who was a righteous man, encouraged him, and bid him send to the camp, and know whether any prophet of God was come along with them, that we might by him learn from God what we should do. And when one of the servants of Joram said that he had seen there Elisha, the son Shaphat, the disciple of Elijah, the three kings went to him at the entreaty of Jehoshaphat; and when they were come at the prophet's tent, which tent was pitched out of the camp, they asked him, "What would become of the army?" and Joram was particularly very pressing with him about it. And when he replied to him, that "he should not trouble him, but go to his father's and mother's prophets, for they [to be sure] were true prophets," he still desired him to en-

phecy and to save them. So he swore by God, that he would not answer him, unless it were on account of Jehoshaphat, who was a holy and righteous man; and when, at his desire, they brought him a man that could play on the psaltery, the divine spirit came upon him, as the music played, and he commanded them to dig any trenches in the valley; "for," said he, "though there appear neither cloud, nor wind nor storm of rain, ye shall see this river full of water, till the army and the cattle be saved for you by drinking of it; nor will this be all the favour that you shall receive from God, but you shall also overcome your enemies, and take the best and strongest cities of the Moabites, and you shall cut down their fruit trees,* and lay waste their country, and stop up their fountains and rivers.

2. When the prophet had said this, the next day, before the sun was risen, a great torrent ran strongly; for God had caused it to rain very plentifully at the distance of three days journey in Edom, so that the army and the cattle found water to drink in abundance. But when the Moabites heard that the three kings were coming upon them, and made their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab gathered his army together presently; and commanded them to pitch their camp upon the mountains, that when the enemies should attempt to enter their country, they might not be concealed from them. But when at the rising of the sun they saw the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land of Moab, and that it was of the colour of blood, for at such a time the water especially looks red, by the shining of the sun upon it, they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had slain one another for thirst; and that the river ran with their blood. However, supposing that this was the case, they desired their king would send them out to spoil their enemies; whereupon they all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained, and came to the enemies' camp, as supposing them destroyed already. But their hope deceived them, for as their enemies stood round about them, some of them were cut to pieces, and others of them were dispersed, and fled to their own country. And when the kings fell into the land of Moab, they overthrew the cities that were in it, and spoiled their fields, and marred them, filling them with stones out of the brooks, and cut down the best of their trees, and stopped up their fountains of water, and overthrew their walls to their foundations. But the king of Moab, when he was pursued, endured a siege, and seeing his city in danger of being overthrown by force, made a sally, and went out with seven hundred men, in order to break through the enemies' camp with his horsemen, on that side where the watch seemed to be kept most negligently; and when upon trial he could not get away, for he lighted upon a place that was carefully watched, he returned into the city, and did a thing that showed despair and the utmost distress; for he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him up upon the wall that he might be visible to all the enemies, he offered him for a whole burnt-offering to God; whom, when the kings saw, they commiserated the distress that was the occasion of it, and were so affected, in way of humanity and pity, that they raised the siege, and every one returned to his own house; So Jehoshaphat came to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, and outlived this expedition but a little time, and then died, having lived in all sixty years, and of them reigned twenty-five. He was buried in a magnificent manner in Jerusalem, for he had imitated the actions of David.

* This practice of cutting down or plucking up by the roots the fruit trees, was forbidden, even in other wars, by the law of Moses, Deut. xx. 19, 20, and only allowed by God in this particular case, the Moabites were to be punished and cut off in an extraordinary manner for their wickedness. —Isa. xlviii. 11, 12, 13, and many the like prophecies against them. Nothing could therefore justify this practice but a particular commission from God by his prophets, as in the present case, which was a sufficient warrant for breaking any such ritual or ceremonial law whatever.

CHAP. IV.

Jehoram succeeds Jehoshaphat: how Joram, his Namesake, King of Israel, fought with the Syrians; and what Wonders were done by the Prophet Elisha.

§ 1. JEHOSHAPHAT had a good number of children; but he appointed his eldest son Jehoram to be his successor, who had the same name with his mother's brother, that was king of Israel, and the son of Ahab. Now when the king of Israel was come out of the land of Moab to Samaria, he had with him Elisha the prophet, whose acts I have a mind to go over particularly, for they were illustrious, and worthy to be related, as we have them set down in the sacred books.

2. For they say that the widow of Obadiah,* Ahab's steward, came to him and said, that "he was not ignorant how her husband had preserved the prophets that were to be slain by Jezebel, the wife of Ahab; for she said that he hid a hundred of them, and had borrowed money for their maintenance, and that after her husband's death she and her children were carried away to be made slaves by the creditors; and she desired of him to have mercy upon her on account of what her husband did, and afford her some assistance." And when he asked her what she had in the house, she said, nothing but a very small quantity of oil in a cruise. So the prophet bid her go away, and borrow a great many empty vessels of her neighbours, and when she had shut her chamber door, to pour the oil into them all; for that God would fill them full. And when the woman had done what she was commanded to do, and bade her children bring every one of the vessels, and all were filled, and not one left empty, she came to the prophet, and told him that they were all full; upon which he advised her to go away, and sell the oil, and pay the creditors what was owing to them, for that there would be some surplus of the price of the oil, which she might make use of for the maintenance of her children. And thus did Elisha discharge the woman's debts, and free her from the vexation of her creditors.

3. *Elisha also sent a hasty message to Joram, and exhorted him to take care of that place, for that therein were some Syrians lying in ambush to kill him. So the king did as the prophet exhorted him, and avoided his going a hunting. And when Benhadad missed of the success of his lying in ambush, he was wroth with his own servants, as if they had betrayed his ambushment to Joram, and he sent for them, and said they were the betrayers of his secret counsels; and he

* That this woman who cried to Elisha, and who in our Bible is styled *the wife of one of the sons of the prophets*, 2 Kings, iv. 1, was no other than the widow of Obadiah, the good steward of Ahab, is confirmed by the Chaldee paraphrast, and by the Rabbins and others. Nor is that unlikely which Josephus here adds, that these debts were contracted by her husband for the support of those *hundred of the Lord's prophets whom he maintained by fifty in a cave*, in the days of Ahab and Jezebel, 1 Kings, xviii. 4, which circumstances render it highly fit that the prophet Elisha should provide her a remedy, and enable her to redeem herself and her sons from the fear of that slavery which insolvent debtors were liable to by the law of Moses, Levit. xxv. 39; Matt. xviii. 25; which he did accordingly, with God's help, at the expense of a miracle.

† Dr. Hudson, with very good reason, suspects that there is no small defect in our present copies of Josephus, just before the beginning of this section, and that chiefly as to that distinct account which he had given us reason to expect in the first section, and to which he seems to refer, chap. viii. sect. 6, concerning the glorious miracles which Elisha wrought, which indeed in our Bibles are not a few, 2 Kings, iv.—ix. of which we have several omitted in Josephus's present copies. One of those histories, omitted at present, was evidently in his Bible, I mean that of the curing of Naaman's leprosy, 2 Kings, v. for he plainly alludes to it, B. iii. chap. xi. sect. 4, where he observes, "that there were lepers in many nations who yet have been in honour, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in the commonwealth, and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples." But what makes me most regret the want of that history in our present copies of Josephus is this, that we have here, as it is commonly understood, one of the greatest difficulties in all the Bible, that in 2 Kings, v. 18, 19, when Naaman, after he had been miraculously cured by a prophet of the true God, and had thereupon promised, verse 17, that "he would henceforth offer neither burnt-offerings nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto the Lord, adds, In this thing the Lord pardon thy servant, that when my master goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth upon my hands, and I bow down myself in the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing. And Elisha said, Go in peace." This looks like a prophet's permission for being partaker in idolatry itself, not of connivance with an idolatrous court.

threatened that he would put them to death, since such their practice was evident, because he had entrusted this secret to none but them, and yet it was made known to his enemy. And when one that was present said, that "he should not mistake himself, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, but that he ought to know that it was Elisha the prophet, who discovered all to him, and laid open all his counsels." So he gave order that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. Accordingly, those that were sent brought word, that he was in Dothan: wherefore Benhadad sent to that city a great army, with horses and chariots to take Elisha; so they encompassed the city round about by night, and kept him therein confined; but when the prophet's servant in the morning perceived this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he came running, and crying out after a disordered manner to him, and told him of it; but he encouraged him, and bid him not be afraid, and to despise the enemy, and trust in the assistance of God, and was himself without fear; and he besought God to make manifest to his servant his power and presence, so far as was possible in order to the inspiring him with hope and courage. Accordingly God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made the servant see a multitude of chariots and horses encompassing Elisha, till he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived, at the sight of what he supposed was come to their assistance. After this Elisha did farther entreat God, that he would dim the eyes of their enemies, and cast a mist before them, whereby they might not discern him. When this was done, he went into the midst of his enemies, and asked them who it was that they came to seek; and when they replied, the prophet Elisha, he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he was. So these men were so darkened by God in their sight and in their mind, that they followed him very diligently; And when Elisha had brought them to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round about them; and prayed to God to clear the eyes of these their enemies, and take the mist from before them. Accordingly when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies; and as the Syrians were strangely amazed and distressed, as was but reasonable, at an action so divine and surprising; and as king Joram asked the prophet, if he would give him leave to shoot at them; Elisha forbade him so to do; and said, that "it is just to kill those that are taken in battle, but that these men had done the country no harm, but, without knowing it, were come thither by the divine power." So that his counsel was to treat them in an hospitable manner at his table, and then send them away without hurting them."* Wherefore Joram obeyed the prophet; and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he let them go to Benhadad their king.

4. Now when these men were come back, and had showed Benhadad how strange an accident had befallen them, and what an appearance and power they had experienced of the God of Israel, he wondered at it, as also at that prophet with whom God was so evidently present; so he determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha, but resolved to make open war with them, as supposing he could be too hard for his enemies by the multitude of his army and power. So he made an expedition with a great army against Joram, who not thinking himself a match for him, shut himself up in Samaria, and depended on the strength of its walls; but Benhadad supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet that he should overcome the Samaritans by famine, and the want of necessaries, and brought his army up on them, and besieged the city; and the plenty of necessaries was brought so

* Upon occasion of this stratagem of Elisha's in Josephus, we may take notice, that although Josephus was one of the greatest lovers of truth in the world, yet in a just war he seems to have had no manner of scruple upon him by all such stratagems possible to deceive public enemies. See this Josephus's account of Jeremiah's imposition on the great men of the Jews in somewhat a like case, Antiq. B. x. chap vii. sect. 6, and 2 Sam. xvi. 16 &c.

low with Joram, that from the extremity of want an ass's head was sold in Samaria for fourscore pieces of silver, and the Hebrews bought a sextary of dove's dung instead of salt, for five pieces of silver. Now Joram was in fear lest somebody should betray the city to the enemy, by reason of the famine, and went every day round the walls and the guards to see whether any such were concealed among them; and being thus seen, and taking such care, he deprived them of the opportunity of contriving any such thing; and if they had a mind to do it, he by this means prevented them; but upon a certain woman's crying out, "Have pity on me, my lord," while he thought that she was about to ask for somewhat to eat, he imprecated God's curse upon her, and said, He had neither threshing floor nor wine-presses, whence he might give her any thing at her petition. Upon which she said, "She did not desire his aid in any such thing, nor trouble him about food, but desired that he would do her justice as to another woman." And when he bade her say on, and let him know what she desired, she said, "She had made an agreement with the other woman, who was her neighbour and her friend, that because the famine and the want was intolerable, they should kill their children, each of them having a son of her own, and we will live upon them ourselves for two days, the one day upon one son, and the other day upon the other; and, said she, I have killed my son the first day, and we lived upon my son yesterday, but this other woman will not do the same thing, but hath broken her agreement, and hath hid her son." This story mightily grieved Joram when he heard it; so he rent his garment, and cried out with a loud voice, and conceived great wrath against Elisha the prophet, and set himself eagerly to have him slain, because he did not pray to God to provide them some exit and way of escape out of the miseries with which they were surrounded, and sent one away immediately to cut off his head, who made haste to kill the prophet; but Elisha was not unacquainted with the wrath of the king against him; for as he sat in his house by himself, with none but his disciples about him, he told them that Joram, who was the son of a murderer,* had sent one to take away his head: but, said he, "when he that is commanded to do this comes, take care that you do not let him come in, but press the door against him, and hold him fast there, for the king himself will follow him, and come to me, having altered his mind." Accordingly they did as they were bidden, when he that was sent by the king to kill Elisha came; but Joram repented of his wrath against the prophet, and for fear he that was commanded to kill him should have done it before he came, he made haste to hinder his slaughter, and to save the prophet: and when he came to him, he accused him that he did not pray to God for their deliverance from the miseries they now lay under, but saw them so sadly destroyed by them. Hereupon Elisha promised, that the very next day, at the very same hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two seahs of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour should be sold for a shekel. This prediction made Joram and those that were present very joyful, they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had of the truth of his former predictions; and the expectation of plenty made the want they were in that day, with the uneasiness that accompanied it, appear a light thing to them: but the captain of the third band, who was a friend of the king's, and on whose hand the king leaned, said, "Thou talkest of incredible things, O prophet! for as it is impossible for God to pour down torrents of barley, or fine flour, out of heaven, so is it impossible that what thou sayest should come to pass." To which the prophet made this reply, "Thou shalt see these things come to pass, but thou shalt not be in the least a partaker of them."

* This *son of a murderer* was Joram, the son of Ahab; which Ahab slew, or permitted his wife Jezebel to slay the Lord's prophets, and Naboth, 1 Kings, xviii. 4; xxi. 19: and he is here called by this name, I suppose, because he had now also himself sent an officer to *murder* him; yet is Josephus's account of Joram's coming himself at last, as repenting of his intended cruelty, much more probable than that in our copies, 2 Kings, vi. 33, which rather implies the contrary.

5. Now what Elisha had thus foretold came to pass in the manner following: There was a law in Samaria,* that those that had the leprosy, and whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should abide without the city; and there were four men that on this account abode before the gates, while nobody gave them any food, by reason of the extremity of the famine: and as they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and they considered that if they were permitted to enter, they should miserably perish by the famine, as also, that if they stayed where they were, they should suffer in the same manner, they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, that in case they should spare them, they should live, but if they should be killed, that would be an easy death. So when they had confirmed this their resolution, they came by night to the enemies' camp Now God had begun to affright and disturb the Syrians, and to bring the noise of chariots and armour to their ears, as though an army were coming upon them, and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer to them. In short, they were in such a dread of this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said, that "Joram the king of Israel had hired for auxiliaries both the king of Egypt and the king of the islands, and led them against them, for they heard the noise of them as they were coming." And Benhadad believed what they said (for there came the same noise to his ears, as well as it did to theirs;) so they fell into a mighty disorder and tumult, and left their horses and beasts in their camp, with immense riches also, and betook themselves to flight; and those lepers who had departed from Samaria, and were gone to the camp of the Syrians, of whom we made mention a little before, when they were in the camp, saw nothing but great quietness and silence, accordingly they entered into it, and went hastily into one of the tents, and when they saw nobody there, they eat and drank, and carried garments, and a great quantity of gold, and hid it out of the camp; after which they went into another tent, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former, and this did they four several times, without the least interruption from any body; so they gathered thereby that the enemies were departed; whereupon they reproached themselves that they did not inform Joram and the citizens of it. So they came to the walls of Samaria, and called aloud to the watchmen, and told them in what state the enemies were, as did these tell the king's guards, by whose means Joram came to know of it; who then sent for his friends, and the captains of his host, and said to them, that "he suspected that this departure of the king of Syria was by way of ambush and treachery, and that out of despair of ruining you by famine, when you imagine them to be fled away, you may come out of the city to spoil their camp, and he may then fall upon you on a sudden, and may both kill you, and take the city without fighting; whence it is that I exhort you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or proudly to despise your enemies, as though they were really gone away." And when a certain person said, that "he did very well and wisely to admit such a suspicion, but that he still advised him to send a couple of horsemen to search all the country, as far as Jordan, that if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy, they might be a security to your army, that they may not go out as if they suspected nothing, nor undergo the like misfortune; and (said he) those horsemen may be numbered among those that have died by the famine, supposing they be caught by the enemy." So the king was pleased with this opinion, and sent such as might search out the truth, who performed their journey over a road that was without any enemies, but found it full of provisions and of weapons, that they had therefore thrown away and left behind them, in order to their being light and expeditious in their flight. When the king heard this, he sent out the multitude to take the spoils of the camp; which gain of theirs was not of things of small value, but they took a great quantity of gold, and a great quantity of silver, and flocks of all kinds of cattle. They also possessed them-

* This law of the Jews, for the exclusion of the lepers out of the camp in the wilderness, and out of cities in Judea is a known one, Lev. xiii. 46; and Num. v. 1--4.

selves of [so many] ten thousand measures of wheat and barley as they never in the least dreamed of; and were not only freed from their former miseries, but had such plenty, that two seahs of barley were bought for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour for a shekel, according to the prophecy of Elisha. Now a seah is equal to an Italian modius and a half. The captain of the third band was the only man that received no benefit by this plenty; for as he was appointed by the king to oversee the gate, that he might prevent the too great crowd of the multitude and they might not endanger one another to perish, by the treading on one another in the press, he suffered himself in that very way, and died in that very manner, as Elisha had foretold such his death, when he alone of them all disbelieved what he had said concerning that plenty of provisions which they should soon have

6. Hereupon, when Benhadad, the king of Syria, had escaped to Damascus, and understood that it was God himself that cast all his army into this fear and disorder, and that it did not arise from the invasion of enemies, he was mightily cast down at his having God so greatly for his enemy, and fell into a distemper. Now it happened that Elisha the prophet, at that time, was gone out of his own country to Damascus, of which Benhadad was informed; he sent Hazael, the most faithful of all his servants, to meet him, and carry him presents, and bade him inquire of him about his distemper, and whether he should escape the dangers that it threatened. So Hazael came to Elisha with forty camels that carried the best and most precious fruits that the country of Damascus afforded, as well as those which the king's palace supplied. He saluted him kindly, and said, that he "was sent to him by king Benhadad, and brought presents with him, in order to inquire concerning his distemper, whether he should recover from it or not?" Whereupon the prophet bid him tell the king no melancholy news, but still he said he would die. So the king's servant was troubled to hear it; and Elisha wept also, and his tears ran down plenteously at his foresight of what miseries his people would undergo after the death of Benhadad. And when Hazael asked him, what was the occasion of this confusion he was in? he said, that "he wept out of his commiseration for the multitude of the Israelites, and what terrible miseries they will suffer by thee; for thou wilt slay the strongest of them, and wilt burn their strongest cities, and will destroy their children, and dash them against the stones, and will rip up their women with child." And when Hazael said, "How can it be that I should have power enough to do such things?" The prophet replied, "that God had informed him that he should be king of Syria." So when Hazael was come to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his distemper;* but on the next day he spread a wet cloth, in the nature of a net, over him, and strangled him, and took his dominion. He was an active man and had the good will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus, to a great degree; by whom both Benhadad himself, and Hazael, who ruled after him, are honoured to this day as gods, by reason of their benefactions, and their building them temples, by which they adorned the city of the Damascens. They also every day do with great pomp pay their worship to these kings,† and value themselves upon their antiquity; nor do they know that these kings are much later than they imagine, and that they are not yet eleven hundred years old. Now when Joram, the king of Israel, heard that Benhadad was dead, he recovered out of the terror and dread he had been in on his account, and was very glad to live in peace.

* Since Elijah did not live to anoint Hazael king of Syria himself, as he was empowered to do, 1 Kings, xix. 15, it was now probably now done, in his name, by his servant and successor Elisha: nor does it seem to me otherwise, but that Benhadad immediately recovered of his disease, as the prophet foretold; and that Hazael, upon his being anointed to succeed him, though he ought to have staid till he died by the course of nature, or some other way of divine punishment, as did David for many years in the like case, was too impatient, and the very next day smothered or strangled him, in order to come directly to the ecession.

† What Mr. Le Clerc pretends here, that it is more probable that Hazael and his son were worshiped by the Syrians, and people of Damascus, till the days of Josephus, than Benhadad and Hazael, because under Benhadad they had greatly suffered, and because it is almost incredible, that both a king, and

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Wickedness of Jehoram, King of Jerusalem. His Defeat and Death.

§ 1. Now Jehoram, king of Jerusalem, for we have said before that he had the same name with the king of Israel, as soon as he had taken the government upon him, betook himself to the slaughter of his brethren, and his father's friends, who were governors under him, and thence made a beginning, and a demonstration of his wickedness; nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who at first transgressed against the laws of their country and of the Hebrews, and against God's worship; and it was Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, whom he had married, who taught him to be a bad man in other respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out this family, because of the promise he had made to David. However, Jehoram did not leave off the introduction of new sorts of customs, to the propagation of impiety, and to the ruin of the customs of his own country. And when the Edomites about that time had revolted from him, and slain their former king, who was in subjection to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Jehoram fell upon the land of Edom, with the horsemen that were about him, and the chariots, by night, and destroyed those that lay near to his own kingdom, but did not proceed farther. However, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, with those that dwelt in the country of Libnah. He was indeed so mad as to compel the people to go up to the high places of the mountains, and worship foreign gods.

2. As he was doing this, and had entirely cast his own country laws out of his mind, there was brought him an epistle from Elijah* the prophet, which declared that "God would execute great judgments upon him, because he had not imitated his own fathers, but had followed the wicked courses of the kings of Israel; and had compelled the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jerusalem, to leave the holy worship of their own God, and to worship idols, as Ahab had compelled the Israelites to do and because he had slain his brethren, and the men that were good and righteous. And the prophet gave him notice, in this epistle, what punishment he should undergo for these crimes, namely, the destruction of his people, with the corruption of the king's own wives and children; and that he should himself die of a distemper in his bowels, with long torments those his bowels falling out by the violence of the inward rottenness of the parts, insomuch, that though he see his own misery, he shall not be able at all to help himself, but shall die in that manner." This it was which Elijah denounced to him in that epistle.

3. It was not long after this that an army of those Arabians that lived near to Ethiopia, and of the Philistines, fell upon the kingdom of Jehoram, and spoiled the country and the king's house. Moreover, they slew his sons and his wives; one only of his sons was left him, who escaped the enemy; his name was *Ahaziah:* after which calamity he himself fell into that disease which was foretold by the prophet, and lasted a great while (for God inflicted this punishment upon him in his belly, out of his wrath against him,) and so he died miserably, and saw his own bowels fall out. The people also abused his dead body; I suppose it was

king's murderer, should be worshiped by the same Syrians, is of little force against those records, out of which Josephus drew this history, especially when it is likely that they thought Benhadad died of the distemper he laboured under, and not by Hazael's treachery. Besides, the reason that Josephus gives for this adoration, that these two kings had been great benefactors to the inhabitants of Damascus, and had built them temples, is too remote from the political suspicions of Le Clerc; nor ought such weak suspicions to be deemed of any force against authentic testimonies of antiquity.

* This epistle, in some copies of Josephus, is said to come to Joram from Elijah, with this addition, *for he was yet upon earth*, which could not be true of Elijah, who as all agree, was gone from the earth about four years before, and could only be true of Elisha; nor perhaps is there any more mystery here, than that the name of Elijah has very anciently crept into the text instead of Elisha, by the copiers, there being nothing in any copy of that epistle peculiar to Elijah.

because they thought that such his death came upon him by the wrath of God and that therefore he was not worthy to partake of such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly they neither buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers, nor vouchsafed him any honours, but buried him like a private man, and this when he had lived forty years, and reigned eight. And the people of Jerusalem delivered the government to his son Ahaziah.

CHAP. VI.

How Jehu was anointed King; and slew both Joram and Ahaziah; as also what he did for the Punishment of the Wicked.

§ 1. Now Joram, the king of Israel, after the death of Benhadad, hoped that he might now take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians. Accordingly he made an expedition against it with a great army; but as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians, but the wound was not mortal; so he returned to have his wound healed in Jezreel, but left his whole army in Ramoth, and Jehu the son of Nimshi for their general; for he had already taken the city by force; and he proposed after he was healed, to make war with the Syrians. But Elisha the prophet sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him holy oil to anoint Jehu, and to tell him, that God had chosen him to be their king. He also sent him to say other things to him, and bid him to take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape the knowledge of all men. So when he was come to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisha had foretold he should find him. So he came up to him, and said, that he desired to speak with him about certain matters; and when he was arisen and had followed him into an inward chamber, the young man took the oil and poured it on his head, and said that "God ordained him to be king, in order to his destroying the House of Ahab, and that he might revenge the blood of the prophets that were unjustly slain by Jezebel, that so their house might utterly perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Baasha, had perished for their wickedness, and no seed might remain of Ahab's family. So when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the chamber, and endeavoured not to be seen by any of the army.

2. But Jehu came out, and went to the place where he before sat with the captains: and when they asked him, and desired him to tell them, wherefore it was that this young man came to him? and added withal, that he was mad; he replied, "You guess right, for the words he spake were the words of a madman:" and when they were eager about the matter, and desired he would tell them, he answered, that God had said, "he had chosen him to be king over the multitude." When he had said this, every one of them put off his garment,* and strewed it under him, and blew with trumpets, and gave notice that Jehu was king. So when he had gotten the army together, he was preparing to set out immediately against Joram, at the city of Jezreel, in which city as we said before, he was healing of the wound which he had received in the siege of Ramoth. It happened also that Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, was now come to Joram, for he was his sister's son, as we have said already, to see how he did after his wound, and this upon account of their kindred: but as Jehu was desirous to fall upon Joram and those with him on the sudden, he desired that none of the soldiers might run away, and tell to Joram what had happened, for that this would be an evident demonstration of their kindness to him, and would show that their real inclinations were to make him king.

3. So they were pleased with what he did, and guarded the roads, lest some-

* Spanheim here notes, that this putting off men's garments, and strewing them under a king, was an eastern custom which he had elsewhere explained.

body should privately tell the thing to those that were at Jezreel. Now Jehu took his choice horsemen, and sat upon his chariot, and went on for Jezreel, and when he was come near, the watchman whom Joram had set there to spy out such as came to the city, saw Jehu marching on, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsemen marching on. Upon which he immediately gave orders that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet them, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him in what condition the army was? for that the king wanted to know it; but Jehu bid him not at all to meddle with such matters, but to follow him. When the watchman saw this, he told Joram that the horseman had mingled himself among the company, and came along with them. And when the king had sent a second messenger, Jehu commanded him to do as the former did; and as soon as the watchman told this also to Joram, he at last got up on his chariot himself, together with Ahaziah, the king of Jerusalem; for, as we said before, he was there to see how Joram did, after he had been wounded, as being his relation. So he went out to Jehu, who marched slowly,* and in good order; and when Joram met him in the field of Naboth, he asked him if all things were well in the camp? But Jehu reproached him bitterly, and ventured to call his mother a witch and a harlot. Upon this the king fearing what he intended, and suspecting he had no good meaning, he turned his chariot about as soon as he could, and said to Ahaziah, We are fought against by deceit and treachery. But Jehu drew his bow, and smote him, the arrow going through his heart. So Joram fell down immediately on his knee, and gave up the ghost. Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain of the third part of his army, to cast the dead body of Joram into the field of Naboth, putting him in mind of the prophecy which Elijah prophesied to Ahab his father, when he had slain Naboth, that both he and his family should perish in that place, for that as they sat behind Ahab's chariot, they heard the prophet say so, and that it was now come to pass according to his prophecy. Upon the fall of Joram, Ahaziah was afraid of his own life, and turned his chariot into another road, supposing he should not be seen by Jehu; but he followed after him, and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and drew his bow, and wounded him; so he left his chariot, and got upon his horse, and fled from Jehu to Megiddo, and though he was under cure, in a little time he died of that wound, and was carried to Jerusalem, and buried there, after he had reigned one year, and had proved a wicked man, and worse than his father.

4. Now when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel adorned herself and stood upon a tower, and said "He was a fine servant that had killed his master." And when he looked up to her, he asked who she was, and commanded her to come down to him. At last he ordered the eunuchs to throw her down from the tower; and being thrown down, she besprinkled the wall with her blood, and was trodden upon by the horses, and so died. When this was done, Jehu came to the palace with his friends, and took some refreshment after his journey, both with other things, and by eating a meal. He also bid his servants to take up Jezebel and bury her, because of the nobility of her blood, for she was descended from kings; but those that were appointed to bury her found nothing else remaining but the extreme parts of her body, for all the rest were eaten by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he admired the prophecy of Elijah, for he foretold that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

5. Now Ahab had seventy sons brought up in Samaria. So Jehu sent two epistles, the one to them that brought up the children, the other to the rulers of Samaria, which said, "that they should set up the most valiant of Ahab's sons

* Our copies say, that this "driving of the chariots was like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi; for he driveth furiously," 2 Kings, ix. 20; whereas Josephus's copy, as he understood it, was this, that, on the contrary, Jehu marched slowly, and in good order. Nor can it be denied, that since there was interval enough for king Joram to send out two horsemen, one after another, to Jehu, and at length to go out with king Ahaziah to meet him, and all this after he was come within sight of the watchman, and before he was come to Jezreel, the probability is greatly on the side of Josephus's copy or interpretation.

for king, for that they had abundance of chariots, and horses, and armour, and a great army, and fenced cities, and that by so doing they might avenge the murder of Ahab." This he wrote to try the intentions of those of Samaria. Now when the rulers and those that had brought up the children, had read the letter, they were afraid; and considering that they were not at all able to oppose him, who had already subdued two very great kings, they returned him this answer, "that they owned him for their lord, and would do whatsoever he bade them." So he wrote back to them such a reply as enjoined them to obey what he gave order for, and to cut off the heads of Ahab's sons, and send them to him. Accordingly the rulers sent for those that brought up the sons of Ahab, and commanded them to slay them, to cut off their heads, and send them to Jehu. So they did whatsoever they were commanded, without omitting any thing at all, and put them up in wicker baskets, and sent them to Jezreel. And when Jehu, as he was at supper with his friends, was informed that the heads of Ahab's sons were brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of them, one before each of the gates; and in the morning he went out to take a view of them, and when he saw them, he began to say to the people that were present, "he did himself make an expedition against his master [Joram] and slew him, but that it was not him that slew all these: and he desired them to take notice, that as to Ahab's family, all things had come to pass according to God's prophecy, and his house was perished, according as Elijah had foretold." And when he had farther destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that were found in Jezreel, he went to Samaria; and as he was upon the road, he met the relations of Ahaziah king of Jerusalem, and asked them, whither they were going? they replied, that they came to salute Joram, and their own king Ahaziah, for they knew not that he had slain them both: so Jehu gave orders that they should catch these, and kill them, being in number forty-two persons.

6. After these, there met him a good and righteous man, whose name was *Jehonadab*, and who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jehu, and began to commend him, because he had done every thing according to the will of God, in extirpating the house of Ahab. So Jehu desired him to come up into his chariot, and make his entry with him into Samaria: and told him, that "he would not spare one wicked man, but would punish the false prophets, and false priests, and those that deceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the worship of God Almighty, and to worship foreign gods; and that it was a most excellent and most pleasing sight to a good and a righteous man to see the wicked punished." So Jehonadab was persuaded by these arguments, and came up into Jehu's chariot, and came to Samaria. And Jehu sought out for all Ahab's kindred, and slew them. And being desirous that none of the false prophets, nor the priests of Ahab's god, might escape punishment, he caught them deceitfully by this wile: for he gathered all the people together and said, that "he would worship twice as many gods as Ahab worshiped, and desired that his priests, and prophets, and servants, might be present, because he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's god, and that if any of his priests were wanting, they should be punished with death." Now Ahab's god was called *Baal:* and when he had appointed a day on which he would offer those sacrifices, he sent messengers through all the country of the Israelites, that they might bring the priests of Baal to him. So Jehu commanded to give all the priests vestments; and when they had received them, he went into the house [of Baal,] with his friend Jehonadab, and gave orders to make search whether there were not any foreigner or stranger among them, for he would have no one of a different religion to mix among their sacred offices. And when they said that there was no stranger there, and they were beginning their sacrifices, he set fourscore men without, they being such of his soldiers as he knew to be most faithful to him, and bid them slay the false prophets, and now vindicate the laws of their country, which had been a long time in disesteem. He also threatened, that if any one of them escaped, their own

lives should go for them. So they slew them all with the sword; and burned the house of Baal, and by that means purged Samaria of foreign customs [idolatrous worship.] Now this Baal was the god of the Tyrians; and Ahab, in order to gratify his father-in-law, Ethbaal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshiped him with all sorts of worship, although when this god was demolished, Jehu permitted the Israelites to worship the golden heifers. However, because he had done thus, and taken care to punish the wicked, God foretold by his prophet, that his sons should reign over Israel for four generations: and in this condition was Jehu at this time.

CHAP. VII.

How Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem for five [six] Years, when Jehoiada the High Priest slew her, and made Jehoash, the Son of Ahasiah, King.

§ 1. Now when Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahaziah, and of the royal family, she endeavoured that none of the house of David might be left alive, but that the whole family might be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it afterward; and, as she thought, she had actually done it; but one of Ahaziah's sons was preserved, who escaped death after the manner following: Ahaziah had a sister by the same father, whose name was *Jehosheba*, and she was married to the high priest Jehoiada. She went into the king's palace, and found Jehoash, for that was the little child's name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed with his nurse; so she took him with her into a secret bedchamber, and shut him up there, and she and her husband Jehoiada brought him up privately in the temple six years, during which time Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem, and the two tribes.

2. Now, on the seventh year, Jehoiada communicated the matter to certain of the captains of hundreds, five in number, and persuaded them to be assisting in what attempts he was making against Athaliah, and to join with him in asserting the kingdom to the child. He also received such oaths from them as are proper to secure those that assist one another from the fear of discovery? and he was then of good hope that they should depose Athaliah. Now those men whom Jehoiada the priest had taken to be his partners went into all the country, and gathered together the priests and the Levites, and the heads of the tribes out of it, and came and brought them to Jerusalem, to the high priest. So he demanded the security of an oath of them, to keep private whatsoever he should discover to them which required both their silence and their assistance. So when they had taken the oath, and and thereby made it safe for him to speak, he produced the child that he had brought up of the family of David, and said to them, "This is your king, of that house which you know God hath foretold should reign over you for all time to come I exhort you therefore that one third part of you guard him in the temple, and that a fourth part keep watch at all the gates of the temple, and that the next part of you keep guard at the gate which opens and leads to the king's palace, and let the rest of the multitude be unarmed in the temple, and let no armed person go into the temple, but the priest only. He also gave them this order besides, that a part of the priests and the Levites should be about the king himself, and be a guard to him, with their drawn swords, and to kill that man immediately, whoever he be, that should be so bold as to enter armed into the temple; and bid them be afraid of nobody, but persevere in guarding the king." So these men obeyed what the high priest advised them to, and declared the reality of their resolution by their actions. Jehoiada also opened that armoury which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captains of hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, all the spears and quivers, and what kind of wea-

pons soever it contained, and set them armed in a circle round about the temple, so as to touch one another's hands, and by that means excluding those from entering that ought not to enter. So they brought the child into the midst of them, and put on him the royal crown, and Jehoiada anointed him with the oil, and made him king; and the multitude rejoiced, and made a noise, and cried "God save the king!"

3. When Athaliah unexpectedly heard the tumult and the acclamations, she was greatly disturbed in her mind, and suddenly issued out of the royal palace with her own army; and when she was come to the temple, the priests received her, but as for those that stood round about the temple, as they were ordered by the high priest to do, they hindered the armed men that followed her from going in. But when Athaliah saw the child standing upon a pillar, with the royal crown upon his head, she rent her clothes, and cried out vehemently, and commanded [her guards] to kill him that had laid snares for her, and endeavoured to deprive her of the government. But Jehoiada called for the captains of hundreds, and commanded them to bring Athaliah to the valley of Cedron, and slay her there, for he would not have the temple defiled with the punishments of this pernicious woman; and he gave order, that if any one came near to help her, he should be slain also; wherefore those that had the charge of her slaughter, took hold of her, and led her to the gate of the king's mules, and slew her there.

4. Now as soon as what concerned Athaliah was by this stratagem, after this manner dispatched, Jehoiada called together the people and the armed men into the temple, and made them take an oath, that they would be obedient to the king, and take care of his safety, and of the safety of his government; after which he obliged the king to give security [upon oath] that he would worship God, and not trangress the laws of Moses. They then ran to the house of Baal, which Athaliah and her husband Jehoram had built, to the dishonour of the God of their fathers, and to the honour of Ahab, and demolished it, and slew Matan, that had his priesthood. But Jehoiada intrusted the care and custody of the temple to the priests and Levites, according to the appointment of king David, and enjoined them to bring their regular burnt-offerings twice a day, and to offer incense according to the law. He also ordained some of the Levites, with the porters, to be a guard to the temple, that no one that was defiled might come there.

5. And when Jehoiada had set these things in order, he, with the captains of hundreds, and the rulers, and all the people, took Jehoash out of the temple into the king's palace, and when he had set him upon the king's throne, the people shouted for joy, and betook themselves to feasting, and kept a festival for many days; but the city was quiet upon the death of Athaliah. Now Jehoash was seven years old when he took the kingdom: his mother's name was Zibiah, of the city Beersheba. And all the time that Jehoiada lived, Jehoash was careful that the laws should be kept, and very zealous in the worship of God; and when he was of age, he married two wives, who were given to him by the high priest, by whom were born to him both sons and daughters. And this much shall suffice to have related concerning king Jehoash, how he escaped the treachery of Athaliah, and how he received the kingdom.

CHAP. VIII.

Hazael makes an Expedition against the People of Israel, and the Inhabitants of Jerusalem Jehu dies, and Jehoahaz succeeds in the Government. Jeohash, the King of Jerusalem, at first is careful about the Worship of God, but afterward becomes impious, and commands Zechariah to be stoned. When Jehoash [*King of Judah*] *was dead, Amaziah succeeds him in the Kingdom.*

§ 1 Now Hazael, king of Syria, fought against the Israelites, and their king Jehu, and spoiled the eastern parts of the country beyond Jordan, which belong

ed to the Reubenites and Gadites, and to [the half tribe of] Manassites; as also Gilead and Basban, burning and spoiling, and offering violence to all that he laid his hands on, and this without impeachment from Jehu, who made no haste to defend the country when it was under this distress; nay, he was become a contemner of religion, and a despiser of holiness, and of the laws; and died when he had reigned over the Israelites twenty-seven years. He was buried in Samaria; and left Jehoahaz his son his successor in the government.

2. Now Jehoash, king of Jerusalem, had an inclination to repair the temple of God; so he called Jehoiada, and bid him send the Levites and priests through all the country, to require half a shekel of silver for every head, towards the rebuilding and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Jehoram, and Athaliah, and her sons. But the high priest did not do this, as concluding that no one would willingly pay that money; but in the twenty-third year of Jehoash's reign, when the king sent for him and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed what he enjoined them, and still commanded them to take care of the rebuilding the temple, he used this stratagem for collecting the money, with which the multitude was pleased. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast on all sides, but opened one whole in it; he then set in the temple beside the altar, and desired every one to cast into it, through the hole, what he pleased, for the repair of the temple. This contrivance was acceptable to the people, and they strove one with another, and brought in jointly large quantities of silver and gold: and when the scribe and the priest that were over the treasuries had emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place, and thus did they every day. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much as was wanted, the high priest Jehoiada, and king Jehoash, sent to hire masons and carpenters, and to buy large pieces of timber, and of the most curious sort; and when they had repaired the temple, they made use of the remaining gold and silver, which was not a little, for bowls, and basins, and cups, and other vessels; and they went on to make the altar every day fat with sacrifices of great value. And these things were taken suitable care of as long as Jehoiada lived.

3. But, as soon as he was dead (which was when he had lived one hundred and thirty years, having been a righteous and in every respect a very good man, and was buried in the king's sepulchres at Jerusalem, because he had recovered the kingdom to the family of David,) king Jehoash betrayed his [want of] care about God. The principal men of the people were corrupted also together with him, and offended against their duty, and what their constitution determined to be most for their good. Hereupon God was displeased with the change that was made on the king, and on the rest of the people, and sent prophets to testify to them what their actions were, and to bring them to leave off their wickedness: but they had gotten so strong an affection, and so violent an inclination to it, that neither could the examples of those that had offered affronts to the laws, and had been so severely punished, they and their entire families, nor could the fear of what the prophets now foretold bring them to repentance, and turn them back from their course of trangression to their former duty. But the king commanded that Zechariah, the son of the high priest Jehoidah, should be stoned to death in the temple, and forgot the kindnesses he had received from his father; for when God had appointed him to prophecy, he stood in the midst of the multitude, and gave this counsel to them, and to the king, that they should act righteously; and foretold to them, that if they would not hearken to his admonitions, they should suffer a heavy punishment: but as Zechariah was ready to die, he appealed to God as a witness of what he suffered for the good counsel he had given them, and how he had perished after a most severe and violent manner for the good deeds his father had done to Jehoash.

4. However, it was not long before the king suffered punishment for his transgression; for when Hazael, king of Syria, made an irruption into this country, and

when he had overthrown Gath, and spoiled it, he made an expedition against Jerusalem; upon which Jehoash was afraid, and emptied all the treasures of God and of the kings [before him,] and took down the gifts that had been dedicated [in the temple,] and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so much by them, that he was not besieged, nor his kingdom quite endangered, but Hazael was induced by the greatness of the sum of money not to bring his army against Jerusalem; yet Jehoash fell into a severe distemper, and was set upon by his friends, in order to revenge the death of Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada. These laid snares for the king, and slew him. He was indeed buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchres of his forefathers, because of his impiety. He lived forty-seven years, and Amaziah his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

5. In the one-and-twentieth year of the reign of Jehoash, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, took the government of the Israelites in Samaria, and held it seventeen years. He did not [properly] imitate his father, but was guilty of as wicked practices as those that first had God in contempt: but the king of Syria brought him low, and by an expedition against him did so greatly reduce his forces that there remained no more of so great an army than ten thousand armed men and fifty horsemen. He also took away from him his great cities, and many of them also, and destroyed his army. And these were the things that the people of Israel suffered, according to the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazael should kill his master, and reign over the Syrians and Damascens. But when Jehoahaz was under such unavoidable miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of the hands of Hazael, and not overlook him, and give him up into his hands. Accordingly God accepted of his repentance instead of virtue, and being desirous rather to admonish those that might repent and not to determine that they should be utterly destroyed, he granted him deliverance from war and dangers. So the country, having obtained peace, returned again to its former condition, and flourished as before.

6. Now after the death of Jehoahaz, his son Joash took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoash, the king of the tribe of Judah. This Joash then took the kingdom of Israel in Samaria, for he had the same name with the king of Jerusalem, and he retained the kingdom sixteen years. He was a good man, and in his disposition was not at all like to his father.* Now at this time it was, that when Elisha the prophet, who was already very old, and was now fallen into a disease, the King of Israel came to visit him; and when he found him very near death, he began to weep in his sight, and lament, "to call him his father, and his weapons, because it was by his means that he never made use of his weapons against his enemies, but that he overcame his own adversaries by his prophecies, without fighting; and that he was now departing this life, and leaving him to the Syrians, that were already armed, and to other enemies of his that were under their power; so he said, it was not safe for him to live any longer, but that it would be well for him to hasten to his end, and depart out of this life with him." As the king was thus bemoaning himself, Elisha comforted him, and bid the king bend a bow that was brought him; and when the king had fitted the bow for shooting, Elisha took hold of his hands, and bid him shoot; and when he had

* This character of Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, that "he was a good man, and in his disposition not at all like to his father," seems a direct contradiction to our ordinary copies, which say, 2 Kings, xiii. 11, that "he did evil in the sight of the Lord; and that he departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, he walked therein." Which copies are here the truest, it is hardly possible to determine. If Josephus's be true, this Joash is the single instance of a good king over the ten tribes: if the other be true, we have not one such example. The account that follows, in all copies, of Elisha the prophet's concern for him, and his concern for Elisha, greatly favour Josephus's copies, and suppose this king to have been then a good man, and no idolater, with whom God's prophets used not to be so familiar. Upon the whole, since it appears, even by Josephus's own account, that Amaziah, the good king of Judah, while he was a good king, was forbidden to make use of the 100,000 auxiliaries he had hired of this Joash, the king of Israel, as if he and they were then idolaters, 2 Chron. xxv. 6—8, it is most likely that these different characters of Joash suited the different parts of his reign, and that, according to our common copies, he was at first a wicked king; and afterwards was reclaimed, and became a good one, according to Josephus.

shot three arrows and then left off, Elisha said, "If thou hadst shot more arrows, thou hadst cut the kingdom of Syria up by the roots, but since thou hast been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight and beat the Syrians no more times than three, that thou mayest recover that country which they cut off from thy kingdom in the reign of thy father." So when the king had heard that, he departed; and a little while after the prophet died. He was a man celebrated for righteousness, and in eminent favour with God. He also performed wonderful and surprising works by prophecy, and such as were gloriously preserved in memory by the Hebrews. He also obtained a magnificent funeral, such a one indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of God should have. It also happened, that at that time certain robbers cast a man, whom they had slain, into Elisha's grave, and upon his dead body coming close to Elisha's body, it revived again. And thus far have we enlarged about the actions of Elisha the prophet, both such as he did while he was alive, and how he had a divine power after his death also.

7. Now, upon the death of Hazael, the king of Syria, that kingdom came to Adad his son, with whom Joash, king of Israel, made war; and when he had beaten him in three battles, he took from him all that country, and all those cities and villages, which his father Hazael had taken from the kingdom of Israel, which came to pass, however, according to the prophecy of Elisha. But when Joash happened to die, he was buried in Samaria, and the government devolved on his son Jeroboam.

CHAP. IX.

How Amaziah made an Expedition against the Edomites and Amalekites, and conquered them; but when he afterwards made War against Joash, he was beaten, and not long after was slain; and Uzziah succeeded in the Government.

§ 1. Now, in the second year of the reign of Joash over Israel, Amaziah reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem. His mother's name was *Jehoaddan*, who was born at Jerusalem. He was exceeding careful of doing what was right, and this when he was very young; but when he came to the management of affairs, and to the government, he resolved that he ought first of all to avenge his father Jehoash, and to punish those his friends that had laid violent hands upon him; so he seized upon them all, and put them to death; yet did he execute no severity on their children, but acted therein according to the laws of Moses, who did not think it just to punish children for the sins of their fathers. After this he chose him an army out of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, of such as were in the flower of their age, and about twenty years old; and when he had collected about three hundred thousand of them together, he set captains of hundreds over them. He also sent to the king of Israel, and hired a hundred thousand of his soldiers for a hundred talents of silver, for he had resolved to make an expedition against the nations of the Amalekites, and Edomites, and Gebalites: but as he was preparing for his expedition, and ready to go out to the war, a prophet gave him counsel to dismiss the army of the Israelites, because they were bad men, and because God foretold that he should be beaten if he made use of them as auxiliaries, but that he should overcome his enemies, though he had but a few soldiers, when it so pleased God. And when the king grudged at his having already paid the hire of the Israelites, the prophet exhorted him to do what God would have him, because he should thereby obtain much wealth from God. So he dismissed them, and said, that he still freely gave them their pay, and went himself with his own army, and made war with the nations before mentioned; and when he had beaten them in battle, he slew of them ten thousand, and took as many prisoners alive, whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia, and threw them down from it headlong. He also brought away a great deal of prey, and

vast riches, from those nations. But while Amaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired, and then dismissed, were very uneasy at it, and taking their dismission for an affront, as supposing that this would not have been done to them but out of contempt, they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to spoil the country as far as Beth-horon, and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

2. Now upon the victory which Amaziah had gotten, and the great acts he had done, he was puffed up, and began to overlook God, who had given him the victory, and proceeded to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him, and said, that "he wondered how he could esteem these to be gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people, who paid them honours, nor had delivered them from his hands, but had overlooked the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried captive, for that they had been carried to Jerusalem in the same manner as any one might have taken some of the enemy alive, and led them thither." This reproof provoked the king to anger, and he commanded the prophet to hold his peace, and threatened to punish him if he meddled with his conduct. So he replied that "he should indeed hold his peace; but foretold withal, that God would not overlook his attempts for innovation." But Amaziah was not able to contain himself under that prosperity which God had given him, although he had affronted God thereupon; but in a vein of insolence he wrote to Joash, the king of Israel, and commanded that he and all his people should be obedient to him, as they had formerly been obedient to his progenitors, David and Solomon; and he let him know, that if he would not be so wise as to do what he commanded him, he must fight for his dominion." To which message Joash returned this answer in writing: "King Joash to king Amaziah. There was a vastly tall cypress tree in Mount Lebanon, as also a thistle: this thistle sent to the cypress tree, to give the cypress tree's daughter in marriage to the thistle's son; but as the thistle was saying this, there came a wild beast, and trod down the thistle: And this may be a lesson to thee, not to be so ambitious, and to have a care, lest, upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites, thou growest so proud as to bring dangers upon thyself and upon thy kingdom."

3. When Amaziah had read this letter he was more eager upon this expedition, which, I suppose, was by the impulse of God, that he might be punished for his offence against him. But as soon as he led out his army against Joash, and they were going to join battle with him, there came such a fear and consternation upon the army of Amaziah, as God when he is displeased sends upon men, and discomfited them, even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, that, as they were scattered about by the terror that was upon them, Amaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy; whereupon Joash threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him, and receive him and his army into the city. Accordingly Amaziah was so distressed, and in such fear of his life, that he made his enemy to be received into the city. So Joash overthrew a part of the wall, of the length of four hundred cubits, and drove his chariot through the breach into Jerusalem, and led Amaziah captive along with him; by which means he became master of Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of God, and carried off all the gold and silver that was in the king's palace, and then freed the king from captivity, and returned to Samaria. Now these things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, who, after this, had a conspiracy made against him by his friends, and fled to the city Lachish, and was there slain by the conspirators, who sent men thither to kill him. So they took up his dead body, and carried it to Jerusalem, and made a royal funeral for him. This was the end of the life of Amaziah, because of his innovations in religion and his contempt of God, when he had lived fifty-four years, and had reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, whose name was *Uzziah*.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Jeroboam, King of Israel, and Jonah the Prophet; and how, after the Death of Jeroboam, his Son Zechariah took the Government. How Uzziah, King of Jerusalem, subdued the Nations that were round about him; and what befell him when he attempted to offer incense to God.

§ 1. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam, the son of Joash, reigned over Israel, in Samaria, forty years. This king was guilty of contumely against God,* and became very wicked in worshiping of idols and in many undertakings that were absurd and foreign. He was also the cause of ten thousand misfortunes to the people of Israel. Now one Jonah, a prophet foretold to him, that he should make war with the Syrians, and conquer their army, and enlarge the bounds of his kingdom, on the northern parts to the city Hamath, and on the southern to the Lake Asphaltitis, for the bounds of the Canaanites originally were these, as Joshua their general had determined them. So Jeroboam made an expedition against the Syrians, and overran all their country, as Jonah had foretold.

2. Now I cannot but think it necessary for me who have promised to give an accurate account of our affairs, to describe the actions of this prophet, so far as I have found them written down in the Hebrew books. Jonah had been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Nineveh; and when he was there, to publish it in that city, how it should lose the dominion it had over the nations But he went not, out of fear; nay, he ran away from God, to the city of Joppa, and finding a ship there, he went into it, and sailed to Tarsus, in Cilicia;† and upon the rise of a most terrible storm, which was so great that the ship was in danger of sinking, the mariners, the master, and the pilot himself, made prayers and vows, in case they escaped the sea; but Jonah lay still and covered [in the ship,] without imitating any thing which the others did; but as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent by the winds, they suspected, as is usual in such cases, that some one of the persons that sailed with them was the occasion of this storm, and agreed to discover by lot which of them it was. When they had cast lots,‡ the lot fell upon the prophet; and when they asked him whence he came? and what he had done? he replied, That he was a Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of Almighty God; and he persuaded them to cast him into the sea, if they would escape the danger they were in, for that he was the occasion of the storm which was upon them. Now at the first they durst not do so, esteeming it a wicked thing to cast a man who was a stranger, and who had committed his

* What I have above noted concerning Jehoash, seems to me to have been true also concerning his son Jeroboam II. viz. that although he began wickedly, as Josephus agrees with our other copies, and as he adds, "was the cause of a vast number of misfortunes to the Israelites in those his first years (the particulars of which are unhappily wanting both in Josephus and in all our copies,) so does it seem to me that he was afterwards reclaimed, and became a good king, and so was encouraged by the prophet Jonah, and had great successes afterward, when "God saved the Israelites by the hand of Jeroboam, the son of Joash," 2 Kings, xiv. 27; which encouragement by Jonah, and great successes, are equally observable in Josephus, and in the other copies.

† When Jonah is said in our bibles to have gone to Tarshish, Jonah, i. 8, Josephus understood it that he went to Tarshish in Cilicia, or to the Mediterranean Sea, upon which Tarsus lay; so that he does not appear to have read the text, 1 Kings, xxii. 48, as our copies do, that ships of Tarshish could lie at Ezion Geber, upon the Red Sea. But as to Josephus's assertion, that Jonas's fish was carried by the strength of the current, upon a storm, as far as the Euxine Sea, it is no way impossible; and since the storm might have driven the ship, while Jonah was in it, near to the Euxine Sea, and since in three more days, while he was in the fish's belly, that current might bring him to the Assyrian coast, and since withal that coast could bring him nearer to Nineveh than could any coast of the Mediterranean, it is by no means an improbable determination in Josephus.

‡ This ancient piece of religion, of supposing there was *great sin* where there was *great misery*, and of casting lots to discover great sinners not only among the Israelites but among these heather mariners, seems a remarkable remains of the ancient tradition which prevailed of old over all mankind, that Providence used to interpose visibly in all human affairs, and never to bring, or at least not long to continue notorious judgments but for notorious sins, which the most ancient book of Job shows to have been the state of mankind for about the former 3000 years of the world, till the days of Job and Mose

life to them, into such manifest perdition; but at last when their misfortunes overbore them, and the ship was just going to be drowned, and when they were animated to do it by the prophet himself, and by the fear concerning their own safety, they cast him into the sea; upon which the sea became calm. It is also related, that Jonah was swallowed down by a whale, and that when he had been there three days, and as many nights, he was vomited out upon the Euxine Sea, and this alive, and without any hurt upon his body; and there, on his prayer to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city Nineveh, where he stood so as to be heard, and preached, that "in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Asia." And when he had published this, he returned. Now I have given this account about him, as I found it written [in our books.]

3. When Jeroboam the king had passed his life in great happiness, and had ruled forty years, he died, and was buried in Samaria, and his son, Zechariah took the kingdom. After the same manner did Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, begin to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. He was born of Jecoliah, his mother, who was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was a good man, and by nature righteous and magnanimous, and very laborious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jabneh, and brake down their walls; after which expedition, he assaulted the Arabs that adjoined to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison into it. He after this overthrew the Ammonites, and appointed that they should pay tribute. He also overcame all the countries as far as to the bounds of Egypt, and then began to take care of Jerusalem itself for the rest of his life; for he rebuilt and repaired all those parts of the wall which had either fallen down by the length of time, or by the carelessness of the kings his predecessors, as wel. as all that part which had been thrown down by the king of Israel, when he took his father Amaziah prisoner, and entered with him into the city. Moreover, he built a great many towers, of one hundred and fifty cubits high, and built walled towns in desert places, and put garrisons into them and dug many channels for conveyance of water. He had also many beasts for labour, and an immense number of cattle; for his country was fit for pasturage. He was also given to husbandry, and took care to cultivate the ground, and planted it with all sorts of plants, and sowed it with all sorts of seeds. He had also about him an army composed of chosen men, in number three hundred and seventy thousand, who were governed by general officers and captains of thousands, who were men of valour, and of unconquerable strength, in number two thousand. He also divided his whole army into bands, and armed them, giving every one a sword, with brazen bucklers and breast-plates, with bows and slings; and besides these, he made for them many engines of war, for besieging of cities, such as cast stones and darts, with grapplers and other instruments of that sort.

4. While Uzziah was in this state, and making preparations [for futurity,] he was corrupted in his mind by pride, and became insolent, and this on account of that abundance which he had of things that will soon perish, and despised that power which is of eternal duration (which consisted in piety towards God, and in the observation of his laws;) so he fell by occasion of the good success of his affairs, and was carried headlong into those sins of his fathers, which the splendour of that prosperity he enjoyed, and the glorious actions he had done, led him into, while he was not able to govern himself well about them. Accordingly when a remarkable day was come, and a general festival was to be celebrated he put on the holy garment, and went into the temple to offer incense to God upon the golden altar, which he was prohibited to do by Azariah, the high priest, who had four score priests with him, and who told him that it was not lawful for him to offer sacrifice, and that "none besides the posterity of Aaron were permitted so to do." And when they cried out, that he must go out of the temple, and not transgress against God, he was wroth at them, and threatened to kill them

unless they would hold their peace. In the mean time, a great earthquake* shook the ground, and a rent was made in the temple, and the bright rays of the sun shone through it, and fell upon the king's face, insomuch that the leprosy seized upon him immediately. And before the city, at a place called *Eroge*, half the mountain broke off from the rest on the west, and rolled itself four fourlongs, and stood still at the east mountain, till the roads, as well as the king's gardens, were spoiled by the obstruction. Now, as soon as the priests saw that the king's face was infected with the leprosy, they told him of the calamity he was under, and commanded that he should go out of the city as a polluted person. Hereupon he was so confounded at the sad distemper, and sensible that he was not at liberty to contradict, that he did as he was commanded, and underwent this miserable and terrible punishment for an intention beyond what befitted a man to have, and for that impiety against God which was implied therein. So he abode out of the city for some time, and lived a private life, while his son Jotham took the government: after which he died with grief and anxiety at what had happened to him, when he had lived sixty-eight years, and reigned of them fifty-two; and was buried by himself in his own gardens.

CHAP. XI.

How Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah, took the Government over the Israelites; and how Pul and Tiglath-Pileser made an Expedition against the Israelites. How Jotham, the Son of Uzziah, reigned over the Tribe of Judah, and what Things Nahum prophesied against the Assyrians.

§ 1. Now when Zechariah, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned six months over Israel, he was slain by the treachery of a certain friend of his, whose name was *Shallum*, the son of Jabesh, who took the kingdom afterward, but kept it no longer than thirty days; for Menahem, the general of his army, who was at that time in the city Tirsah, and heard of what had befallen Zechariah, removed thereupon with all his forces to Samaria, and joining battle with Shallum, slew him; and when he had made himself king, he went thence, and came to the city Tiphsah, but the citizens that were in it shut their gates, and barred them against the king, and would not admit him; but in order to be avenged on them, he burned the country round about it, and took the city by force, upon a siege; and being very much displeased at what the inhabitants of Tiphsah had done, he slew them all, and spared not so much as the infants, without omitting the utmost instances of cruelty and barbarity; for he used such severity upon his own countrymen, as would not be pardonable with regard to strangers, who had been conquered by him. After this manner it was that this Menahem continued to reign with cruelty and barbarity for ten years: but when Pul, king of Assyria, had made an expedition against him, he did not meet to fight or engage in battle with the Assyrians, but he persuaded him to accept of a thousand talents of silver, and to go away, and so put an end to the war. This sum the multitude collected for Menahem,† by exacting fifty drachmæ as poll-money for every head; after which he died, and was buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekhiah his successor in the kingdom, who followed the barbarity of his father, and so ruled but two years only,

* This account of an earthquake at Jerusalem, at the very time when Uzziah usurped the priest's office and went into the sanctuary to burn incense, and of the consequences of that earthquake, is entirely wanting in our other copies, though it be exceeding like to a prophecy of Jeremiah's now in Zech. xiv. 4, 5, in which prophecy mention is made of "fleeing from that earthquake, as they fled from this earthquake in the days of Uzziah, king of Judah:" so that there seems to have been some considerable resemblance between these historical and prophetical earthquakes.

† Dr. Wall, in his critical notes on 2 Kings, xv. 20, observes, "that when this Menahem is said to have exacted the money of Israel, of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give Pul, the king of Assyria, one thousand talents, this is the first public money raised by any [Israelite] king by a tax on the people; that they used before to raise it out of the treasures of the house of the Lord, or

after which he was slain with his friends at a feast, by the treachery of one *Pekah* the general of his horse, and the son of Remaliah, who laid snares for him. Now this Peka held the government twenty years, and proved a wicked man and a transgressor. But the king of Assyria, whose name was *Tiglath-Pileser*, when he had made an expedition against the Israelites, and had overrun all the land of Gilead, and the region beyond Jordan, and the adjoining country, which is called *Galilee*, and Kadesh, and Hazor, he made the inhabitants prisoners, and transplanted them into his own kingdom. And so much shall suffice to have related here concerning the king of Assyria.

2. Now Jotham the son of Uzziah reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, being a citizen thereof by his mother whose name was Jerusha. The king was not defective in any virtue, but was religious towards God, and righteous towards men, and careful of the good of the city (for what parts soever wanted to be repaired or adorned, he magnificently repaired and adorned them.) He also took care of the foundations of the cloisters in the temple, and repaired the walls that were fallen down, and built very great towers, and such as were almost impregnable; and if any thing else in his kingdom had been neglected, he took great care of it. He also made an expedition against the Ammonites, and overcame them in battle, and ordered them to pay tribute a hundred talents, and ten thousand cori of wheat, and as many of barley, every year, and so augmented his his kingdom, that his enemies could not despise it, and his own people livedhappily.

Now there was at this time a prophet, whose name was Nahum, who spoke after this manner concerning the overthrow of the Assyrians and of Nineveh: "* Nineveh shall be a pool of water in motion; so shall all her people be troubled, and tossed, and go away by flight, while they say one to another, Stand, stand still, seize their gold and silver, for there shall be no one to wish them well, for they will rather save their lives than their money; for a terrible contention shall possess them one with another, and lamentation, and loosing of the members, and their countenances shall be perfectly black with fear, and there will be the den of the lions, and the mother of the young lions! God says to thee, Nineveh, that they shall deface thee, and the lion shall no longer go out from thee to give laws to the world." And indeed this prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nineveh, which I do not think necessary to repeat, and I here omit them, that I may not appear troublesome to my readers; all which things happened about Nineveh a hundred and fifteen years afterward; so this may suffice to have spoken of these matters.

CHAP. XII.

How, upon the death of Jotham, Ahaz reigned in his stead: against whom Rezin King of Syria, and Pekah, King of Israel, made war; and how Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, came to the Assistance of Ahaz, and laid Syria waste, and, removing the Damescens into Media placed other Nations in their Room.

§ 1. Now Jotham died when he had lived forty-one years, and of them reigned sixteen, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings; and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who proved most impious towards God, and a transgressor of the

of their own house; that it was a poll-money on the rich men [and them only] to raise 353,000*l.* or as others count a talent 400,000*l.* at the rate of 6*l.* or 7*l.* per head; and that God commanded by Ezekiel, chap. xlv. 8, and xlvi. 18, that no such thing should be done [at the Jews' restoration,] but the king should have land of his own."

* This passage is taken out of the prophet Nahum, chap. ii. 8—13, and is the principal, or rather the only one that is given us almost *verbatim*, but a little abridged, in all Josephus's known writings: by which quotation we learn what he himself always asserts, viz. that he made use of the Hebrew original [and not of the Greek version;] as also we learn, that his Hebrew copy considerably differed from ours. See all these texts particularly set down, and compared together, in the Essay on the Old Testament, page 187.

laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon them to idols; to which he also offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites. His other actions were also of the same sort. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin the king of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah, the king of Israel, who were now at amity one with another, made war with him; and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long while, making but a small progress, on account of the strength of its walls; and when the king of Syria had taken the city Elath, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians; and when he had slain those in the [other] garrisons, and the Jews in their neighbourhood, and had driven away much prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus. Now when the king of Jerusalem knew that the Syrians were returned home, he, supposing himself a match for the king of Israel, drew out his army against him, and joining battle with him, was beaten; and this happpened because God was angry with him, on account of his many and great enormities. Accordingly there were slain by the Israelites one hundred and twenty thousand of his men that day, whose general, Amaziah by name, slew Zechariah the king's son in his conflict with Ahaz, as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was Azricam. He also carried Elkanah, the general of the troops of the tribe of Judah, into captivity. They also carried the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin captives; and when they had gotten a great deal of prey they returned to Samaria.

2. Now there was one Obed, who was a prophet at that time in Samaria: he met the army before the city walls, and with a loud voice told them, that "they had gotten the victory, not by their own strength, but by reason of the anger God had against king Ahaz. And he complained that they were not satisfied with the good success they had had against him, but were so bold as to make captives out of their kinsmen, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He also gave them counsel to let them go home without doing them any harm, for that if they did not obey God herein, they should be punished." So the people of Israel came together to their assembly, and considered of these matters, when a man whose name was Berechiah, and who was one of chief reputation in the government, stood up, and three others with him, and said, "We will not suffer the citizens to bring these prisoners into the city, lest we be all destroyed by God: we have sins enough of our own that we have committed against him, as the prophets assure us; nor ought we therefore to introduce the practice of new crimes." When the soldiers heard that, they permitted them to do what they thought best. So the forenamed men took the captives, and let them go, and took care of them, and gave them provisions, and sent them to their own country, without doing them any harm. However, these four went along with them, and conducted them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and returned to Samaria.

3. Hereupon king Ahaz, having been so thoroughly beaten by the Israelites, sent to Tiglath-Pileser, king of the Assyrians, and sued for assistance from him in his wars against the Israelites, and Syrians, and Damascens, with a promise to send him much money: he sent him also great presents at the same time. Now this king, upon the reception of those ambassadors, came to assist Ahaz, and made war upon the Syrians, and laid their country waste, and took Damascus by force, and slew Rezin their king, and transplanted the people of Damascus into the Upper Media, and brought a colony of Assyrians, and planted them in Damascus. He also afflicted the land of Israel, and took many captives out of it. While he was doing thus with the Syrians, king Ahaz took all the gold that was in the king's treasures, and the silver, and what was in the temple of God, and what precious gifts were there, and he carried them with him, and came to Damascus, and gave it to the king of Assyria, according to his agreement. So he confessed that he owed him thanks for all that he had done for him, and returned to Jerusalem. Now this king was so sottish, and thoughtless of what was for his

own good, that he would not leave off worshiping the Syrian gods when he was beaten by them, but he went on in worshiping them, as though they would procure him the victory: and when he was beaten again, he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians; and he seemed more desirous to honour any other gods than his own paternal and true God, whose anger was the cause of his defeat; nay, he proceeded to such a degree of despite and contempt [of God's worship,] that he shut up the temple entirely, and forbade them to bring in the appointed sacrifices, and took away the gifts that had been given to it. And when he had offered these indignities to God, he died, having lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned sixteen; and he left his son Hezekiah for his successor.

CHAP. XIII.

How Pekah died by the Treachery of Hoshea, who was a little after subdued by Shalmanezer: and how Hezekiah reigned instead of Ahaz; and what Actions of Piety and Justice he did.

§ 1. About the same time Pekah, the king of Israel, died, by the treachery of a friend of his, whose name was Hoshea, who retained the kingdom nine years time, but was a wicked man, and a despiser of the divine worship: and Shalmanezer, the king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, and overcame him (which must have been because he had not God favourable nor assistant to him,) and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay an appointed tribute. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Abijah, a citizen in Jerusalem. His nature was good, and righteous and religious; for when he came to the kingdom, he thought that nothing was prior, or more necessary, or more advantageous to himself and to his subjects, than to worship God. Accordingly he called the people together, and the priests, and the Levites, and made a speech to them, and said, "You are not ignorant how, by the sins of my father, who transgressed that sacred honour which was due to God, you have had experience of many and great miseries, while you were corrupted in your mind by him, and were induced to worship those which he supposed to be gods; I exhort you, therefore, who have learned by sad experience how dangerous a thing impiety is, to put that immediately out of your memory, and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions, and to open the temple to these priests and Levites who are here convened, and to cleanse it with the accustomed sacrifices, and to recover all to the ancient honour which our fathers paid to it; for by this means we may render God favourable, and he will remit the anger he hath had to us."

2. When the king had said this, the priests opened the temple; and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and cast out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent to the country that was under him, and called the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the forementioned kings. He also sent to the Israelites, and exhorted them to leave off their present way of living, and to return to their ancient practices, and to worship God, for that he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate, all in one body, the feast of unleavened bread; and this he said was by way of invitation only, and to be done of their own good will, and for their own advantage, and not out of obedience to him, because it would make them happy. But the Israelites, upon the coming of the ambassadors, and upon their laying before them what they had in charge from their own king, were so far from complying therewith that they laughed the ambassadors to scorn, and mocked them as fools, as also they affronted the prophets who gave them the same ex

hortations, and foretold what they would suffer if they did not return to the worship of God, insomuch that at length they caught them, and slew them: nor did this degree of transgressing suffice them, but they had more wicked contrivances than what have been described: nor did they leave off, before God, as a punishment for their impiety, brought them under their enemies: but of that more hereafter. However, many there were of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zebulun, and of Issachar, who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do, and returned to the worship of God. Now all these came running to Jerusalem, to Hezekiah, that they might worship God [there.]

3. When these men were come, king Hezekiah went up into the temple, with the rulers, and all the people, and offered for himself seven bulls, and as many rams, with seven lambs, and as many kids of the goats. The king also himself, and the rulers, laid their hands on the heads of the sacrifices, and permitted the priests to complete the sacred offices about them. So they both slew the sacrifices, and burned the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about them, with their musical instruments, and sang hymns to God, and played on their psalteries, as they were instructed by David to do, and this while the rest of the priests returned the music, and sounded the trumpets which they had in their hands: and when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their faces, and worshiped God. He also sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. He also granted the multitude sacrifices to feast upon, six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle; and the priests performed all things according to the law. Now the king was so pleased herewith that he feasted with the people and returned thanks to God: but as the feast of unleavened bread was now come when they had offered that sacrifice which is called the *Passover*, they after that offered other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, besides what they sanctified of themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle, the same thing was done by the rulers; for they gave them a thousand bulls, and a thousand and forty other cattle. Nor had this festival been so well observed from the days of king Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendour and magnificence: and when this festival was ended, they went out into the country and purged it; and cleansed the city of all the pollution of the idols. The king also gave order that the daily sacrifices should be offered, at his own charges, and according to the law; and appointed that the tithes and the first fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, that they might constantly attend upon divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude brought together all sorts of their fruits to the priests and the Levites. The king also made garners and receptacles for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of the priests and Levites, and to their children and wives. And thus did they return to their old form of divine worship. Now when the king had settled these matters after the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the enemies' cities, from Gaza to Gath: but the king of Assyria sent to him, and threatened to overturn all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid him formerly; but king Hezekiah was not concerned at his threatenings, but depended on his piety towards God, and upon Isaiah the prophet, by whom he inquired, and accurately knew all future events. And thus much shall suffice for the present concerning this king Hezekiah.

CHAP. XIV.

How Shalmanezer took Samaria by Force, and how he transplanted the Ten Tribes into Media, and brought the Nation of the Cutheans into their Country [in their Room.]

§ 1. When Shalmanezer, the king of Assyria, had it told him, that [Hoshea] the king of Israel had sent privately to So, the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against him, he was very angry, and made an expedition against Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hoshea; but when he was not admitted [into the city] by the king, he besieged Samaria* three years, and took it by force in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah king of Jerusalem, and quite demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia, among whom he took king Hoshea alive; and when he had removed these people out of this their land, he transplanted other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called (for there is [still] a river of that name in Persia,) into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judea nine hundred and forty-seven years after their forefathers were come out of the land of Egypt, and possessed themselves of this country, but eight hundred years after Joshua had been their leader, and, as I have already observed, two hundred and forty years, seven months, and seven days, after they had revolted from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, and had given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such a conclusion over took the Israelites, when they had transgressed the laws, and would not hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this calamity would come upon them, if they would not leave off their evil doings. What gave birth to these evil doings was that sedition which they raised against Rehoboam the grandson of David, when they set up Jeroboam his servant to be their king, who by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy, while Jeroboam underwent that punishment which he justly deserved.

2. And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phœnicia in a hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre, for he made an expedition against Tyre in the reign of Eluleus; and Menander attests to it, who, when he wrote his Chronology, and translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gives us the following history: "One whose name was Eluleus reigned thirty-six years: this king, upon the revolt of the Citteans, sailed to them, and reduced them again to a submission. Against these did the king of Assyria send an army, and in a hostile manner overrun all Phœnicia, but soon made peace with them all, and returned back: but Sidon, and Ace, and Palætyrus revolted: and many other cities there were which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them again, while the Phœnicans had furnished him with threescore ships, and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Tyrians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemies' ships were dispersed, they took five hundred men prisoners, and the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased: but the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their rivers and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years, and still the Tyrians bore the siege, and drank of the water they had out of the wells they dug." And this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmaneser the king of Assyria.

* This siege of Samaria, though not given a particular account of, either in our Hebrew and Greek Bibles, or in Josephus, was so very long, no less than three years, that it was no way improbable but that parents, and particularly mothers, might therein be reduced to eat their own children, as the law of Moses had threatened upon their disobedience, Levit. xxvi 29; Deut. xxviii. 53—57, and as was accomplished in the other shorter sieges of both the capital cities, Jerusalem and Samaria, the former mentioned Jer. xix. 9; Antiq. B. ix. ch. iv. sect. 4; and the latter, 2 Kings, vi. 26—29.

3. But now the Cutheans, who removed into Samaria (for that is the name they have been called by to this time, because they were brought out of the country called Cuthah, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it,) each of them, according to their nations, which were in number five, brought their own gods into Samaria, and by worshiping them, as was the custom of their own countries, they provoked Almighty God to be angry and displeased at them; for a plague seized upon them, by which they were destroyed; and when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by the oracle that they ought to worship Almighty God, as the method for their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive. And when he thereupon sent them, and the people were by them taught the laws, and the holy worship of God, they worshiped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased immediately; and indeed they continue to make use of the very same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cutheans, but in the Greek tongue Samaritans. And when they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are changed, and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means, an original alliance with them; but when they see them falling into a low condition, they say they are no way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindred from them, but they declare that they are sojourners, that come from other countries. But of these we shall have a more seasonable opportunity to discourse hereafter.

BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO YEARS AND A HALF.

FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES TO THE FIRST OF CYRUS

CHAP. I.

How Sennacherib made an Expedition against Hezekiah; what Threatenings Rabshakeh made to Hezekiah when Sennacherib was gone against the Egyptians; how Isaiah the Prophet encouraged him; how Sennacherib, having failed of Success in Egypt, returned thence to Jerusalem; and how, upon finding his Army destroyed, he returned home; and what befell him a little afterward.

§ 1. It was now in the fourteenth year of the government of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Sennacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin by force; and when he was ready to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him beforehand promised to submit, and pay what tribute he should appoint. Hereupon Sennacherib, when he heard of what offers the ambassadors made, resolved not proceed in the war, but to accept of the proposals that were made him: and if he might receive three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner; and he gave security upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do him no harm, but go away as he came. So Hezekiah submitted, and emptied his treasures and sent the money, as supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any farther distress about his kingdom. Accordingly the Assyrian king took it, and yet he had no regard to what he had promised: but while he himself went to the war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other of his principal commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the other two commanders were Tartan and Rabsaris.

2. Now, as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messengers to Hezekiah, and desired that they might speak with him: but he did not himself come out to them for fear, but he sent three of his most intimate friends, the name of one was Eliakim, who was over the kingdom of Shebna, and Joah the recorder. So these men came out, and stood over against the commanders of the Assyrian army; and when Rabshakeh saw them, he bid them go and speak to Hezekiah in the manner following; that "Sennacherib, the great king,* desires to know of him, on whom it is that he relies and depends in flying from his lord, and will not hear him, nor admit his army into the city? Is it on account of the Egyptians, and in hopes that his army would be beaten by them? Whereupon he lets him know, that if this be what he expects, he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed, while such a one will not only fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it. That he ought to know, he makes this expedition against him by the will of God, who hath granted this favour to him, that he shall overthrow the kingdom of Israel, and that in the very same

* This title of *Great King*, both in our Bibles, 2 Kings, xviii. 19; Isaiah, xxxvi. 4; and here in Josephus, is the very same that Herodotus gives this Sennacherib as Spanheim takes notice on this place.

manner he shall destroy those that are his subjects also." When Rabshakeh had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was skilful in that language, Eliakim was afraid lest the multitude that heard him should be disturbed, so he desired him to speak in the Syrian tongue; but the general understanding what he meant, and perceiving the fear that he was in, he made his answer with a greater and louder voice, but in the Hebrew tongue: and said, that "since they all heard what were the king's commands, they would consult their own advantage in delivering themselves up to us; for it is plain that both you and your king dissuade the people from submitting by vain hopes, and so induce them to resist; but if you be courageous, and think to drive our forces away, I am ready to deliver to you two thousand of these horses that are with me for your use, if you can set as many horsemen on their backs, and show your strength; but what you have not, you cannot produce. Why therefore do you delay to deliver up yourselves to a superior force, who can take you without your consent? although it will be safer for you to deliver yourselves up voluntarily; while a forcible capture, when you are beaten, must appear more dangerous, and will bring farther calamities upon you."

3. When the people, as well as the ambassadors, heard what the Assyrian commander said, they related it to Hezekiah, who thereupon put off his royal apparel, and clothed himself with sackcloth, and took the habit of a mourner, and, after the manner of his country, he fell upon his face, and besought God, and entreated him to assist them, now they had no other hope of relief. He also sent some of his friends, and some of the priests, to the prophet Isaiah, and desired that he would pray to God, and offer sacrifices for their common deliverance, and so put up supplications to him, that he would have indignation at the expectations of their enemies, and have mercy upon his people. And when the prophet had done accordingly, an oracle came from God to him, and encouraged the king and his friends that were about him; and foretold, that "their enemies should be beaten without fighting, and should go away in an ignominious manner, and not with that insolence which they now show, for that God would take care they should be destroyed." He also foretold, that "Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, should fail of his purpose against Egypt, and that when he came home he should perish by the sword."

4. About the same time also the king of Assyria wrote an epistle to Hezekiah, in which he said, "He was a foolish man in supposing that he should escape from being his servant, since he had already brought under many and great nations: and he threatened, that when he took him, he would utterly destroy him, unless he now opened the gates, and willingly received his army into Jerusalem." When he had read this epistle, he despised it on account of the trust that he had in God, but he rolled up the epistle, and laid it up within the temple. And as he made his farther prayers to God for the city, and for the preservation of all the people, the prophet Isaiah said, that "God had heard his prayer, and that he should not be * besieged at this time by the king of Assyria; and that for the future he might be secure of not being at all disturbed by him; and that the people might go on peaceably, and without fear, with their husbandry and other affairs." But after a little while, the king of Assyria, when he had failed of his treacherous designs against the Egyptians, returned home without success on the following occasion: He spent a long time in the siege of Pelusium; and when the banks that he had raised over against the walls were of a great height, and when he was

* What Josephus says here, how Isaiah the prophet assured Hezekiah, that "at this time he should not be besieged by the king of Assyria; that for the future he might be secure of being not at all disturbed by him; and that [afterward] the people might go on peaceably and without fear with their husbandry and other affairs," is more distinct in our other copies, both of the Kings and of Isaiah, and deserves very great consideration. The words are these: "This shall be a sign unto thee; ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself; and the second year that which springeth of the same; and in the third year sow ye and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof," 2 Kings, xix. 20; Isa. xxxvii. 30: which seem to me plainly to design *a sabbatic year, a year of Jubilee* next after it, and the succeeding usual labours and fruits of them on the the third and following years.

ready to make an immediate assault upon them, but heard that Tirhaka, king of the Ethiopians, was coming, and bringing great forces to aid the Egyptians, and was resolved to march through the desert, and so to fall directly upon the Assyrians, this king Sennacherib was disturbed at the news, and, as I said before, left Pelusium and returned back without success. Now, concerning this Sennacherib, Herodotus also says, in the second book of his histories, "How this king came against the Egyptian king, who was the priest of Vulcan, and that, as he was besieging Pelusium, he broke up the siege on the following occasion: this Egyptian priest prayed to God, and God heard his prayer, and sent a judgment upon the Arabian king." But in this Herodotus was mistaken, when he called this king, not the king of the Assyrians, but of the Arabians: for he saith, that "a multitude of mice gnawed to pieces in one night both the bows and the rest of the armour of the Assyrians, and that it was on that account that the king, when he had no bows left, drew off his army from Pelusium." And Herodotus does indeed give us this history; nay, and Berosus, who wrote of the affairs of Chaldea, makes mention of this king Sennacherib, and that he ruled over the Assyrians, and that he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt; and says thus*:

5. "Now when Sennacherib was returning from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found his army under Rabshakeh, his general, in danger [by a plague, for] God had sent a pestilential distemper upon his army; and on the very first night of the siege, a hundred four score and five thousand, with their captains and generals, were destroyed: So the king was in a great dread, and in a terrible agony at this calamity; and being in great fear for his whole army, he fled with the rest of his forces to his own kingdom, and to his city Nineveh; And when he had abode there a little while, he was treacherously assaulted, and died by the hands of his elder sons,† Adrammelech and Seraser, and was slain in his own temple, which was called *Araske*. Now these sons of his were driven away, on account of the murder of their father by the citizens, and went into Armenia, while Assarachoddas took the kingdom of Sennacherib." And this proved to be the conclusion of this Assyrian expedition against the people of Jerusalem.

CHAP. II.

How Hezekiah was sick, and ready to die; and how God bestowed upon him Fifteen Years longer Life, [and secured that Promise] by the going back of the Shadow ten Degrees.

§ 1. Now king Hezekiah, being thus delivered, after a surprising manner, from the dread he was in, offered thank-offerings to God, with all his people, because nothing else had destroyed some of their enemies, and made the rest so fearful of undergoing the same fate that they departed from Jerusalem, but that divine assistance; yet, while he was very zealous and diligent about the worship of God, did he soon afterward fall into a severe distemper,‡ insomuch that the physicians

* That this terrible calamity of the slaughter of the 185,000 Assyrians is here delivered in the words of Berosus the Chaldean, and that it was certainly and frequently foretold by the Jewish prophets, and that it was certainly and undeniably accomplished, see Authent. Rec. part ii. page 858.

† We are here to take notice, that these two sons of Sennacherib, that ran away into Armenia, became the heads of two famous families there, the Arzerunii and the Genunii, of which see the particular history in Moses Chorenensis, p. 60.

‡ Josephus and all our copies place the *sickness* of Hezekiah after the *destruction* of Sennacherib's *army*, because it appears to have been after his first assault, as he was going into Arabia and Egypt, where he pushed his conquests as far as they would go, and in order to dispatch his story altogether: yet does no copy but this of Josephus's say it was *after* that destruction, but only that it happened in *those days*, or about that time of Hezekiah's life. Nor will the fifteen year's prolongation of his life after his sickness allow that sickness to have been later than the former part of the 15th year of his reign, since chronology does not allow him in all above 29 years and a few months, whereas the first assault of Sennacherib was in the 14th year of the reign of Hezekiah, but the destruction of Sennacherib's army was *not till his* 18th year.

despaired of him, and expected no good issue of his sickness, as neither did his friends; and, besides the distemper itself, there was a very melancholy circumstance that disordered the king, which was the consideration that he was childless, and was going to die, and leave his house and his government without a successor of his own body: So he was troubled at the thoughts of this his condition, and lamented himself, and entreated of God that he would prolong his life for a little while, till he had some children, and not suffer him to depart this life before he was become a father. Hereupon God had mercy upon him, and accepted of his supplication, because the trouble he was under at his supposed death was not because he was soon to leave the advantages he enjoyed in the kingdom, nor did he on that account pray that he might have a longer life afforded him, but in order to have sons that might receive the government after him. And so God sent Isaiah the prophet, and commanded him to inform Hezekiah, that "within three days' time, he should get clear of his distemper, and should survive it fifteen years, and that he should have children also." Now, upon the prophet's saying this, as God had commanded him, he could hardly believe it, both on account of the distemper he was under, which was very sore, and by reason of the surprising nature of what was told him; so he desired that Isaiah would give him some sign or wonder, that he might believe him in what he had said, and be sensible that he came from God; for things that are beyond expectation, and greater than our hopes, are made credible by actions of the like nature. And when Isaiah had asked him, What sign he desired to be exhibited? he desired that he would make the shadow of the sun, which he had already made to go down ten steps [or degrees] in his house, to return again to the same place, and to make it as it was before.* And when the prophet prayed to God to exhibit this sign to the king, he saw what he desired to see, and was freed from his distemper, and went up to the temple, where he worshiped God, and made vows to him.

2. At this time it was that the dominion of the Assyrians was overthrown by the Medes; but of these things I shall treat elsewhere. But the king of Babylon, whose name was Baladan, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, with presents, and desired he would be his ally and his friend. So he received the ambassadors gladly, and made them a feast, and showed them his treasures, and his armoury, and the other wealth he was possessed of, in precious stones, and in gold, and gave them presents to be carried to Baladan, and sent them back to him. Upon which the prophet Isaiah came to him, and inquired of him, "Whence those ambassadors came?" To which he replied, that "They came from Babylon, from the king; and that he had showed them all he had, that by the sight of his riches and forces he might thereby guess at [the plenty he was in,] and be able to inform the king of it." But the prophet rejoined, and said, "Know thou, that, after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon, and thy posterity shall be made eunuchs there, and lose their manhood, and be servants to the king of Babylon, for that God foretold such things would come to pass."

* As to this regress of the shadow, either upon a sundial or the steps of the royal palace built by Ahaz whether it were physically done by the real miraculous revolution of the earth in its diurnal motion backward from east to west for a while, and its return again to its old natural revolution from west to east, or whether it were not apparent only, and performed by an aerial phosphorus, which imitated the sun's motion backward, while a cloud hid the real sun, cannot be determined. Philosophers and astronomers will naturally incline to the latter hypothesis. However it must be noted that Josephus seems to have understood it otherwise than we generally do, that the shadow was accelerated as much at first forward, as it was made to go backward afterward, and so the day was neither longer nor shorter than usual, which it must be confessed, agrees best of all to astronomy, whose eclipses older than that time were observed at the same times of the day as if this miracle had never happened. After all, this wonderful signal was no it seems, peculiar to Judea, but either seen, or at least heard of at Babylon also, as appears by 2 Chr. xxxii. 31, where we learn that the Babylonian ambassadors were sent to Hezekiah, among other things, *to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land.*

† This expression of Josephus, that the Medes, upon this destruction of the Assyrian army, *overthrew* the Assyrian empire, seems to be too strong; for although they immediately cast off the Assyrian yoke and set up Deioces, a king of their own, yet it was some time before the Medes and Babylonians overthrew Nineveh, and some generations ere the Medes and Persians, under Cyaxares and Cyrus, overthrew the Assyrian or Babylonian empire, and took Babylon.

Upon which words Hezekiah was troubled, and said, that "he was himself unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities, yet, since it is not possible to alter what God had determined, he prayed that there might be peace while he lived. Berosus also makes mention of this Baladan, king of Babylon. Now as to this prophet [Isaiah,] he was by the confession of all a divine and a wonderful man in speaking truth; and out of the assurance, that he had never written what was false, he wrote down all his prophecies, and left them behind him in books, that their accomplishment might be judged of from the events by posterity; nor did this prophet do so alone, but the others, which were twelve in number, did the same. And whatsoever is done among us, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to their prophecies; but of every one of these we shall speak hereafter.

CHAP. III.

How Manasseh reigned after Hezekiah; and how, when he was in Captivity, he returned to God, and was restored to his Kingdom, and left it to [his Son] Amon.

§ 1. When king Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt all that time in peace, he died, having completed fifty-four years of his life, and reigned twenty-nine: But when his son Manasseh, whose mother's name was Hephzibah, of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father, and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto, and showed himself in his manners most wicked in all respects, and omitted no sort of impiety, but imitated those transgressions of the Israelites, by the commission of which against God they had been destroyed; for he was so hardy as to defile the temple of God, and the city, and the whole country; for by setting out from a contempt of God, he barbarously slew all the righteous men that were among the Hebrews; nor would he spare the prophets, for he every day slew some of them, till Jerusalem was overflown with blood. So God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to the king, and to the multitude, by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them, which their brethren the Israelites, upon the like affronts offered to God, were now under. But these men would not believe their words, by which belief they might have reaped the advantage of escaping all those miseries; yet did they in earnest learn that what the prophets had told them was true.

2. And when they persevered in the same course of life, God raised up war against them, from the king of Babylon and Chaldea, who sent an army against Judea, and laid waste the country, and caught king Manasseh by treachery, and ordered him to be brought to him, and had him under his power to inflict what punishment he pleased upon him. But then it was that Manasseh perceived what a miserable condition he was in, and esteeming himself the cause of all, he besought God to render his enemy humane and merciful to him. Accordingly God heard his prayer, and granted him what he prayed for. So Manasseh was released by the king of Babylon, and escaped the danger he was in; and when he was come to Jerusalem, he endeavoured, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory those his former sins against God, of which he now repented, and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple, and purged the city, and for the remainder of his days he was intent on nothing but to return his thanks to God, for his deliverance, and to preserve him propitious to him all his life long. He also instructed the multitude to do the same, as having very nearly experienced what a calamity he was fallen into by a contrary conduct. He also rebuilt the altar, and offered the legal sacrifices, as Moses commanded. And when he had reestablished what concerned the divine worship, as it ought to be

he took care of the security of Jerusalem; he did not only repair the old walls with great diligence, but added another wall to the former. He also built very lofty towers, and the garrisoned places before the city he strengthened, not only in other respects, but with provisions of all sorts that they wanted. And indeed when he had changed his former course, he so led his life for the time to come, that, from the time of his return to piety towards God, he was deemed a happy man and a pattern for imitation: When, therefore, he had lived sixty-seven years, he departed this life, having reigned fifty-five years, and was buried in his own gardens; and the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mother's name was *Meshulemeth*, of the city of Jotbath.

CHAP. IV.

How Amon reigned instead of Manasseh; and after Amon reigned Josiah; he was both righteous and religious. As also concerning Huldah the Propheteſs.

§ 1. THIS Amon imitated those works of his father which he innocently did when he was young; so he had a conspiracy made against him by his own servants, and was slain in his own house, when he had lived twenty-four years, and of them had reigned two: But the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom to his son Josiah, who was eight years old. His mother was of the city Boscath, and her name was *Jedidah*. He was of a most excellent disposition, and naturally virtuous, and followed the actions of king David, as a pattern and a rule to him in the whole conduct of his life. And, when he was twelve years old, he gave demonstrations of his religious and righteous behaviour; for he brought the people to a sober way of living, and exhorted them to leave off the opinion they had of their idols, because they were not gods, but to worship their own God. And by reflecting on the actions of his progenitors, he prudently corrected what they did wrong, like a very elderly man, and like one abundantly able to understand what was fit to be done; and what he found they had well done he observed all the country over, and imitated the same. And thus he acted, in following the wisdom and sagacity of his own nature, and in compliance with the advice and instruction of the elders; for by following the laws it was that he succeeded so well in the order of his government, and in piety with regard to the divine worship. And this happened because the transgressions of the former kings were seen no more, but quite vanished away; for the king went about the city and the whole country, and cut down the groves which were devoted to strange gods and overthrew their altars; and if there were any gifts dedicated to them by his forefathers, he made them ignominious, and plucked them down, and by this means he brought the people back from their opinion about them to the worship of God. He also offered his accustomed sacrifices and burnt offerings upon the altar. Moreover, he ordained certain judges and overseers, that they might order the matters to them severally belonging, and have regard to justice above all things, and distribute it with the same concern they would have about their own soul. He also sent over all the country, and desired such as pleased to bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, according to every one's inclinations and abilities: And when the money was brought in, he made one Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Joah the recorder, and Eliakim the high priest, curators of the temple and of the charges contributed thereto, who made no delay, nor put the work off at all, but prepared architects and whatsoever was proper for those repairs, and set closely about the work. So the temple was repaired by this means, and became a public demonstration of the the king's piety.

2. But when he was now in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent to Eliakim the high priest, and gave order that, out of what money was overplus, he should cast cups and dishes and vials, for ministeration [in the temple;] and, be

sides, that they should bring all the gold or silver which was among the treasures, and expend that also in making cups and the like vessels. But as the high priest was bringing out the gold, he lighted upon the holy books of Moses that were laid up in the temple; and when he had brought them out, he gave them to Shaphan the scribe, who, when he had read them, came to the king, and informed him that all was finished which he had ordered to be done. He also read over the books to him, who, when he had heard them read, rent his garment, and called for Eliakim the high priest, and for [Shaphan] the scribe, and for certain [other] of his most particular friends, and sent them to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum (which Shallum was a man of dignity, and of an eminent family,) and bid them to go to her and say, that [he desired] "she would appease God, and endeavour to render him propitious to them; for that there was cause to fear lest, upon the transgression of the laws of Moses by their forefathers, they should be in peril of going into captivity and of being cast out of their own country; lest they should be in want of all things, and so end their days miserably." When the prophetess had heard this from the messengers that were sent to her by the king, she bid them go back to the king, and say, that "God had already given sentence against them, to destroy the people, and cast them out of their country, and deprive them of all the happiness they enjoyed; which sentence none could set aside by any prayers of theirs, since it was passed on account of their transgressions of the laws, and of their not having repented in so long a time, while the prophets had exhorted them to amend, and had foretold the punishments that would ensue on their impious practices; which threatening God would certainly execute upon them, that they might be persuaded that he is God, and had not deceived them in any respect as to what he had denounced by his prophets; that yet, because Josiah was a righteous man, he would at present delay those calamities, but that after his death he would send on the multitude what miseries he had determined for them."

3. So these messengers, upon this prophecy of the woman, came and told it to the king; whereupon he sent to the people everywhere, and ordered that the priests and the Levites should come together to Jerusalem; and commanded that those of every age should be present also. And when they were gathered together, he first read to them the holy books; after which he stood upon a pulpit in the midst of the multitude, and obliged them to make a covenant, with an oath, that they would worship God and keep the laws of Moses. Accordingly, they gave their assent willingly, and undertook to do what the king had recommended to them. So they immediately offered sacrifices, and that after an acceptable manner, and besought God to be gracious and merciful to them. He also enjoined the high-priest, that if there remained in the temple any vessel that was dedicated to idols, or to foreign gods, they should cast it out. So when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burnt them, and scattered their ashes abroad, and slew the priests of the idols, that were not of the family of Aaron.

4. And when he had done thus in Jerusalem, he came into the country, and utterly destroyed what buildings had been made therein by king Jeroboam, in honour of strange gods; and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon the altar which Jeroboam first built. And as the prophet [Jadon,] who came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifice, and when all the people heard him, foretold what would come to pass, viz. that "a certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should do what is here mentioned." And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.

5. After these things, Josiah went also to such other Israelites as had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honours they paid to strange gods, but to worship rightly their own Almighty God, and adhere to him. He also searched the houses and the villages and the cities, out of a suspicion that some

body might have one idol or other in private; nay, indeed, he took away the chariots [of the sun] that were set up in his royal palace* which his predecessors had framed, and what thing soever there was besides which they worshiped as a god. And when he had thus purged all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened bread, and that called the *Passover*. He also gave the people, for paschal sacrifices, young kids of the goats and lambs thirty thousand, and three thousand oxen for burnt offerings. The principal of the priests also gave to the priests, against the passover, two thousand and six hundred lambs; the principal of the Levites also gave to the Levites five thousand lambs and five hundred oxen, by which means there was great plenty of sacrifices: and they offered those sacrifices according to the laws of Moses, while every priest explained the matter, and ministered to the multitude. And indeed there had been no other festival thus celebrated by the Hebrews from the times of Samuel the prophet; and the plenty of sacrifices now was the occasion that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the custom of their forefathers. So when Josiah had after this lived in peace, nay, in riches and reputation also among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

CHAP. V.

How Josiah fought with Neco, [King of Egypt,] and was wounded, and died in a little Time afterward: As also, how Neco carried Jehoahaz, who had been made King, into Egypt, and delivered the Kingdom to Jehoiakim: and [lastly] concerning Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

§ 1. Now Neco, king of Egypt, raised an army and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the dominion of the Assyrians,† for he had a desire to reign over Asia. Now when he was come to the city Mendes, which belonged to the kingdom of Josiah, he brought an army to hinder him from passing through his own country, in his expedition against the Medes. Now Neco sent a herald to Josiah, and told him, that "he did not make this expedition against him, but was making haste to Euphrates; and desired that he would not provoke him to fight against him, because he obstructed his march to the place whither he had resolved to go." But Josiah did not admit of this advice of Neco's, but put himself into a posture to hinder him from his intended march. I suppose that it was fate that pushed him on to this conduct, that it might take an occasion against him; for, as he was setting his army in array,‡ and rode about in his chariot, from one wing of his army to another, one of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness of fighting; for being sorely wounded, he commanded a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of that wound, and was magnificently buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, when he had lived thirty-nine years, and of them had reigned thirty-one. But all the people mourned greatly for him, and lamenting and grieving on his account many days: and Je-

* It is hard to reconcile the account in the second book of Kings, ch. xxiii. 11, with this account in Josephus, and to translate this passage truly in Josephus, whose copies are supposed to be here imperfect: however, the general sense of both seems to be this, that there were certain chariots, with their horses, dedicated to the idol of the sun, or to Molech, which idol might be carried about in procession and worshiped by the people, which chariots were now *taken away*, as Josephus says, or, as the book of Kings says, *burnt with fire by Josiah*.

† This is a remarkable passage of chronology in Josephus, that about the latter end of the reign of Josiah, the Medes and Babylonians overthrew the empire of the Assyrians; or, in the words of Tobit's continuator, that "before Tobias died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nebuchodonosor the Babylonian, and Assuerus the Mede." Tob. xiv. 15; see Dean Prideaux's Connexion, at the year 612.

‡ This battle is justly esteemed the very same that Herodotus, B. ii. sect. 156, mentions, when he says, that "Necao joined battle with the Syrians [or Jews,] at Magdolum [Megiddo] and beat them," as Dr Hudson here observes.

remiah the prophet composed an elegy to lament him, which is extant till this time also.* Moreover, this prophet denounced beforehand, the sad calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing a description of that destruction of our nation which has lately happened in our days, and the taking of Babylon; nor was he the only prophet who delivered such predictions beforehand to the multitude, but so did Ezekiel also, who was the first person that wrote, and left behind him in writing two books concerning these events. Now these two prophets were priests by birth, but of them Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. However, as to what befell this prophet, we will relate in its proper place.

2. Upon the death of Josiah, which we have already mentioned, his son Jehoahaz by name, took the kingdom, being about twenty-three years old. He reigned in Jerusalem, and his mother was Hamutal, of the city Libnah. He was an impious man, and impure in his course of life; but as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, he sent for Jehoahaz to come to him, to the city called Hamath,† which belongs to Syria: and when he was come, he put him in bands, and delivered the kingdom to a brother of his, by the father's side, whose name was Eliakim, and changed his name to Jehoiakim, and laid a tribute upon the land of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold, and this sum of money Jehoiakim paid by way of tribute; but Neco carried away Jehoahaz in Egypt, where he died when he had reigned three months and ten days. Now Jehoiakim's mother was called Zebudah, of the city Rumah. He was of a wicked disposition, and ready to do mischief: nor was he either religious towards God or good-natured towards men.

CHAP. VI.

How Nebuchadnezzar, when he had conquered the King of Egypt, made an Expedition against the Jews, and slew Jehoiakim, and made Jehoiachin, his Son, King.

§ 1. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army to the city Carchemish, which was at Euphrates, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with Neco, king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Neco understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his attempt, but made haste with a great band of men to Euphrates, to defend himself from Nebuchadnezzar; and when they had joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many ten thousands [of his soldiers] in the battle. So the king of Babylon passed over Euphrates, and took all Syria, as far as Pelusium, excepting Judea. But when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, which was the eighth of Jehoiakim's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened upon his refusal, to make war against him. He was affrighted at his threatening, and bought his peace with money, and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years.

2 But on the third year, upon hearing that the king of the Babylonians made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his tribute; yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight at this time. And indeed

* Whether Josephus, from 2 Chron. xxxv. 25, here means the book of the Lamentations of Jeremiah still extant, which chiefly belongs to the destruction of Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar, or to any other like melancholy poem now lost, but extant in the days of Josephus, belonging peculiarly to Josiah, cannot now be determined.

† This ancient city Hamath, which is joined with Arpad, or Aradus, and with Damascus, 2 Kings xviii. 34; Isa. xxxvi. 19; Jer. xlix. 23; cities of Syria and Phœnicia, near the borders of Judea, was also itself evidently near the same borders, though long ago utterly destroyed.

the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day how vainly they relied on their hopes from Egypt, and how the city would be overthrown by the king of Babylon, and Jehoiakim the king would be subdued by him. But what he thus spake proved to be of no advantage to them, because there were none that should escape; for both the multitude and the rulers, when they heard him, had no concern about what they heard, but being displeased at what was said, as if the prophet were a diviner against the king, they accused Jeremiah, and bringing him before the court, they required that a sentence and a punishment might be given against him. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation, but the elders refused, who prudently sent away the prophet from the court of [the prison,] and persuaded the rest to do Jeremiah no harm; for they said "he was not the only person, who foretold what would come to the city, but that Micah signified the same before him, as well as many others, none of which suffered any thing of the kings that then reigned, but were honoured as the prophets of God." So they mollified the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah from the punishment to which he was condemned. Now when this prophet had written all his prophecies, and the people were fasting and assembled at the temple, on the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, he read the book he had composed of his predictions, of what was to befall the city, and the temple, and the multitude. And when the rulers heard of it, they took the book from him, and bid him and Barach the scribe to go their ways, lest they should be discovered by one or other; but they carried the book, and gave it to the king; so he gave order, in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry, and tore it and cast it into the fire, where it was consumed. He also commanded that they should seek for Jeremiah and Baruch the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However, they escaped his anger.

3. Now a little time afterwards, the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, whom he received [into the city,] and this out of fear of the foregoing predictions of this prophet, as supposing that he should suffer nothing that was terrible, because he neither shut the gates nor fought against him; yet, when he was come into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made, but he slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls, without any burial, and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country and of the city: he also took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon, among which was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but young. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven; but Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom, whose mother's name was Nehushta: she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned three months and ten days.

CHAP. VII

That the King of Babylon repented of making Jehoiachin King, and took him away to Babylon, and delivered the Kingdom to Zedekiah. This King would not believe what was predicted by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but joined himself to the Egyptians, who, when they came into Judea, were vanquished by the King of Babylon: As also what befell Jeremiah.

§ 1. But a terror seized on the king of Babylon, who had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, and that immediately; he was afraid that he should bear him a grudge, because of his killing his father, and thereupon should make the country revolt from him; wherefore he sent an army and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem

but, because he was of a gentle and just disposition, he did not desire to see the city endangered on his account, but he took his mother and kindred, and delivered them to the commanders sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither should they suffer any harm nor the city, which agreement they did not observe for a single year; for the king of Babylon did not keep it, but gave orders to his generals to take all that were in the city captives, both the youth and the handicraftsmen, and bring them bound to him; their number was ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two; as also Jehoiachin, and his mother and friends: and when these were brought to him, he kept them in custody, and appointed Jehoiachin's uncle, Zedekiah, to be king, and made him take an oath that he would certainly keep the kingdom for him, and make no innovation, nor have any leagues of friendship with Egyptians.

2. Now Zedekiah was twenty and one years old when he took the government, and had the same mother with his brother Jehoiakim, but was a despiser of justice and of his duty; for truly those of the same age with him were wicked about him, and the whole multitude did what unjust and insolent things they pleased; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah came often to him and protested to him, and insisted that "he must leave off his impieties and transgressions, and take care of what was right, and neither give ear to the rulers (among whom were wicked men) nor give credit to their false prophets, who deluded them, as if the king of Babylon would make no more war against him, and as if the Egyptians would make war against him and conquer him, since what they said was not true, and the events would not prove such [as they expected."] Now as to Zedekiah himself, while he heard the prophet speak he believed him, and agreed to every thing as true, and supposed it was for his advantage; but then his friends perverted him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and obliged him to do what they pleased. Ezekiel also foretold in Babylon what calamities were coming upon the people, which when he heard, he sent accounts of them unto Jerusalem; but Zedekiah did not believe their prophecies, for the reasons following: It happened that the two prophets agreed with one another in what they said as to all other things, that the city should be taken and that Zedekiah himself should be taken captive, but Ezekiel disagreed with him, and said that "Zedekiah should not see Babylon," while Jeremiah said to him, that "the king of Babylon should carry him away thither in bonds." And because they did not both say the same thing as to this circumstance, he disbelieved what they both appeared to agree in, and condemned them as not speaking truth therein, although all the things foretold him did come to pass, according to their prophecies, as we shall show upon a fitter opportunity.

3. Now when Zedekiah preserved the league of mutual assistance he had made with the Babylonians, for eight years, he brake it, and revolted to the Egyptians, in hopes, by their assistance, of overcoming the Babylonians. When the king of Babylon knew this, he made war against him: he laid his country waste, and took his fortified towns, and came to the city Jerusalem itself to besiege it: But when the king of Egypt heard what circumstances Zedekiah his ally was in, he took a great army with him, and came into Judea, as if he would raise the siege; upon which the king of Babylon departed from Jerusalem and met the Egyptians, and joined battle with them and beat them, and when he had put them to flight he pursued them and drove them out of all Syria. Now as soon as the king of Babylon was departed from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Zedekiah, and said that "the king of Babylon would not any more make war against him or his people, nor remove them out of their own country into Babylon, and that those then in captivity would return, with all those vessels of the temple of which the king of Babylon had despoiled that temple." But Jeremiah came among them and prophesied what contradicted these predictions, and what proved to be true, that "they did ill and deluded the king; that the Egyptians would be of no advantage to them, but that the king of Babylon would renew the war against Jerusa

lem and besiege it again, and would destroy the people by famine, and carry away those that remained into captivity, and would take away what they had as spoils, and would carry off those riches that were in the temple; nay, that, besides this, he would burn it, and utterly overthrow the city; and that they should serve him and his posterity seventy years, and then the Persians and the Medes should put an end to their servitude and overthrow the Babylonians, and that we shall be dismissed and return to this land, and rebuild the temple, and restore Jerusalem."* When Jeremiah said this, the greater part believed him, but the rulers and those that were wicked despised him, as one disordered in his senses. Now he had resolved to go elsewhere, to his own country, which was called *Anathoth*, and was twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, and as he was going, one of the rulers met him, and seized upon him, and accused him falsely, as though he were going as a deserter to the Babylonians; but Jeremiah said that he accused him falsely, and added that he was only going to his own country; but the other would not believe him; but seized upon him and led him away to the rulers, and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of torments and tortures, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered what I have already described unjustly.

4. Now, in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and lay before it eighteen months, and besieged it with the utmost application. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and a pestilential distemper, and made great havoc of them; and though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for that if they did so, they should be preserved, and their whole families; but if they did not so, they should be destroyed; and he foretold, that if any one stayed in the city, he should certainly perish by one of these ways, either be consumed by the famine or slain by the enemy's sword, but that if he would fly to the enemy he should escape death; yet did not these rulers who heard believe him, even when they were in the midst of their sore calamities, but they came to the king, and, in their anger, informed him what Jeremiah said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as of a madman and one that disheartened their minds, and by the denunciation of miseries weakened the alacrity of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for him and for their country; while he in a way of threatening warned them to fly to the enemy, and told them that certainly the city should be taken and be utterly destroyed.

5. But for the king himself, he was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet, that he might not be engaged in a quarrel with those rulers at such a time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would; whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission they presently came into the prison and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire, which was all about him, and so continued; but there was one of the king's servants, who was in esteem with him, an Ethiopian by descent, who told the king what a state the prophet was in, and said that his friends and his rulers had done evil in putting the prophet into the mire, and by that means contriving against him that he should suffer a death more bitter than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bid the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and cords with them, and whatsoever

* Josephus says here, that Jeremiah prophesied not only of the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, and this under the Persians and Medes, as in our other copies, but of their rebuilding the temple, and even the city Jerusalem, which does not appear in our copies under his name, see the note on Antiq. B. xi. chap. i. sect. 2.

else they understood to be necessary for the prophet's preservation, and to draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men he was ordered to take, and drew up the prophet out of the mire, and left him at liberty [in the prison.]

6. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God which might be suitable to his present circumstances, and desired him to inform him of it, Jeremiah replied that "he had somewhat to say;" but he said withal, "he should not be believed, nor, if he admonished them, should he be hearkened to; for, said he, thy friends have determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of some wickedness; and where are now those men who deceived us, and said that the king of Babylon would not come to fight against us any more? But I am afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to die." And when the king had assured him, upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance that was given him, and gave him this advice, that "he should deliver the city up to the Babylonians; and he said that it was God that propheisied this by him, that [he must do so] if he would be preserved and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither should the city fall to the ground nor should the temple be burned; but that [if he disobeyed] he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befal his whole house." When the king heard this, he said that "he would willingly do what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to his advantage, but that he was afraid of those of his own country that had fallen away to the Babylonians, lest he should be accused by them to the king of Babylon, and be punished." But the prophet encouraged him, and said "he had no cause to fear such punishment, for that he should not have the experience of any misfortune, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians, neither himself nor his children nor his wives, and that the temple should then continue unhurt." So when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and charged him "to betray what they had resolved on to none of the citizens, nor to tell any of these matters to any of the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, and should inquire of him what it was that he was sent for, and what he had said to him; but to pretend to them that he besought him that he might not be kept in bonds and in prison." And indeed, he said so to them; for they came to the prophet and asked him what advice it was that he came to give the king relating to them. And thus I have finished what concerns this matter.

CHAP. VIII.

How the King of Babylon took Jerusalem, and burned the Temple, and removed the People of Jerusalem and Zedekiah to Babylon. As also, who they were that had succeeded in the High Priesthood under the Kings.

§ 1. Now the king of Babylon was very intent and earnest upon the siege of Jerusalem; and he erected towers upon great banks of earth, and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls; he also made a great number of such banks round about the whole city, whose height was equal to those walls. However, those that were within bore the siege with courage and alacrity; for they were not discouraged, either by the famine or by the pestilential distemper, but were of cheerful minds in the prosecution of the war, although those miseries within oppressed them also; and they did not suffer themselves to be terrified, either by the contrivances of the enemy, or by their engines of war, but contrived still different engines to oppose all the other withal, till indeed here seemed to be an entire struggle between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem, which had the greater sagacity and skill; the former party supposing they should be thereby too hard for the other, for the destruction of the city; the latter placing their

hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such inventions in opposition to the other, as might demonstrate the enemies' engines were useless to them. And this siege they endured for eighteen months, until they were destroyed by the famine, and by the darts which the enemy threw at them from the towers.

2. Now the city was taken on the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. They were indeed only generals of the king of Babylon, to whom Nebuchadnezzar committed the care of the siege, for he abode himself in the city of Riblah. The names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them, were these, Nergal Sharezer Samgar Nebo, Rabsaris, Sarsechim, and Rabmag. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the enemies' generals were entered into the temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he took his wives and his children, and his captains, and his friends, and with them fled out of the city, through the fortified ditch, and through the desert; and when certain of the deserters had informed the Babylonians of this, at break of day they made haste to pursue after Zedekiah, and overtook him not far from Jericho, and encompassed him about; but for those friends and captains of Zedekiah who had fled out of the city with him, when they saw their enemies near them, they left him and dispersed themselves, some one way and some another, and every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took Zedekiah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives. and brought him to the king. When he was come, Nebuchadnezzar began to "call him a wicked wretch, and a covenant breaker, and one that had forgotten his former words when he promised to keep the country for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude, that when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jehoiachin, and given it him, he had made use of the power he gave him against him that gave it: but, said he, God is great, who hateth that conduct of thine and hath brought thee under us." And when he had used these words to Zedekiah, he commanded his sons and his friends to be slain, while Zedekiah and the rest of the captains looked on, after which he put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And these things happened to him,* as Jeremiah and Ezekiel had foretold to him, that he should be caught and brought before the king of Babylon, and should speak to him face to face, and should see his eyes with his own eyes; and thus far did Jeremiah prophesy; but he was also made blind and brought to Babylon, but did not see it, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.

3. We have said thus much, because it was sufficient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it, that it is various, and acts many different ways, and that all events happen after a regular manner, in their proper season, and that it foretells what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to show the ignorance and incredulity of men, whereby they are not permitted to foresee any thing that is future, and are, without any guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of those calamities.

4. And after this manner have the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty-one until the last king; who altogether reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months and ten days; of whom Saul, who was their first king, retained the government twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.

5. And now it was that the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradan the general of his army to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple, who had it also in command to burn it, and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to trans-

* This observation of Josephus's about the seeming disagreement of Jeremiah, ch. xxxii. 4, and xxxiv 3; and Ezek. xii. 13, but real agreement at last, concerning the fate of Zedekiah, is very true and very remarkable: see chap. vii. sect 2. Nor is it at all unlikely that the courtiers and false prophets might make use of this seeming contradiction to dissuade Zedekiah from believing either of these prophets. As Josephus here intimates he was dissuaded thereby.

plant the people into Babylon. Accordingly, he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried out the vessels of God, both gold and silver, and particularly that large laver which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass, and their chapitres, with the golden tables and the candlesticks; and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, the first day of the month, on the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and on the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the palace and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days from the departure out of Egypt; and from the deluge to the destruction of the temple, the whole interval was one thousand nine hundred fifty-seven years, six months, and ten days; but from the generation of Adam until this befell the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days; so great was the number of years hereto belonging. And what actions were done during those years, we have particularly related. But the general of the Babylonian king now overthrew the city to the very foundations, and removed the people, and took for prisoners the high priest Seraiah, and Zephania the priest that was next to him, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the eunuch who was over the armed men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his scribe, and sixty other rulers; all which, together with the vessels which they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the high priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but he himself led all the captives, and Zedekiah, to Babylon. He also led Josedek the high priest away bound. He was the son of Seraiah, the high priest whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we have just now related.

6. And now, because we have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high priesthood under the kings. The first high priest then at the temple which Solomon built, was Zadok; after him his son Achimas received that dignity; after Achimas was Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Isus; after him was Axioramus; his son was Phideas, and Phideas's son was Sudeas, and Sudeas's son was Juelus, and Juelus's son was Jotham, and Jotham's son was Urias, and Urias's son was Nerias, and Nerias's son was Odeas, and his son was Sallumus, and Sallumus's son was Elcias, and his son [was Azarias,* and his son] was Sareas, and his son was Josadoc, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession, the sons from their father.

7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison until he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, but freed the high priest from his bonds.

* I have here inserted in brackets this high priest Azarias, though he be omitted in all Josephus's copies, out of the Jewish chronicle, Seder Olam, of how little authority soever I generally esteem such late rabbinical historians; because we know from Josephus himself, that the number of the high priests belonging to this interval was eighteen, Antiq. B. xx. ch. x, whereas his copies have here but seventeen

CHAP. IX.

How Nebuzaradan set Gedaliah over the Jews that were left in Judea, which Gedaliah was a little afterward slain by Ishmael: and how Jonathan, after Ishmael was driven away, went down into Egypt with the People; which People Nebuchadnezzar, when he had made an Expedition against the Egyptians, took captive, and brought them away to Babylon.

§ 1. Now the general of the army, Nebuzaradan, when he had carried the people of the Jews into captivity, left the poor and those that had deserted in the country, and made one whose name was *Gedaliah*, the son of Ahikam, a person of a noble family, their governor, which Gedaliah was of a gentle and righteous disposition. He also commanded them that they should cultivate the ground, and pay an appointed tribute to the king. He also took Jeremiah the prophet out of prison, and would have persuaded him to go along with him to Babylon, for that he had been enjoined by the king to supply him with whatsoever he wanted: and if he did not like to do so, he desired him to inform him where he resolved to dwell, that he might signify the same to the king; but the prophet had no mind to follow him, nor to dwell anywhere else, but would gladly live in the ruins of his country, and in the miserable remains of it. When the general understood what his purpose was, he enjoined Gedaliah, whom he left behind, to take all possible care of him, and to supply him with whatsoever he wanted: so when he had given him rich presents he dismissed him. Accordingly Jeremiah abode in a city of that country which was called *Mispah*, and desired of Nebuzaradan that he would set at liberty his disciple, Baruch, the son of Neriah, one of a very eminent family, and exceeding skilful in the language of his country.*

2. When Nebuzaradan had done thus, he made haste to Babylon; but as to those that fled away during the siege of Jerusalem, and had been scattered over the country, when they heard that the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a remnant in the land of Jerusalem, and those such as were to cultivate the same, they came together from all parts to Gedaliah to Mispah. Now the rulers that were over them were Johanan, the son of Kareah, and Jezaniah and Seraiah and others beside them. Now there was of the royal family one Ishmael, a wicked man and very crafty, who, during the siege of Jerusalem, fled to Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, and abode with him during that time: and Gedaliah persuaded them, now they were there, to stay with him, and to have no fear of the Babylonians, for that if they would cultivate the country they should suffer no harm. This he assured them of by oath, and said that they should have him for their patron, and that if any disturbance should arise, they should find him ready to defend them. He also advised them to dwell in any city, as every one of them pleased; and that they would send men along with his own servants, and rebuild their houses upon the old foundations and dwell there; and he admonished them beforehand that they should make preparation, while the season lasted, of corn, and wine, and oil, that they might have whereon to feed during the winter. When he had thus discoursed to them, he dismissed them, that every one might dwell in what place of the country he pleased.

3. Now when this report was spread abroad as far as the nations that bordered on Judea, that Gedaliah kindly entertained those that came to him, after they had fled away, upon this [only] condition, that they should pay tribute to the king of Babylon, they also came readily to Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. And when Johanan and the rulers that were with him observed the country and the humanity of Gedaliah, they were exceedingly in love with him, and told him that

* Of this character of Baruch, the son of Neriah, and the genuineness of his book that stands now in our Apocrypha, and that it is really a canonical book, and an appendix to Jeremiah, see Authent. Rec. part i. page 1—11.

Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, had sent Ishmael to kill him by treachery and secretly, that he might have the dominion over the Israelites, as being of the royal family; and they said that he might deliver himself from this treacherous design if he would give them leave to slay Ishmael, and nobody should know it; for they told him they were afraid that, when he was killed by the other, the entire ruin of the remaining strength of the Israelites would ensue: But he professed that "he did not believe what they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design in a man that had been well treated by him, because it was not probable that one who, under such a want of all things, had failed of nothing that was necessary for him, should be found so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor, that when it would be an instance of wickedness in him not to save him, had he been treacherously assaulted by others, to endeavour, and that earnestly, to kill him with his own hand: that, however, if he ought to suppose this information to be true, it was better for himself to be slain by the other, than to destroy a man who fled to him for refuge, and entrusted his own safety to him, and committed himself to his disposal."

4. So Johanan and the rulers that were with him, not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went away; but after the interval of thirty days was over, Ishmael came again to Gedaliah, to the city Mispah, and ten men with him; and when he had feasted Ishmael and those that were with him in a splendid manner at his table, and had given them presents, he became disordered in drink, while he endeavoured to be very merry with them; and when Ishmael saw him in that case, and that he was drowned in his cups to the degree of insensibility, and had fallen asleep, he rose up on a sudden, with his ten friends, and slew Gedaliah and those that were with him at the feast; and when he had slain them, he went out by night and slew all the Jews that were in the city, and those soldiers also which were left therein by the Babylonians: but the next day fourscore men came out of the country, with presents to Gedaliah, none of them knowing what had befallen him; when Ishmael saw them, he invited them into Gedaliah, and when they were come in, he shut up the court and slew them, and cast their dead bodies down into a certain deep pit, that they might not be seen; but of these fourscore men Ishmael spared those that entreated him not to kill them, till they had delivered up to him what riches they had concealed in the fields, consisting of their furniture and garments and corn; but he took captive the people that were in Mispah, with their wives and children, among whom were the daughters of king Zedekiah, whom Nebuzaradan, the general of the army of Babylon, had left with Gedaliah: And when he had done this, he came to the king of the Ammonites.

5. But when Johanan and the rulers with him heard of what was done at Mispah by Ishmael, and of the death of Gedaliah, they had indignation at it, and every one of them took his own armed men and came suddenly to fight with Ishmael, and overtook him at the fountain in Hebron: And when those that were carried away captives by Ishmael saw Johanan and the rulers, they were very glad, and looked upon them as coming to their assistance; so they left him that had carried them captives and came over to Johanan: then Ishmael, with eight men, fled to the king of the Ammonites; but Johanan took those whom he had rescued out of the hands of Ishmael, and the eunuchs, and their wives and children, and came to a certain place called *Mandra*, and there they abode that day, for they had determined to remove from thence and to go into Egypt, out of fear lest the Babylonians should slay them, in case they continued in the country, and that out of anger at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been by them set over it for governor.

6. Now while they were under this deliberation, Johanan, the son of Kareah, and the rulers that were with him, came to Jeremiah the prophet, and desired that he would pray to God that, because they were at an utter loss about what they ought to do, he would discover it to them, and they swore that they would

do whatsoever Jeremiah should say to them: And when the prophet said he would be their intercessor with God, it came to pass, that after ten days God appeared to him, and said that "he should inform Johanan and the other rulers, and all the people, that he would be with them while they continued in that country, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt by the Babylonians, of whom they were afraid; but that he would desert them if they went into Egypt, and, out of his wrath against them, would inflict the same punishments upon them which they knew their brethren had already endured." So when the prophet had informed Johanan and the people that God had foretold these things, he was not believed when he said that God commanded them to continue in that country, but they imagined that he said so to gratify Baruch, his own disciple, and belied God, and that he persuaded them to stay there that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. Accordingly, both the people and Johanan disobeyed the counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Baruch along with them.

7. And when they were there, God signified to the prophet that the king of Babylon was about making an expedition against the Egyptians, and commanded him to foretell to the people that Egypt should be taken, and the king of Babylon should slay some of them, and should take others captive and bring them to Babylon; which things came to pass accordingly, for on the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Celesyria, and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all those nations under subjection, he fell upon Egypt in order to overthrow it, and he slew the king* that then reigned, and set up another, and he took those Jews that were there captives and led them away to Babylon. And such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews, as it hath been delivered down to us, it having twice gone beyond Euphrates; for the people of the ten tribes were carried out of Samaria by the Assyrians, in the days of king Hoshea: after which the people of the two tribes that remained after Jerusalem was taken [were carried away] by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon and Chaldea. Now as to Shalmanezer, he removed the Israelites out of their country, and placed therein the nation of the Cutheans, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were then called *Samaritans*, by taking the name of the country to which they were removed; but the king of Babylon, who brought out the two tribes, placed no other nation in their country,† by which means all Judea and Jerusalem and the temple continued to be a desert for seventy years: but the entire interval of time which passed from the captivity of the Israelites to the carrying away of the two tribes proved to be a hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Daniel, and what befell him at Babylon.

§ 1. But now Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, took some of the most noble of the Jews that were children, and the kinsmen of Zedekiah their king, such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered them into the hands of tutors, and to the improvement to

* Herodotus says, this king of Egypt [Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries] was slain by the Egyptians, as Jeremiah foretold his slaughter by his enemies, Jer. xliv. 29, 30, and that as a sign of the destruction of Egypt [by Nebuchadnezzar.] Josephus says, this king was slain by Nebuchadnezzar himself.

† We see here that Judea was left in a manner desolate after the captivity of the two tribes, and was not repeopled with foreign colonies, perhaps as an indication of Providence that the Jews were to repeople it without opposition themselves. I also esteem the later and present desolate condition of the same country, without being repeopled by foreign colonies, to be a like indication that the same Jews are here after to repeople it again themselves, at their so long expected future restoration.

be made by them. He also made some of them to be eunuchs, which course he took also with those of other nations, whom he had taken in the flower of their age, and afforded them their diet from his own table, and had them instructed in the institutes of the country, and taught the learning of the Chaldeans; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in that wisdom which he had ordered they should apply themselves to. Now among these there were four of the family of Zedekiah, of most excellent dispositions, the one of whom was called *Daniel*, another was called *Ananis*, another *Misael*, and the fourth *Azarias:* and the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that they should make use of other names; Daniel he called *Baltaser*, Ananias *Shadrach*, Misael, *Meshech*, and Azarias *Abednego*. These the king had in esteem and continued to love, because of the very excellent temper they were of, and because of their application to learning and the progress they made in wisdom.

2. Now Daniel and his kinsmen had resolved to use a severe diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king's table, and entirely to forbear to eat of all living creatures: So he came to Ashpenaz, who was that eunuch* to whom the care of them was committed, and desired him to take and spend what was brought for them from the king, but to give them pulse and dates for their food, and any thing else besides the flesh of living creatures, that he pleased; for that their inclinations were to that sort of food, and that they despised the other. He replied that he was ready to serve them in what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by the king, from their meagre bodies and the alteration of their countenances, because it could not be avoided but their bodies and colours must be changed with their diet, especially while they would be clearly discovered by the finer appearance of the other children, who would fare better, and thus they should bring him into danger and occasion him to be punished; yet did they persuade Arioch, who was thus fearful, to give them what food they desired for ten days by way of trial, and in case the habit of their bodies were not altered, to go on in the same way, as expecting that they should not be hurt thereby afterwards, but that if he saw them look meagre and worse than the rest, he should reduce them to their former diet. Now, when it appeared that they were so far from becoming worse, by the use of this food that they grew plumper and fuller in body than the rest, insomuch that he thought those who fed on what came from the king's table seemed less plump and fat, while those that were with Daniel looked as if they had lived in plenty and in all sorts of luxury, Arioch, from that time, securely took himself what the king sent every day from his supper, according to custom, for the children, but gave them the forementioned diets, while they had their souls in some measure more pure and less burdened, and so fitter for learning, and had their bodies in better tune for hard labour; for they neither had the former oppressed and heavy with variety of meats, nor were the other effeminate on the same account; so they readily understood all the learning that was among the Hebrews and among the Chaldeans, as especially did Daniel, who being already sufficiently skilful in wisdom, was very busy about the interpretation of dreams; and God manifested himself to him.

3. Now, two years after the destruction of Egypt, king Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream, the accomplishment of which God showed him in his sleep, but when he arose out of his bed, he forgot the accomplishment: so he sent for the Chaldeans and magicians and the prophets, and told them that he had seen a dream, and informed them that he had forgotten the accomplishment of what he had seen, and he enjoined them to tell him both what the dream was and what was its signification; and they said that this was a thing impossible to be discovered

* That Daniel was made one of those eunuchs of which Isaiah prophesied, Isaiah xxxix. 7, and the three children his companions also, seems to me plain, both here in Josephus and in our copies of Daniel, Dan. i. 3, 6, 7—11, 18; although it must be granted, that some married persons, that had children, were sometimes called eunuchs, in a general acceptation for courtiers, on account that so many of the same courtiers were real eunuchs. See Gen. xxxix. 1.

by men, but they promised him that, if he would explain to them what dream he had seen, they would tell him its signification. Hereupon he threatened to put them to death unless they told him his dream; and he gave command to have them all put to death, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded to do. Now when Daniel heard that the king had given a command that all the wise men should be put to death, and that among them himself and his three kinsmen were in danger, he went to Arioch, who was captain of the king's guards, and desired to know of him what was the reason why the king had given command that all the wise men and Chaldeans and magicians should be slain. So when he had learned that the king had had a dream and had forgotten it, and that, when they were enjoined to inform the king of it, they had said they could not do it, and had thereby provoked him to anger, he desired of Arioch that he would go in to the king and desire respite for the magicians for one night, and to put off their slaughter so long, for that he hoped within that time to obtain, by prayer to God, the knowledge of the dream. Accordingly Arioch informed the king of what Daniel desired. So the king bid them delay the slaughter of the magicians till he knew what Daniel's promise would come to; but the young man retired to his own house with his kinsmen, and besought God that whole night to discover the dream, and thereby deliver the magicians and Chaldeans, with whom they were themselves to perish, from the king's anger, by enabling him to declare his vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had forgotten it. Accordingly God, out of pity to those that were in danger, and out of regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that so the king might understand by him its signification also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God, he arose very joyful, and told it to his brethren, and made them glad, and to hope well that they should now preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of nothing but the thoughts of dying. So when he had with them returned thanks to God, who had commiserated their youth, when it was day he came to Arioch and desired him to bring him to the king, because he would discover to him that dream which he had seen the night before.

4. When Daniel was come in to the king, he excused himself first, that "he did not pretend to be wiser than the other Chaldeans and magicians, when, upon their entire inability to discover the dream, he was undertaking to inform him of it, for this was not by his own skill or on account of his having better cultivated his understanding than the rest; but he said, God hath had pity upon us, when we were in danger of death, and when I prayed for the life of myself, and of those of my own nation, hath made manifest to me both the dream and the interpretation thereof: for I was not less concerned for thy glory than for the sorrow that we were by thee condemned to die, while thou didst so unjustly command men, both good and excellent in themselves, to be put to death, when thou enjoinedst them to do what was entirely above the reach of human wisdom, and requiredst of them what was only the work of God. Wherefore, as thou in thy sleep wast solicitous concerning those that should succeed thee in the government of the whole world, God was desirous to show thee all those that should reign after thee, and to that end exhibited to thee the following dream; Thou seemedst to see a great image standing before thee, the head of which proved to be of gold, the shoulders and arms of silver, and the belly and the thighs of brass, but the legs and the feet of iron; after which thou sawest a stone broken off from a mountain, which fell upon the image and threw it down, and brake it to pieces, and did not permit any part of it to remain whole, but the gold, the silver, the iron, and the brass, became smaller than meal, which, upon the blast of a violent wind, was by force carried away and scattered abroad, but the stone did increase to such a degree that the whole earth seemed to be filled therewith. This is the dream which thou sawest, and its interpretation is as follows: The head of gold denotes thee and the kings of Babylon that have been before thee: but the two hands and arms signify this,

that your government shall be dissolved by two kings; but another king that shall come from the west, armed with brass, shall destroy that government; and another government, that shall be like unto iron, shall put an end to the power of the former, and shall have dominion over all the earth, on account of the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold, of silver, and of brass." Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king, but I do not think proper to relate it,* since I have only undertaken to describe things past or things present, but not things that are future; yet if any one be so very desirous of knowing truth as not to wave such points of curiosity, and cannot curb his inclination for understanding the uncertainties of futurity, and whether they will happen or not, let him be diligent in reading the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

5. When Nebuchadnezzar heard this, and recollected his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel, and fell upon his face, and saluted Daniel in the manner that men worship God, and gave command that he should be sacrificed to as a god. And this was not all, for he also imposed the name of his own god upon him [Baltasar,] and made him and his kinsmen rulers of his whole kingdom; which kinsmen of his happened to fall into great danger by the envy and malice [of their enemies;] for they offended the king upon the occasion following: he made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits, and its breadth six cubits, and set it in the great plain of Babylon; and when he was going to dedicate the image, he invited the principal men out of all the earth that was under his dominions, and commanded them, in the first place, that when they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should then fall down and worship the image; and he threatened that those who did not do so should be cast into a fiery furnace. When, therefore, all the rest, upon the hearing of the sound of the trumpet, worshiped the image, they relate that Daniel's kinsmen did not do it, because they would not transgress the laws of their country; so these men were convicted and cast immediately into the fire, but were saved by divine providence, and after a surprising manner escaped death, for the fire did not touch them; and I suppose that it touched them not, as if it reasoned with itself that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs; and that therefore it was too weak to burn the young men when they were in it. This was done by the power of God, who made their bodies so far superior to the fire that it could not consume them. This it was which recommended them to the king as righteous men, and men beloved of God; on which account they continued in great esteem with him.

6. A little after this the king saw in his sleep again another vision, how he should fall from his dominion and feed among the wild beasts, and that when he had lived in this manner in the desert for seven years,† he should recover his domi-

* Of this remarkable passage in Josephus concerning the *stone cut out of the mountain, and destroying the image*, which he would not explain, but intimated to be a prophecy of futurity, and probably not safe for him to explain, as belonging to the destruction of the Roman empire by Jesus Christ, the true Messiah of the Jews, take the words of Havercamp, chap. x. sect. 4. "Nor is this to be wondered at, that he would not now meddle with things future, for he had no mind to provoke the Romans, by speaking of the destruction of that city, which they called the *eternal city*."

† Since Josephus here explains the *seven* prophetic *times* which were to pass over Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iv. 16, to be *seven years*, we thence learn how he most probably must have understood those other parallel phrases of *a time, times and a half*, Antiq. B. vii. ch. xxv. of so many prophetic *years* also, though he withal lets us know, by his hint at the interpretation of the *seventy weeks*, as belonging to the fourth monarchy, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the days of Josephus, ch. ii. sect. 7, that he did not think those *years* to be *bare years*, but rather *days for years*; by which reckoning, and by which alone, could 70 weeks, or 490 days, reach to the age of Josephus. But as to the truth of those seven years' banishment of Nebuchadnezzar from men, and his living so long among the beasts, the very small remains we have any where else of this Nebuchadnezzar prevent our expectation of any other full account of it. So far we know by Ptolemy's canon, a cotemporary record, as well as by Josephus presently, that he reigned in all 43 years, that is eight years after we meet with any account of his actions, one of the last of which was the 13 years' siege of Tyre, Antiq. B. xi. ch. xi. where yet the old Latin has but three years and ten months, yet were his actions before so remarkable, both in sacred and profane authors, that such a vacuity of eight years at the least, at the latter end of his reign, must be allowed to agree very well with Daniel's accounts, that after a seven years' brutal life he might return to his reason and to the exercise of his royal authority, for one whole year at least before his death.

sion again. When he had seen this dream, he called the magicians together again, and inquired of them about it, and desired them to tell him what it signified; but when none of them could find out the meaning of the dream, nor discover it to the king, Daniel was the only person that explained it: and as he foretold, so it came to pass; for after he had continued in the wilderness the forementioned interval of time, while no one durst attempt to seize his kingdom during those seven years, he prayed to God that he might recover his kingdom, and he returned to it. But let no one blame me for writing down every thing of this nature, as I find it in our ancient books; for as to that matter, I have plainly assured those that think me defective in any such point or complain of my management, and have told them, in the beginning of this history, that I intended to do no more than translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised them to explain those facts, without adding any thing to them of my own, or taking any thing away from them.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Nebuchadnezzar and his Successors; and how their Government was dissolved by the Persians; and what Things befell Daniel in Media, and what Prophecies he delivered there.

§ 1. Now when king Nebuchadnezzar had reigned forty-three years,* he ended his life. He was an active man, and more fortunate than the kings that were before him. Now Berosus makes mention of his actions in the third book of his Chaldaic history, where he says thus: "When his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt and the places about Celesyria and Phœnicia had revolted from him, while he was not himself able any longer to undergo the hardships [of war,] he committed to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was still but a youth, some parts of his army, and sent them against them. So when Nebuchadnezzar had given battle and fought with the rebel, he beat him, and reduced the country from under his subjection, and made it a branch of his own kingdom: but about that time it happened that his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] fell ill, and ended his life in the city of Babylon, when he had reigned twenty-one years;† and when he was made sensible, as he was in a little time, that his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] was dead, and having settled the affairs of Egypt and the other countries, as also those that concerned the captive Jews and Phœnicians and Syrians and those of the Egyptian nations, and having committed the conveyance of them to Babylon to certain of his friends, together with the gross of his army, and the rest of their ammunition and provisions, he went himself hastily, accompanied with a few others, over the desert, and came to Babylon. So he took upon him the management of public affairs and of the kingdom, which had been kept for him by one that was the principal of the Chaldeans, and he received the entire dominions of his father, and appointed that when the captives came they should be placed as colonies, in the most proper places of Babylonia; but then he adorned the temple of Belus, and the rest of the temples, in a magnificent manner, with the

* These 43 years for the duration of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar are, as I have just now observed, the very same number in Ptolemy's canon. Moses Chorenensis does also confirm this captivity of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar; and adds, what is very remarkable, that one of those Jews that were carried by him into captivity got away into Armenia, and raised the great family of the Bagratidæ there.

† These 21 years here ascribed to one named *Naboulassar* in the first book against Apion, or to Nabopollassar, the father of the great Nebuchadnezzar, are also the very same with those given him in Ptolemy's canon. And note here, that what Dr. Prideaux says, at the year 612, that Nebuchadnezzar must have been a common name of other kings of Babylon, besides the great Nebuchadnezzar himself is a groundless mistake of some modern chronologers only, and destitute of all proper origins.

spoils he had taken in the war. He also added another city to that which was there of old, and rebuilt it, that such as would besiege it hereafter might no more turn the course of the river, and thereby attack the city itself; he therefore built three walls round about the inner city, and three others about that which was the outer, and this he did with burnt brick. And after he had, after a becoming manner, walled the city, and adorned its gates gloriously, he built another palace before his father's palace, but so that they joined to it, to describe whose vast height and immense riches it would perhaps be too much for me to attempt; yet as large and lofty as they were, they were completed in fifteen days.* He also erected elevated places for walking, of stone, and made it resemble mountains, and built it so that it might be planted with all sorts of trees. He also erected what was called a pensile paradise, because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she having been bred up in the palaces of Media." Megasthenes also, in his fourth book of his accounts of India, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavours to show that this king [Nebuchadnezzar] exceeded Hercules in fortitude and in the greatness of his actions, for he saith, that "he conquered a great part of Libya and Iberia." Diocles, also, in the second book of his accounts of Persia, mentions this king; as does Philostrates, in his accounts both of India and of Phœnicia, say that "this king besieged Tyre thirteen years, while at the same time Ethbaal reigned at Tyre." These are all the histories that I have met with concerning this king.

2. But now, after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, his son, succeeded in the kingdom, who immediately set Jeconiah at liberty, and esteemed him among his most intimate friends. He also gave him many presents, and made him honourable above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon; for his father had not kept his faith with Jeconiah, when he voluntarily delivered up himself to him, with his wives and children, and his whole kindred, for the sake of his country, that it might not be taken by siege and utterly destroyed, as we said before. When Evil-Merodach was dead, after a reign of eighteen years, Niglissar, his son, took the government, and retained it forty years, and then ended his life: and after him the succession in the kingdom came to his son, Labosordacus, who continued in it in all but nine months; and when he was dead, it came to Baltasar, who by the Babylonians was called Naboandelus:† against him did Cyrus the king of Persia, and Darius the king of Media, make war, and when he was besieged in Babylon there happened a wonderful and prodigious vision. He was sat down at supper in a large room, and there were a great many vessels of silver, such as were made for royal entertainments, and he had with him his concubines, and his friends; whereupon he came to a resolution, and commanded that those vessels of God which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered

* These *fifteen* days for finishing such vast buildings at Babylon, in Josephus's copy of Berosus, were seen too absurd to be supposed to be the true number, were it not for the same testimony extant also in the first book against Apion, sect. 19, vol. iv. with the same number. It thence indeed appears, that Josephus's copy of Berosus had this small number, but that it is the true number I still doubt. Josephus assures us that the walls of so much a smaller city as Jerusalem were two years and four months in building by Nehemiah, who yet hastened the work all he could, Antiq. B. xi. chap. v. sect. 8. I should think 115 days, or a year and 15 days, much more proportionable to so great a work.

† It is here remarkable, that Josephus, without the knowledge of Ptolemy's canon, should call the same king, whom he himself here, Bar. i. 11, and Dan. v. 1, 2, 9, 12, 22, 29, 36, styles *Baltasar* or *Belshazzar*, from the Babylonian god Bel, *Naboandelus* also; and in the first book against Apion, sect. 19, from the same citation out of Berosus, *Nabonnedon*, from the Babylonian god Nabo or Nebo. This last is not remote from the original pronunciation itself in Ptolemy's canon, *Nabonadius*, for both the place of this king in that canon, as the last of the Assyrian or Babylonian kings, and the number of years of his reign, seventeen, the same in both, demonstrate that it is one and the same king that is meant by them all. It is also worth noting, that Josephus knew that Darius, the partner of Cyrus, was the son of Astyages, and was called by another name among the Greeks, though it does not appear he knew what that name was, as having never seen the best history of this period, which is Xenophon's. But then what Josephus's present copies say presently, sect. 4, that it was only within *no long time* after the hand writing on the wall that Beltazar was slain, does not so well agree with our copies of Daniel which say it was *the same night*, Dan. v. 30.

out of Jerusalem, and had not made use of, but had put them into his own temple, should be brought out of that temple. He also grew so haughty as to proceed to use them in the midst of his cups, drinking out of them, and blaspheming against God. In the meantime he saw a hand proceed out of the wall, and writing upon the wall certain syllables; at which sight being disturbed, he called the magicians and Chaldeans together, and all that sort of men that are among these barbarians, and were able to interpret signs and dreams, that they might explain the writing to him. But when the magicians said they could discover nothing, nor did understand it, the king was in great disorder of mind, and under great trouble at this surprising accident; so he caused it to be proclaimed through all the country, and promised that to him who could explain the writing and give the signification couched therein, he would give him a golden chain for his neck, and leave to wear a purple garment, as did the kings of Chaldea, and would bestow on him the third part of his own dominions. When this proclamation was made, the magicians ran together more earnestly, and were very ambitious to find out the importance of the writing, but still hesitated about it as much as before. Now when the king's grandmother* saw him cast down at this accident, she began to encourage him, and to say that "there was a certain captive who came from Judea, a Jew by birth, but brought away thence by Nebuchadnezzar when he had destroyed Jerusalem, whose name was Daniel, a wise man, and one of great sagacity in finding out what was impossible for others to discover, and what was known to God alone, who brought to light and answered such questions to Nebuchadnezzar as no one else was able to answer, when they were consulted. She therefore desired that he would send for him, and inquire of him concerning the writing, and to condemn the unskilfulness of those who could not find their meaning, and this although what God signified thereby should be of a melancholy nature.

3. When Baltasar heard this, he called for Daniel; and when he had discoursed to him what he had learned concerning him and his wisdom, and how a divine spirit was with him, and that he alone was fully capable of finding out what others would never have thought of, he desired him to declare to him what this writing meant; and if he did so, he would give him leave to wear purple, and to put a chain of gold about his neck, and would bestow on him the third part of his dominion, as an honorary reward for his wisdom, that thereby he might become illustrious to those who saw him, and who inquired upon what occasion he obtained such honours. But Daniel desired that "he would keep his gifts to himself; for what is the effect of wisdom and of divine revelation admits of no gifts, and bestows its advantages on petitioners freely; but that still he would explain the writing to him, which denoted that he should soon die; and this because he had not learned to honour God, and not to admit things above human nature, by what punishments his progenitor had undergone for the injuries he had offered to God, and because he had quite forgotten how Nebuchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts, for his impieties, and did not recover his former life among men and his kingdom but upon God's mercy to him, after many supplications and prayers, who did thereupon praise God all the days of his life, as one of almighty power and who takes care of mankind. [He also put him in mind] how he had greatly blasphemed against God, and had made use of his vessels amongst his concubines: that therefore God saw this and was angry with him, and declared by this writing beforehand, what a sad conclusion of his life he should come to. And he explained the writing thus:—*MANEH.* This, if it be expounded in the Greek language, may signify a *Number*, because God hath

* This grandmother or mother of Baltasar, the queen-dowager of Babylon (for she is distinguished from his queen, Dan. v. 10, 23,) seems to have been the famous Nitocris, who fortified Babylon against the Medes and Persians, and in all probability governed under Baltasar, who seems to have been a weak and effeminate prince.

numbered so long a time for thy life and for thy government, and that there remains but a small portion. *THEKEL.* This signifies a *Weight*, and means that God hath weighed thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going down already. *PHARES.* This also in the Greek tongue denotes a *Fragment*; God will therefore break thy kingdom in pieces, and divide it among the Medes and Persians.

4. When Daniel had told the king that the writing upon the wall signified these events, Baltasar was in great sorrow and affliction, as was to be expected when the interpretation was so heavy upon him. However, he did not refuse what he had promised Daniel, although he were become a foreteller of misfortunes to him, but bestowed it all upon him; as reasoning thus, that what he was to reward was peculiar to himself and to fate, and did not belong to the prophet; but that it was the part of a good and just man to give what he had promised, although the events were to be of a melancholy nature. Accordingly the king determined so to do. Now, after a little while, both himself and the city were taken by Cyrus the king of Persia, who fought against him; for it was Baltasar under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this is the end of the posterity of king Nebuchadnezzar, as history informs us; but when Babylon was taken by Darius, and when he, with his kinsman Cyrus, had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he was sixty-two years old. He was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks. Moreover, he took Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and honoured him very greatly, and kept him with him; for he was one of the three presidents whom he set over his three hundred and sixty provinces, for into so many did Darius part them.

5. However, while Daniel was in so great dignity, and in so great favour with Darius, and was alone intrusted with every thing by him, as having somewhat divine in him, he was envied by the rest; for those that see others in greater honour than themselves with kings envy them; and when those that were grieved at the great favour Daniel was in with Darius, sought for an occasion against him, he afforded them no occasion at all; for he was above all temptations of money, and despised bribery, and esteemed it a very base thing to take any thing by way of reward; even when it might be justly given him, he afforded those that envied him not the least handle for an accusation. So when they could find nothing for which they might calumniate him to the king, nothing that was shameful or reproachful, and thereby deprive him of the honour he was in with him, they sought for some other method whereby they might destroy him. When therefore they saw that Daniel prayed to God three times a day, they thought they had gotten an occasion by which they might ruin him; so they came to Darius, and told him, that "the princes and governors had thought proper to allow the multitude a relaxation for thirty days, that no one might offer a petition or prayer either to himself or to the gods, but that he who shall transgress this decree shall be cast into the den of lions, and there perish."

6. Whereupon the king, not being acquainted with their wicked design, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance of theirs against Daniel, said, he was pleased with this decree of theirs, and he promised to confirm what they desired; he also published an edict to promulgate to the people that decree which the princes had made. Accordingly, all the rest took care not to transgress those injunctions, and rested in quiet; but Daniel had no regard to them, but, as he was wont, he stood and prayed to God in the sight of them all; but the princes having met with the occasion they so earnestly sought to find against Daniel, came presently to the king, and accused him, that Daniel was the only person that transgressed the decree, while not one of the rest durst pray to their gods. This discovery they made, not because of his impiety, but because they had watched him, and observed him out of envy; for supposing that Darius did thus out of a greater kindness to him than they expected, and that he was ready to grant him pardon for this

contempt of his injunctions, and envying this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become more favourable to him, but desired he might be cast into the den of lions according to the law. So Darius, hoping that God would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible by the wild beasts, bid him bear his accident cheerfully; and when he was cast into the den, he put his seal to the stone that lay upon the mouth of the den, and went his way; but he passed all the night without food and without sleep, being in great distress for Daniel; but when it was day, he got up, and came to the den, and found the seal entire, which he had left the stone sealed withal: he also opened the seal, and cried out, and called to Daniel, and asked him if he were alive. And as soon as he heard the king's voice, and said that he had suffered no harm, the king gave order that he should be drawn up out of the den. Now when his enemies saw that Daniel had suffered nothing which was terrible, they would not own that he was preserved by God, and his providence; but they said that the lions had been filled full with food, and on that account it was, as they supposed, that the lions would not touch Daniel, nor come to him; and this they alleged to the king. But the king, out of an abhorrence of their wickedness, gave order that they should throw in a great deal of flesh to the lions; and when they had filled themselves, he gave farther orders that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that he might learn whether the lions, now they were full, would touch them or not. And it appeared plain to Darius, after the princes had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel,* for the lions had spared none of them, but tore them all to pieces, as if they had been very hungry and wanted food. I suppose, therefore, it was not their hunger, which had been a little before satisfied with abundance of flesh, but the wickedness of these men, that provoked them [to destroy the princes;] for if it so please God, that wickedness might, by even those irrational creatures, be esteemed a plain foundation for their punishment.*

7. When, therefore, those that had intended thus to destroy Daniel by treachery, were themselves destroyed, king Darius sent [letters] over all the country, and praised that God whom Daniel worshiped, and said, that "he was the only true God, and had all power." He had also Daniel in very great esteem, and made him the principal of his friends. Now when Daniel was become so illustrious and famous, on account of the opinion men had that he was beloved of God, he built a tower at Ecbatana, in Media; it was a most elegant building, and wonderfully made, and it is still remaining, and preserved to this day; and to such as see it, it appears to have been lately built, and to have been no older than that very day; when any one looks upon it, it is so fresh, flourishing, and beautiful, and no way grown old in so long time;† for buildings suffer the same as men do, they grow old as well as they, and by numbers of years their strength is dissolved and their beauty withered. Now they bury the kings of Media, of Persia, and Parthia, in this tower, to this day; and he who was intrusted with the care of it was a Jewish priest, which thing is also observed to this day. But it is fit to give an account of what this man did, which is most admirable to hear; for he was so happy as to have strange revelations made to him, and those as to one of the greatest of the prophets, insomuch, that while he was alive he had the esteem

* It is no way improbable that Daniel's enemies might suggest this reason to the king, why the lions did not meddle with him, and that they might suspect the king's kindness to Daniel had procured these lions to be filled beforehand, and that thence it was that he encouraged Daniel to submit to this experiment, in hopes of coming off safe; and that this was the true reason of making so terrible an experiment upon those his enemies, and all their families, Dan. vi. 24, though our other copies do not directly take notice of it.

† What Josephus here says, that the stones of the sepulchres of the kings of Persia at this tower, or those perhaps of the same sort that are now commonly called the ruins of Persepolis, continued so entire and unaltered in his days, as if they were lately put there, "I" says Reland, "here can show to be true, as to those stones of the Persian kings' mausoleum which Corn. Brunius brake off and gave me." He ascribed this to the hardness of the stone, which scarcely yields to iron tools, and proves frequently too hard for cutting by the chisel, but oftentimes breaks it to pieces.

and applause both of the kings and of the multitude; and now he is dead, he retains a remembrance that will never fail, for the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us till this time; and from them we believe that Daniel conversed with God; for he did not only prophesy of future events, as did the other prophets, but he also determined the time of their accomplishment: and while the prophets used to foretell misfortunes, and on that account were disagreeable both to the kings and to the multitude, Daniel was to them a prophet of good things, and this to such a degree, that by the agreeable nature of his predictions, he procured the good will of all men, and, by the accomplishment of them, he procured the belief of their truth, and the opinion of [a sort of] divinity for himself among the multitude. He also wrote and left behind him what made manifest the accuracy and undeniable veracity of his predictions: for he saith that "when he was in Susa, the metropolis of Persia, and went out into the field with his companions, there was, on the sudden, a motion and concussion of the earth, and that he was left alone by himself, his friends flying away from him, and that he was disturbed, and fell on his face and on his two hands, and that a certain person touched him, and, at the same time, bid him rise, and see what would befall his countrymen after many generations. He also related, that when he stood up, he was shown a great ram, with many horns growing out of his head, and that the last was higher than the rest; that after this he looked to the west and saw a he-goat carried through the air from that quarter; that he rushed upon the ram with violence, and smote him twice with his horns, and overthrew him to the ground, and trampled upon him; that afterwards he saw a very great horn growing out of the head of the he-goat, and that when it was broken off, four horns grew up that were exposed to each of the four winds, and he wrote that out of them arose another lesser horn, which, as he said, waxed great; and that God showed to him that it should fight against his nation, and take their city by force, and bring the temple-worship to confusion, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days." Daniel wrote that he saw these visions in the plain of Susa; and he hath informed us, that God interpreted the appearance of this vision after the following manner: "He said, that the ram signified the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those kings that were to reign in them; and that the last horn signified the last king, and that he should exceed all the kings in riches and glory: that the he-goat signified that one should come and reign from the Greeks, who would twice fight with the Persian, and overcome him in battle, and should receive his entire dominion: that by the great horn which sprang out of the forehead of the he-goat was meant the first king; and that the springing-up of four horns upon its falling off, and the conversion of every one of them to the four quarters of the earth, signified the successors that should arise after the death of the first king, and the partition of the kingdom among them, and that they should be neither his children, nor of his kindred, that should reign over the habitable earth for many years; and that from among them there should arise a certain king, that should overcome our nation, and their laws, and should take away our political government, and should spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for three years time." And indeed it so came to pass, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and what he wrote many years before they came to pass. In the very same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did this man leave in writing, as God had showed them to him, insomuch that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel, and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in error, who cast providence out of human life, and not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that the universe is governed and continued in being by that blessed and immortal nature; but say that the

world is carried along of its own accord, without a ruler and a curator, which were it destitute of a guide to conduct it, as they imagine, would be like ships without pilots, which we see drowned by the winds, or like chariots without drivers, which are overturned; so would the world be dashed to pieces by its being carried without a Providence, and so perish and come to nought. So that, by the forementioned predictions of Daniel, those men seem to me very much to err from the truth, who determine that God exercises no providence over human affairs, for if that were the case, that the world went on by mechanical necessity, we should not see that all things would come to pass according to his prophecy. Now, as to myself, I have described these matters as I have found them and read them; but if any one is inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his different sentiments without any blame from me.

BOOK XI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE YEARS FIVE MONTHS.

FROM THE FIRST OF CYRUS TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

CHAP I.

How Cyrus, King of the Persians, delivered the Jews out of Babylon, and suffered them to return to their own Country, and to build their Temple; for which Work he gave them Money.

§ 1. In the first year of the reign of Cyrus,* which was the seventieth from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of these poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city, that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and after they had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them; for he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write thus throughout all Asia: "Thus saith Cyrus the king, since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is that God which the nation of the Israelites worship; for indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him a house in Jerusalem, in the country of Judea."

2. This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Isaiah left behind him of his prophecies; for this prophet said, that God had spoken thus to him in a secret vision: "My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, send back my people to their own land, and build my temple." This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to fulfil what was so written; so he called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said to them, that "he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild their city Jerusalem,† and the temple of God, for that he would be their assistant, and that he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the neighbourhood of their country of Judea, that they should contribute to them gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides that, beasts for their sacrifices."

3. When Cyrus had said this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites and priests, went in haste to Jerusalem, yet

* This Cyrus is called *God's shepherd* by Xenophon, as well as by Isaiah, Isa. xliv. 28, as also it is said of him by the same prophet, that "I will make a man more precious than fine gold, even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir," Isa. xiii. 12, which character makes Xenophon's most excellent history of him very credible.

† This leave to build Jerusalem, § 2, 3, and this epistle of Cyrus to Sisinnes and Sathrabuzanes, to the same purpose, are most unfortunately omitted in all our copies but this best and completest copy of Josephus's; and by such omission the famous prophecy of Isaiah, Isa. xliv. 28, where we are informed, that God said of or to Cyrus, "He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid," could not hitherto be demonstrated from the sacred history to have been completely fulfilled, I mean as to that part of it which concerned his giving leave or commission for rebuilding the city of Jerusalem as distinct from the temple, whose rebuilding is alone permitted or directed in the decree of Cyrus in all our copies.

did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions; and when they were come thither, all the king's friends assisted them, and brought in, for the building of the temple, some gold, and some silver, and some a great many cattle and horses. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifices that had been accustomed of old time; I mean this upon the rebuilding of their city, and the revival of the ancient practices relating to their worship. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of God which king Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged out of the temple, and carried to Babylon. So he committed these things to Mithridates, the treasurer, to be sent away, with an order to give them to Sanabassar, that he might keep them till the temple was built; and when it was finished, he might deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria, the contents whereof here follow:

"KING CYRUS *to* SISINNES *and* SATHRABUZANES, *sendeth greeting:*

"I have given leave to as many of the Jews that dwell in my country as please to return to their own country, and to rebuild their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem, on the same place where it was before. I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zerobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and may build it sixty cubits high, and of the same latitude, making three edifices of polished stones, and one of the wood of the country, and the same order extends to the altar whereon they offer sacrifices to God. I require also, that the expenses for these things be given out of my revenues. Moreover, I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar pillaged out of the temple, and have given them to Mithridates the treasurer, and to Zorobabel the governor of the Jews, that they may have them carried to Jerusalem, and may restore them to the temple of God. Now their number* is as follows: fifty chargers of gold, and five hundred of silver; forty Thericlean cups of gold, and five hundred of silver; fifty basins of gold, and five hundred of silver; thirty vessels for pouring [the drink offerings,] and three hundred of silver; thirty vials of gold, and two thousand four hundred of silver; with a thousand other large vessels. I permit them to have the same honour which they were used to have from their forefathers, as also for their small cattle, and for wine and oil, two hundred and five thousand and five hundred drachmæ; and for wheat flour, twenty thousand and five hundred artabæ: and I give order that these expenses shall be given them out of the tributes due from Samaria. The priests shall also offer these sacrifices according to the laws of Moses in Jerusalem; and when they offer them, they shall pray to God for the preservation of the king and of his family, that the kingdom of Persia may continue. But my will is, that those who disobey these injunctions, and make them void, shall be hung upon a cross, and their substance brought into the king's treasury." And such was the import of this epistle. Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.

CHAP. II.

How, upon the Death of Cyrus, the Jews were hindered in building the Temple by the Cutheans, and the Neighbouring Governors; and how Cambyses entirely forbade the Jews to do any such thing.

§ 1. WHEN the foundations of the temple were laying, and when the Jews were very zealous about building it, the neighbouring nations, and especially the Cutheans, whom Shalmanezer, king of Assyria, had brought out of Persia and Media,

* Of the true number of golden and silver vessels, here and elsewhere, belonging to the temple of Solomon, see the description of the temple, chap. xiii.

and had planted in Samaria, when he carried the people of Israel captive, besought the governors, and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were corrupted by them with money, they sold the Cutheans their interest for rendering this building a slow and careless work; for Cyrus, who was busy about other wars, knew nothing of all this: and it so happened, that when he had led his army against the Messagetæ,* he ended his life. But when Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, had taken the kingdom, the governors in Syria, and Phœnicia, and in the countries of Ammon, and Moab, and Samaria, wrote an epistle to Cambyses; whose contents were as follows: "To our lord Cambyses: we thy servants, Rathumus the historiographer, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are thy judges in Syria and Phœnicia, send greeting. It is fit, O king, that thou shouldest know, that those Jews which were carried to Babylon are come into our country, and are building that rebellious and wicked city, and its market places, and setting up its walls, and raising up the temple know, therefore, that when these things are finished, they will not be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands, but will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over others, than be ruled over themselves. We, therefore thought it proper to write to thee, O king, while the works about the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this matter, that thou mayest search into the books of thy fathers, for thou wilt find in them that the Jews have been rebels, and enemies to kings, as hath their city been also, which, for that reason, hath been till now laid waste. We thought proper also to inform thee of this matter because thou mayest perhaps be otherwise ignorant of it, that if this city be once inhabited, and be entirely encompassed with walls, thou wilt be excluded from thy passage to Celesyria and Phœnicia."

2. When Cambyses had read the epistle, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him; and wrote back to them as follows: "Cambyses the king, to Rathumus the historiographer, to Beeltethmus, to Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are in commission, and dwelling in Samaria and Phœnicia, after this manner: I have read the epistle that was sent from you; and I gave order that the books of my forefathers should be searched into, and it is there found that this city has always been an enemy to kings, and its inhabitants have raised seditions and wars: we also are sensible that their kings have been powerful and tyrannical, and have exacted tribute of Celesyria and Phœnicia: wherefore I give order, that the Jews shall not be permitted to build that city, lest such mischief as they used to bring upon kings be greatly augmented." When this epistle was read, Rathumus, and Semellius the scribe, and their associates, got suddenly on horseback, and made haste to Jerusalem; they also brought a great company with them, and forbade the Jews to build the city and the temple. Accordingly these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darius, for nine years more; for Cambyses reigned six years, and within that time overthrew Egypt, and when he was come back, he died at Damascus.

* Josephus here follows Herodotus, and those that related how Cyrus made war with the Scythæ and Messagets, near the Caspian sea, and perished in it; while Xenophon's account, which appears never to have been seen by Josephus, that Cyrus died in peace in his own country of Persia, is attested to by the writers of the affairs of Alexander the Great, when they agree that he found Cyrus's sepulchre at Pasargadæ, near Persepolis. This account of Xenophon is also confirmed by the circumstances of Cambyses, upon his succession to Cyrus, who instead of a war to avenge his father's death upon the Scythians and Messagets, and to prevent those nations from overrunning his northern provinces, which would have been the natural consequence of his father's ill success and death there, went immediately to an Egyptian war, long ago begun by Cyrus, according to Xenophon, page 644, and conquered that kingdom: nor is there, that I ever heard of, the least mention in the reign of this Cambyses of any war against the Scythians and Messagets that he was ever engaged in all his life.

CHAP. III.

How after the Death of Cambyses, and the Slaughter of the Magi, but under the Reign of Darius, Zorobabel was superior to the rest in the Solution of Problems, and thereby obtained this Favour of the King, that the Temple should be built.

§ 1. After the slaughter of the Magi, who, upon the death of Cambyses, attained the government of the Persians for a year, those families which were called the seven families of the Persians, appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king. Now he, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send all the vessels of God that were in Babylon to the temple of Jerusalem. Now it so fell out, that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius from Jerusalem, for there had been an old friendship between him and the king. He was also, with two others, thought worthy to be guards of the king's body, and obtained that honour which he hoped for.

2. Now, in the first year of the king's reign, Darius feasted those that were about him, and those born in his house, with the rulers of the Medes, and princes of the Persians, and the toparchs of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of the armies of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces: but when they had eaten and drunk to satiety, and abundantly, they every one departed to go to bed at their own houses: and Darius the king went to bed, but after he had rested a little part of the night, he awakened, and not being able to sleep any more, he fell into conversation with the three guards of his body, and promised that to him who should make an oration about points, that he should inquire of, such as should be most agreeable to truth, and the dictates of wisdom, he would grant it as a reward of his victory, to put on a purple garment, and to drink in cups of gold, and to sleep upon gold, and to have a chariot with bridles of gold, and a head tire of fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck, and sit next to himself, on account of his wisdom; and, says he, he shall be called my cousin. Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, Whether wine was not the strongest? The second, Whether the kings were not such? And the third, Whether women were not such? Or whether truth was not the strongest of all? When he had proposed that they should make their inquiries about these problems, he went to rest; but in the morning he sent for his great men, his princes, and toparchs of Persia and Media, and set himself down in the place where he used to give audience, and bid each of the guards of his body to declare what they thought proper concerning the proposed questions, in the hearing of them all.

3. Accordingly, the first of them began to speak of the strength of wine, and demonstrated it thus: "When, said he, I am to give my opinion of wine, O you men, I find it exceeds every thing by the following indications: it deceives the mind of those that drink it, and reduces that of the king to the same state with that of the orphan, and he who stands in need of a tutor, and erects that of the slave to the boldness of him that is free, and that of the needy becomes like that of the rich man, for it changes and renews the souls of men when it gets into them, and it quenches the sorrow of those that are under calamaties, and makes men forget the debts they owe to others, and makes them think themselves to be of all men the richest; it makes them talk of no small things, but of talents, and such other things as become wealthy men only; nay more, it makes them insensible of their commanders, and of their kings, and takes away the remembrance of their friends and companions, for it arms men even against those that are dearest to them, and makes them appear the greatest strangers to them; and when they are become sober, and they have slept out their wine in the night, they arise without knowing any thing they have done in their cups. I take these for signs of power

and by them discover that wine is the strongest and most insuperable of all things.'

4. As soon as the first had given the forementioned demonstrations of the strength of wine, he left off; and the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king, and demonstrated that it was the strongest of all, and more powerful than any thing else that appears to have any force or wisdom. He began his demonstration after the following manner, and said, "They are men who govern all things, they force the earth and the sea to become profitable to them in what they desire, and over these men do kings rule, and over them they have authority. Now those who rule over that animal which is of all the strongest and most powerful must needs deserve to be esteemed insuperable in power and force: for example, when these kings command their subjects to make wars, and undergo dangers, they are hearkened to, and when they send them against their enemies, their power is so great that they are obeyed. They command men to level mountains, and to pull down walls and towers; nay, when they are commanded to be killed, and to kill, they submit to it, that they may not appear to transgress the king's commands; and when they have conquered, they bring what they have gained in the war to the king. Those also who are not soldiers, but cultivate the ground, and plough it, and when after they have endured the labour, and all the inconveniences of such works of husbandry, they have reaped and gathered in their fruits, they bring tributes to the king. And whatsoever it is which the king says or commands, it is done of necessity, and that without any delay, while he in the meantime is satiated with all sorts of food and pleasures, and sleeps in quiet. He is guarded by such as watch, and such as are, as it were, fixed down to the place through fear, for no one dares leave him, even when he is asleep, nor does any one go away and take care of his own affairs, but he esteems this one thing the only work of necessity, to guard the king; and accordingly to this he only addicts himself. How then can it be otherwise, but that it must appear that the king exceeds all in strength, while so great a multitude obeys his injunctions?"

5. Now when this man had held his peace, the third of them, who was Zorobabel, began to instruct them about women, and about truth, who said thus: "Wine is strong, as is the king also, whom all men obey, but women are superior to them in power, for it is a woman that brought the king into the world; and for those that plant the vines and make the wine, they are women who bear them, and bring them up; nor indeed is there any thing which we do not receive from them; for these women weave garments for us, and our household affairs are by their means taken care of and preserved in safety; nor can we live separate from women. And when we have gotten a great deal of gold and silver, and any other thing that is of great value, and deserving regard; and see a beautiful woman, we leave all these things, and with open mouth fix our eyes upon her countenance, and are willing to forsake what we have, that we may enjoy her beauty, and procure it to ourselves. We also leave father and mother, and the earth that nourishes us, and frequently forget our dearest friends, for the sake of women; nay, we are so hardy as to lay down our lives with them. But what will chiefly make you take notice of the strength of women, is this that follows; do not we take pains and endure a great deal of trouble, and that both by land and sea, and when we have procured somewhat as the fruit of our labours, do not we bring them to the women, as to our mistresses, and bestow them upon them? nay, I once saw the king, who is lord of so many people, smitten on the face by Apame, the daughter of Rabassus Themasius, his concubine, and his diadem taken away from him, and put upon her own head, while he bore it patiently; and when she smiled he smiled, and when she was angry he was sad; and according to the change of her passions, he flattered his wife, and drew her to reconciliation by the great humiliation of himself to her, if at any time he saw her displeased at him."

6. And when the princes and rulers looked one upon another, he began to speak about truth: and he said, "I have already demonstrated how powerful

women are; but both these women themselves and the king himself are weaker than truth; for although the earth be large, and the heaven high, and the course of the sun swift, yet are all these moved according to the will of God, who is true and righteous, for which cause we ought also to esteem truth to be the strongest of all things, and that what is righteous is of no force against it. Moreover, all things else that have any strength are mortal and short lived, but truth is a thing that is immortal and eternal. It affords us not indeed such a beauty as will wither away by time, nor such riches as may be taken away by fortune, but righteous rules and laws. It distinguishes them from injustice, and puts what is unrighteous to rebuke."*

7. So when Zorobabel had left off his discourse about truth, and the multitude had cried aloud, that he had spoken the most wisely, and that it was truth alone that had immutable strength, and such as never would wax old, the king commanded that he should ask for somewhat over and above what he had promised, for that he would give it him because of his wisdom, and that prudence wherein he exceeded the rest; and thou shalt sit with me, said the king, and shalt be called my cousin. When he had said this, Zorobabel put him in mind of the vow he had made in case he should ever have the kingdom. Now this vow was, "to rebuild Jerusalem, and to build therein the temple of God, as also to restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged and carried to Babylon." And this, said he, is that request which thou now permittest me to make, on account that I have been judged to be wise and understanding.

8. So the king was pleased with what he had said, and arose and kissed him, and wrote to the toparchs and governors, and enjoined them to conduct Zorobabel and those that were going with him to build the temple. He also sent letters to those rulers that were in Syria and Phœnicia to cut down and carry cedar trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them, that all the captives who should go to Judea should be free, and he prohibited his deputies and governors to lay any king's taxes upon the Jews: he also permitted, that they should have all that land which they could possess themselves of without tribute. He also enjoined the Idumeans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Celesyria, to restore the villages which they had taken from the Jews, and that, besides all this, fifty talents should be given them for the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and that whatsoever the high priest and the priests wanted, and those sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, should be made at his own charges; and that the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God should be given them. Moreover, he charged them, that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city and the temple, as also a determinate sum of money every year for their maintenance, and withal he sent the vessels. And all that Cyrus intended to do before him relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, Darius also ordained should be done accordingly.

9. Now when Zorobabel had obtained these grants from the king, he went out of the palace, and looking up to heaven, he began to return thanks to God,

* The reader is to note, that although the speeches or papers of these three of the king's guards are much the same, in our third book of Esdras, chap. iii. and iv. as they are here in Josephus, yet that the introduction of them is entirely different, while in our Esdras the whole is related as the contrivance of the three of the king's guards themselves; and even the mighty rewards are spoken of as proposed by themselves, and the speeches are related to have been delivered by themselves to the king in writing, while all is contrary in Josephus. I need not say whose account is the most probable, the matters speak for themselves; and there can be no doubt but Josephus's history is here to be very much preferred before the other. Nor, indeed, does it seem to me at all unlikely, that the whole was a contrivance of king Darius's own, in order to be decently and inoffensively put in mind by Zorobabel of fulfilling his old vow for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple, and the restoration of the worship of the ONE TRUE GOD there. Nor does the full meaning of Zorobabel, when he cries out, 3 Esd. iv. 40, "Blessed be the God of truth;" and here, "God is true and righteous," or even of all the people, 3 Esd. iv. 41, "Great is truth, and mighty above all things," seem to me much different from this, "There is but ONE TRUE GOD," the God of Israel. To which doctrine, such as Cyrus and Darius, &c. the Jews' great patrons, seem not to have been very averse, though the entire idolatry of their kingdoms made them generally conceal it.

for the wisdom he had given him, and the victory he had gained thereby, even in the presence of Darius himself; for, said he, "I had not been thought worthy of these advantages, O Lord, unless thou hadst been favourable to me." When, therefore, he had returned these thanks to God for the present circumstances he was in, and prayed to him to afford him the like favour for the time to come, he came to Babylon, and brought the good news to his countrymen of what grants he had procured for them from the king, who, when they heard the same, gave thanks also to God that he restored the land of their forefathers to them again: so they betook themselves to drinking and eating, and for seven days they continued feasting, and kept a festival for the rebuilding and restoration of their country after this they chose themselves rulers, who should go up to Jerusalem, out of the tribes of their forefathers, with their wives and children, and cattle, who travelled to Jerusalem with joy and pleasure, under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them, and making a noise with songs, and pipes, and cymbals. The rest of the Jewish multitude also besides accompanied them with rejoicing.

10. And thus did these men go, a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the mind of my readers from the connexion of the historical facts, and make it hard for them to follow the coherence of my narrations: but the sum of those that went up, above the age of twelve years, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was four hundred and sixty-two myriads and eight thousand,* the Levites were seventy-four; the number of the women and children, mixed together, was forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two; and besides these, there were singers of the Levites one hundred and twenty-eight, and porters one hundred and ten, and of the sacred ministers three hundred and ninety-two; there were also others besides these, who said they were of the Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies, six hundred and sixty-two: some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honour of the priests, as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and priests: they were about five hundred and twenty-five; the multitude also of servants followed those that went up to Jerusalem, seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven; the singing men and singing women were two hundred and forty-five; the camels were four hundred and thirty-five; the beasts used to the yoke were five thousand five hundred and twenty-five; and the governors of all this multitude thus numbered was Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah, and Jeshua, the son of Josedek the high priest; and besides these there were Mordecai and Serebeus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers, who also contributed a hundred pound of gold, and five thousand of silver. By this means, therefore, the priests and the Levites, and a certain part of the entire people of the Jews that were in Babylon, came and dwelt in Jerusalem, but the rest of the multitude returned every one to their own countries.

* This strange reading in Josephus's present copies, of 4,000,000 instead of 40,000, is one of the grossest errors that is in them, and ought to be corrected from Ezra, ii. 64; 1 Esd. v. 40, and Neh. vii. 66, who all agree the general sum was about 42,360. It is also very plain, that Josephus thought that when Esdras afterwards brought up another company out of Babylon and Persia, in the days of Xerxes, they were also, as well as these, out of the two tribes, and out of them only, and were in all no more than a *seed*, and a *remnant*, while an *immense number* of the ten tribes never returned, but as he believed, continued there beyond the Euphrates, ch. v. § 2, 3. Of which multitude of Jews beyond Euphrates he speaks frequently elsewhere, though by the way, he never makes them to be idolaters, but looks on them still as observers of the laws of Moses. The *certain part* of the people that now came up from Babylon, at the end of this chapter imply the smallest number of Jews that now came up, and will no way agree with the 4,000,000

CHAP. IV.

How the Temple was built, while the Cutheans endeavored in vain to obstruct the Work.

§ 1. Now in the seventh month, after they were departed out of Babylon, both Jeshua the high priest, and Zorobabel the governor, sent messengers every where round about, and gathered those that were in the country together to Jerusalem universally, who came very gladly thither. He then built the altar on the same place it had formerly been built, that they might offer the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But while they did this, they did not please the neighbouring nations, who all of them bare an ill will to them. They also celebrated the feast of tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained concerning it; and after they offered sacrifices, and what were called the daily sacrifices, and the oblations proper for the Sabbaths, and for all the holy festivals. Those also that had made vows performed them, and offered their sacrifices, from the first day of the seventh month. They also began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the masons and to the carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar trees from Libanus, to bind them together, and to make a united float of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa: for that was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.

2. In the second year of their coming to Jerusalem, as the Jews were there in the second month, the building of the temple went on apace; and when they had laid its foundations, on the first day of the second month of that second year, they set, as overseers of the work, such Levites as were full twenty years old, and Jeshua and his sons and brethren, and Cadmiel the brother of Judas, the son of Aminadab, with his sons; and the temple, by the great diligence of those that had the care of it, was finished sooner than any one would have expected. And when the temple was finished, the priests, adorned with their accustomed garments, stood with their trumpets, while the Levites, and the sons of Asaph, stood and sung hymns to God, according as David first of all appointed them to bless God. Now the priests and Levites, and the elder part of the families, recollecting with themselves how much greater and more sumptuous the old temple had been, seeing that now made how much inferior it was, on account of their poverty, to that which had been built of old, considered with themselves how much their happy state was sunk below what it had been of old, as well as their temple. Hereupon they were disconsolate, and not able to contain their grief, and proceeded so far as to lament and shed tears on those accounts; but the people in general were contented with their present condition, and because they were allowed to build them a temple, they desired no more, and neither regarded nor remembered, nor indeed at all tormented themselves with the comparison of that and the former temple, as if this were below their expectations; but the wailing of the old men and of the priests, on account of the deficiency of this temple, in their opinion, if compared with that which had been demolished, overcame the sounds of the trumpets, and the rejoicing of the people.

3. But when the Samaritans, who were still enemies to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, heard the sound of the trumpets, they came running together, and desired to know what was the occasion of this tumult; and when they perceived that it was from the Jews who had been carried captive to Babylon, and were rebuilding their temple, they came to Zorobabel and to Jeshua, and to the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them in building it; for they said, "We worship their God, and especially pray to him, and are desirous of their religious settle

ment, and this ever since Shalmanezar, the king of Assyria, transplanted us out of Cuthah and Media to this place." When they said thus, Zorobabel, and Jeshua the high priest, and the heads of the families of the Israelites, replied to them, that "it was impossible for them to permit them to be their partners, whilst they [only] had been appointed to build that temple at first by Cyrus, and now by Darius, although it was indeed lawful for them to come and worship there if they pleased, and that they could allow them nothing but that in common with them, which was common to them with all other men, to come to their temple and worship God there."

4. When the Cutheans heard this, for the Samaritans have that appellation, they had indignation at it, and persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, in the same manner as they had done formerly in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses afterwards, to put a stop to the building of the temple, and to endeavour to delay and protract the Jews in their zeal about it. Now at this time Sisinnes, the governor of Syria and Phœnicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, "By whose grant it was that they built the temple in this manner, since it was more like to a citadel than a temple; and for what reason it was that they built cloisters and walls, and those strong ones too, about the city?" To which Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest replied, "That they were the servants of God Almighty; that this temple was built for him by a king of theirs, that lived in great prosperity, and one that exceeded all men in virtue, and that it continued a long time, but that, because of their fathers' impiety towards God, Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians and of the Chaldeans, took their city by force, and destroyed it, and pillaged the temple, and burnt it down, and transplanted the people whom he had made captives, and removed them to Babylon; that Cyrus, who, after him, was king of Babylonia and Persia, wrote to them to build the temple, and committed the gifts and vessels, and whatsoever Nebuchadnezzar had carried out of it, to Zorobabel and Mithridates the treasurer; and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple, when it was built; for he had sent to them to have that done speedily, and commanded Sanabassar to go up to Jerusalem, and to take care of the building of the temple, who, upon receiving that epistle from Cyrus, came, and immediately laid its foundations. and although it had been in building from that time to this, it hath not yet been finished, by reason of the malignity of our enemies. If, therefore, you have a mind, and think it proper, write this account to Darius, that when he hath consulted the records of the kings, he may find that we have told you nothing that is false about this matter."

5. When Zorobabel and the high priest had made this answer, Sisinnes, and those that were with him, did not resolve to hinder the building, until they had informed king Darius of all this. So they immediately wrote to him about these affairs; but as the Jews were now under terror, and afraid lest the king should change his resolution as to the building of Jerusalem, and of the temple, there were two prophets at the time among them, Haggai and Zechariah, who encouraged them, and bid them be of good cheer, and to suspect no discouragement from the Persians, for that God foretold this to them. So, in dependance on those prophets, they app ied themselves earnestly to building, and did not intermit one day.

6. Now Darius, when the Samaritans had written to him, and in their epistle had accused the Jews, how they fortified the city, and built the temple more like to a citadel than to a temple, and said, that their doings were not expedient for the king's affairs, and besides, they showed the epistle of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple; and when Darius thereby understood that the restoration of Jerusalem was not expedient for his affairs, and when he had read the epistle that was brought him from Sisinnes and those that were with him, he gave order that what concerned these matters should be sought for among the

royal records. Whereupon a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower that was in Media, wherein was written as follows: "Cyrus the king, in the first year of his reign, commanded that the temple should be built in Jerusalem; and the altar: in height threescore cubits, and in breadth of the same, with three edifices of polished stone, and one edifice of stone of their own country; and he ordained that the expenses of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. He also commanded that the vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged [out of the temple,] and had carried to Babylon, should be restored to the people of Jerusalem; and that the care of these things should belong to Sanabassar, the governor and president of Syria and Phœnicia, and to his associates, that they may not meddle with that place, but may permit the servants of God, the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple. He also ordained that they should assist him in the work, and that they should pay to the Jews, out of the tribute of the country where they were governors, on account of the sacrifices, bulls and rams, and lambs, and kids of the goats, and fine flour, and oil, and wine, and all other things that the priests should suggest to them; and that they should pray for the preservation of the king, and of the Persians; and that for such as transgressed any of these orders thus sent to them, he commanded that they should be caught, and hung upon a cross, and their substance confiscated to the king's use. He also prayed to God against them, that if any one attempted to hinder the building of the temple, God would strike him dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness."

7. When Darius had found this book among the records of Cyrus, he wrote an answer to Sisinnes and his associates, whose contents were these: "King Darius to Sisinnes the governor, and to Sathrabuzanes, sendeth greeting: Having found a copy of this epistle among the records of Cyrus, I have sent it to you; and I will that all things be done as is therein written. Fare ye well." So when Sisinnes, and those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, they resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews and the princes of the sanhedrim: and the structure of the temple was with great diligence brought to a conclusion, by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, according to God's commands, and by the injunctions of Cyrus and Darius the king. Now the temple was built in seven years' time: and in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, which is by us called *Adar*, but by the Macedonians *Dystrus*, the priests and the Levites, and the other multitude of the Israelites, offered sacrifices, as the renovation of their former prosperity after their captivity, and because they had now the temple rebuilt, a hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according to the number of their tribes (for so many are the tribes of the Israelites,) and this last for the sins of every tribe. The priests also and the Levites set the porters at every gate, according to the laws of Moses. The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple, that were round about the temple itself.

8. And as the feast of unleavened bread was at hand, in the first months, which, according to the Macedonians, is called *Xanthicus;* but according to us *Nisan*, all the people ran together out of the village to the city, and celebrated the festival, having purified themselves, with their wives and children, according to the law of their country; and they offered the sacrifice which was called the *Passover*, on the fourteenth day of the same month, and feasted seven days, and spared for no cost, but offered whole burnt-offerings to God, and performed sacrifices of thanksgiving, because God had led them again to the land of their fathers, and to the laws thereto belonging, and had rendered the mind of the king of Persia favourable to them. So these men offered the largest sacrifices on these accounts, and used great magnificence in the worship of God, and dwelt in Jerusalem, and made use of a form of government that was aristocratical, but mixed with an oligarchy, for the high priests were at the head of their affairs, until the posterity of the Asamoneans set up kingly government; for before their captivity, and the

dissolution of their polity, they at first had kingly government from Saul and David, for five hundred thirty-two years, six months, and ten days; but before those kings, such rulers governed them as were called *Judges* and *Monarchs*. Under this form of government they continued for more than five hundred years after the death of Moses, and of Joshua their commander. And this is the account I had to give of the Jews who had been carried into captivity, but were delivered from it in the times of Cyrus and Darius.

9.* But the Samaritans, being evil and enviously disposed to the Jews, wrought them many mischiefs, by reliance on their riches, and by their pretence that they were allied to the Persians, on account that thence they came; and whatsoever it was that they were enjoined to pay the Jews by the king's order out of their tributes, for the sacrifices, they would not pay it. They had also the governor favourable to them, and assisting them for that purpose; nor did they spare to hurt them, either by themselves or by others, as far as they were able. So the Jews determined to send an embassage to king Darius, in favour of the people of Jerusalem, and in order to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers; and as soon as the king knew from the ambassadors the accusations and complaints they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them an epistle to be carried to the governors and council of Samaria. The contents of which epistle were these: "King Darius to Tanganas and Sambabas the governors of the Samaritans, to Sadraces and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow servants that are in Samaria: Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mordecai, the ambassadors of the Jews, complain of you, that you obstruct them in the building of the temple, and do not supply them with the expenses which I commanded you to do for the offering their sacrifices. My will, therefore, is this: that, upon the reading of this epistle, you supply them with whatsoever they want for their sacrifices, and that out of the royal treasury, of the tributes of Samaria, as the priest shall desire, that they may not leave off offering their daily sacrifices, nor praying to God for me and the Persians." And these were the contents of that epistle

CHAP. V.

How Xerxes, the Son of Darius, was well disposed to the Jews: as also concerning Esdras and Nehemiah.

§ 1. Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom, who, as he inherited his father's kingdom, so did he inherit his piety towards God, and honour of him; for he did all things suitably to his father relating to divine worship, and he was exceeding friendly to the Jews. Now about this time, a son of Jeshua, whose name was *Joacim*, was the high priest. Moreover, there was now in Babylon a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude: he was the principal priest of the people, and his name was *Esdras*. He was very skilful in the laws of Moses, and was well acquainted with king Xerxes. He had determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews that were in Babylon; and he desired that the king would give him an epistle to the governors of Syria, by which they might know who he was. Accordingly the king wrote the following epistle to those governors: "Xerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest, and reader of the divine law, greeting: I think it agreeable to that love which I bear to mankind, to permit those of the Jewish nation who are so disposed, as well as those of the priests and Levites that are in our kingdom, to go together to Jerusalem. Accordingly I have given command for that purpose; and let every one that hath a mind to go, according as it hath seemed good to me and to my seven counsellors; and this in order to their re-

* The history contained in this section is entirely wanting in all our copies, both of Ezra and Esdras

view of the affairs of Judea, to see whether they be agreeable to the law of God. Let them also take with them those presents which I and my friends have vowed, with all that silver and gold which is found in the country of the Babylonians, as dedicated to God; and let all this be carried to Jerusalem, to God for sacrifices. Let it also be lawful for thee and thy brethren, to make as many vessels of silver and gold as thou pleasest. Thou shalt also dedicate those holy vessels which have been given thee, and as many more as thou hast a mind to make, and shalt take the expenses out of the king's treasury. I have moreover written to the treasurers of Syria and Phœnicia, that they take care of those affairs that Esdras the priest, and reader of the laws of God, is sent about. And that God may not be at all angry with me, or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God, according to the law, as far as a hundred cori of wheat. And I enjoin you not to lay any treacherous imposition, or any tributes, upon their priests or Levites, or sacred singers, or porters, or sacred servants, or scribes of the temple. And do thou, O Esdras, appoint judges according to the wisdom [given thee] of God, and those such as understand the law, that they may judge in all Syria and Phœnicia; and do thou instruct those also which are ignorant of it, that if any one of thy countrymen transgress the law of God, or that of the king, he may be punished, as not transgressing it out of ignorance, but as one that knows it indeed, but boldly despises and contemns it; and such may be punished by death, or by paying fines. Farewell."

2. When Esdras had received this epistle, he was very joyful, and began to worship God, and confessed that he had been the cause of the king's great favour to him, and that for the same reason he gave all the thanks to God. So he read the epistle at Babylon to those Jews that were there; but he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media. And when these Jews had understood what piety the king had towards God, and what kindness he had for Esdras, they were all greatly pleased; nay, many of them took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem; but then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country, wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers. Now there came a great number of priests, and Levites, and porters, and sacred singers, and sacred servants, to Esdras. So he gathered those that were in the captivity together beyond Euphrates, and stayed there three days, and ordained a fast for them, that they might make their prayers to God for their preservation, that they might suffer no misfortunes by the way, either from their enemies or from any other ill accident; for Esdras had said beforehand, that he had told the king how God would preserve them, and so he had not thought fit to request that he would send horsemen to conduct them. So when they had finished their prayers, they removed from Euphrates, on the twelfth day of the first month of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and they came to Jerusalem on the fifth month of the same year. Now Esdras presented the sacred money to the treasurers, who were of the family of the priests; of silver six hundred and fifty talents, vessels of silver one hundred talents, vessels of gold twenty talents, vessels of brass, that were more precious than gold,* twelve talents by weight; for these presents had been made by the king and his counsellors, and by all the Israelites that stayed at Babylon. So when Esdras had delivered these things to the priests, he gave to God, as the appointed sacrifices of whole burnt offerings, twelve bulls, on account of the common preservation of the people, ninety rams, seventy-two lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, for the remission of sins. He also delivered the king's epistle to the king's officers, and to the governors of Celesyria and Phœnicia; and as they

* Dr. Hudson takes notice here, that this kind of brass or copper, or rather mixture of gold and brass or copper, was called *aurichalcum*, and that this was of old esteemed the most precious of all metals

were under the necessity of doing what was enjoined by him, they honoured the nation, and were assistant to them in all their necessities.

3. Now these things were truly done under the conduct of Esdras, and he succeeded in them, because God esteemed him worthy of the success of his conduct, on account of his goodness and righteousness: but some time afterward there came some persons to him, and they brought an accusation against certain of the multitude, and of the priests and Levites, who had transgressed their settlement, and dissolved the laws of their country, by marrying strange wives, and had brought the family of the priests into confusion. These persons desired him to support the laws, lest God should take up a general anger against them all, and reduce them to a calamitous condition again. Hereupon he rent his garment immediately, out of grief, and pulled off the hair of his head and beard, and cast himself upon the ground, because this crime had reached the principal men among the people, and considering that if he should enjoin them to cast out their wives, and the children they had by them, he should not be hearkened to, he continued lying upon the ground. However, all the better sort came running to him, who also themselves wept, and partook of the grief he was under for what had been done. So Esdras rose up from the ground, and stretched out his hands towards heaven, and said, that "he was ashamed to look towards it, because of the sins which the people had committed, while they had cast out of their memories what their fathers had undergone on account of their wickedness; and he besought God, who had saved a seed and a remnant out of the calamity and captivity they had been in, and had restored them again to Jerusalem, and to their own land, and had obliged the kings of Persia to have compassion on them, that he would also forgive them their sins they had now committed, which, though they deserved death, yet it was agreeable to the mercy of God to remit even to these the punishment due to them."

4. After Esdras had said this, he left off praying; and when all those that came to him with their wives and children were under lamentation, one whose name was Jechonias, a principal man in Jerusalem, came to him and said, that they had sinned in marrying strange wives; and he persuaded him to adjure them all to cast those wives out, and the children born of them, and that those should be punished who would not obey the law. So Esdras hearkened to this advice, and made the heads of the priests and of the Levites, and of the Israelites, swear that they would put away those wives and children, according to the advice of Jechonias. And when he had received their oaths, he went in haste out of the temple, into the chamber of Johanan, the son Eliasib, and as he had hitherto tasted nothing at all for grief, so he abode there that day. And when proclamation was made, that all those of the captivity should gather themselves together to Jerusalem, and that those that did not meet there in two or three days should be banished from the multitude, and that their substance should be appropriated to the uses of the temple, according to the sentence of the elders, those that were of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin came together in three days, viz. on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which, according to the Hebrews, is called *Tebeth*, and according to the Macedonians, *Apelleus*. Now, as they were sitting in the upper room of the temple, where the elders also were present, but were uneasy because of the cold, Esdras stood up, and accused them, and told them they had sinned in marrying wives that were not of their own nation; but that now they would do a thing both pleasing to God and advantageous to themselves, if they would put those wives away. Accordingly, they all cried out, that "they would do so. That, however, the multitude was great, and that the season of the year was winter, and that this work would require more than one or two days. Let their rulers, therefore [said they,] and those that have married strange wives, come hither at proper time, while the elders of every place, that are in common to estimate the number of those that have thus married, are to be there also. Accor-

dingly this was resolved on by them; and they began the inquiry after those that had married strange wives on the first day of the tenth month, and continued the inquiry to the first day of the next month, and found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest, and of the priests and Levites, and Israelites, who had a greater regard to the observation of the law than to their natural affection, and immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them.* And in order to appease God, they offered sacrifices, and slew rams, as oblations to him; but it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of these men. So when Esdras had reformed this sin about the marriages of the forementioned persons, he reduced that practice to purity, so that it continued in that state for the time to come.

5. Now when they kept the feast of tabernacles† in the seventh month, and almost all the people were come together to it, they went up to the open part of the temple, to the gate which looked eastward, and desired of Esdras that the laws of Moses might be read to them. Accordingly he stood in the midst of the multitude and read them; and this he did from morning to noon. Now by hearing the laws read to them, they were instructed to be righteous men for the present and for the future; but as for their past offences they were displeased at themselves, and proceeded to shed tears on their account, as considering with themselves, that if they had kept the law, they had endured none of these miseries which they had experienced. But when Esdras saw them in this disposition, he bade them go home, and not weep, for that it was a festival, and that they ought not to weep thereon, for that it was not lawful so to do.‡ He exhorted them rather to proceed immediately to feasting, and to do what was suitable to a feast, and what was agreeable to a day of joy, but to let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins be a security and a guard to them, that they fell no more into the like offences. So upon Esdras' exhortation they began to feast; and when they had so done for eight days in their tabernacles, they departed to their own homes, singing hymns to God, and returning thanks to Esdras, for his reformation of what corruptions had been introduced into their settlement. So it came to pass, that after he had obtained this reputation among the people, he died an old man, and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem. About the same time it happened also, that Joacim the high priest died; and his son of Eliasib succeeded in the high priesthood.

6. Now there was one of those Jews that had been carried captive, who was cupbearer to king Xerxes; his name was Nehemiah. As this man was walking before Susa, the metropolis of the Persians, he heard some strangers that were entering the city after a long journey, speaking to one another in the Hebrew tongue; so he went to them, and asked them whence they came. And when their answer was, that they came from Judea, he began to enquire of them again in what state the multitude was, and in what condition Jerusalem was. And when they replied that they were in a bad state, for that their walls were thrown down to the ground, and that the neighbouring nations did a great deal of mischief to the Jews, while in the day time they overran the country and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, inasmuch that not a few were led away captive out

* This procedure of Esdras, and of the best part of the Jewish nation, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, of reducing the Jewish marriages, once for all, to the strictness of the law of Moses, without any regard to the greatness of those who had broken it, and without regard to that natural affection or compassion for their heathen wives and their children by them, which made it so hard for Esdras to correct it, deserves greatly to be observed and imitated in all attempts for reformation among Christians, the contrary conduct having ever been the bane of true religion, both among Jews and Christians, while political views, or human passions, or prudential motives, are suffered to take place instead of the divine laws, as so the blessing of God is forfeited, and the church still suffered to continue corrupt from one generation to another. See chap. viii. sect. 2.

† This Jewish feast of tabernacles was imitated in several heathen solemnities, as Spanheim here observes and proves. He also further observes presently, what great regard many heathens had to the monuments of their forefathers, as Nehemiah had here, sect. 6.

‡ This rule of Esdras, not to fast on a festival day, is quoted in the Apostolical Constitutions, B v as obtaining among Christians also.

of Jerusalem itself, and that the roads were in the day time found full of dead men*. Hereupon Nehemiah shed tears, out of commiseration of the calamities of his countrymen; and looking up to heaven, he said, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou overlook our nation, while it suffers so great miseries, and while we are made the prey and the spoil of all men?" And while he stayed at the gate, and lamented thus, one told him that the king was going to sit down to supper; so he made haste, and went as he was, without washing himself, to minister to the king in his office of cupbearer. But as the king was very pleasant after supper, and more cheerful than usual, he cast his eyes on Nehemiah, and seeing him look sad, he asked him why he was sad. Whereupon he prayed to God to give him favour, and afford him the power of persuading by his words, and said, "How can I, O king, appear otherwise than thus, and not be in trouble, while I hear that the walls of Jerusalem, the city where are the sepulchres of my fathers, are thrown down to the ground, and that its gates are consumed by fire; but do thou grant me the favour to go and build its wall, and to finish the building of the temple." Accordingly the king gave him a signal, that he freely granted him what he asked, and told him that he should carry an epistle to the governors, that they might pay him due honour, and afford him whatsoever assistance he wanted, and as he pleased. "Leave off thy sorrow, then (said the king), and be cheerful in the performance of thy office hereafter." So Nehemiah worshiped God, and gave the king thanks for his promise, and cleared up his sad and cloudy countenance, by the pleasure he had from the king's promises. Accordingly, the king called for him the next day, and gave him an epistle to be carried to Adeus, the governor of Syria, and Phœnicia, and Samaria; wherein he sent to him to pay due honour to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he wanted for his building.

7. Now when he was come to Babylon, and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty and fifth year of the reign of Xerxes. And when he had shown the epistles to God,† he gave them to Adeus, and to the other governors. He also called together all the people to Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the temple, and made the following speech to them: "You know, O Jews, that God hath kept our fathers Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in mind continually; and for the sake of their righteousness hath not left off the care of you: indeed he hath assisted me in gaining this authority of the king to raise up our wall and finish what is wanting of the temple. I desire you, therefore, who well know the ill will our neighbouring nations bear to us, and that when they once are made sensible that we are in earnest about building, they will come upon us, and contrive many ways of obstructing our works, that you will, in the first place, put your trust in God, as in him that will assist us against their hatred, and to intermit building neither night nor day, but to use all diligence, and to hasten on the work, now we have this especial opportunity for it." When he had said this, he gave order that the rulers should measure the wall, and part the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities, as every one's ability should require. And when he had added this promise, that he himself, with his servants, would assist them, he dissolved the assembly. So the Jews prepared for the work: that is the name they are called by from the day that they came up from Babylon, which is taken from the tribe of Judah, which came first to these places; and thence both they and the country gained that appellation.

8. But now, when the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Samaritans, and all that

* This miserable condition of the Jews, and their capital, must have been after the death of Esdras, their former governor, and before Nehemiah came with his commission to build the walls of Jerusalem. Nor is that at all disagreeable to these histories in Josephus, since Esdras came on the 7th, and Nehemiah not till the 25th of Xerxes, at the interval of 18 years.

† This showing king Xerxes' epistles to God, or laying them open before God, in the temple, is very like the laying open the epistles of Sennacherib before him also by Hezekiah, 2 Kings, xix. 14; Isa. xxxvii. 14; although this last was for a memorial to put him in mind of the enemies, in order to move that divine compassion, and the present as a token of gratitude for mercies already received, as Havercamp well observes on this place.

inhabited Celesyria, heard that the building went on apace, they took it heinously, and proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intentions. They also slew many of the Jews, and sought how they might destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. They also put the Jews in fear, and disturbed them, and spread abroad rumours, as if many nations were ready to make an expedition against them, by which means they were harassed, and had almost left off the building. But none of these things could deter Nehemiah from being diligent about the work: he only set a number of men about him as a guard to his body, and so unweariedly persevered therein, and was insensible of any trouble, out of his desire to perfect this work. And thus did he attentively, and with great forecast, take care of his own safety, not that he feared death, but out of this persuasion, that if he were dead, the walls for his citizens would never be raised. He also gave orders that the builders should keep their ranks, and have their armour on while they were building. Accordingly the mason had his sword on, as well as he that brought the materials for building. He also appointed that their shields should lie very near them; and he placed trumpeters at every five hundred feet, and charged them, that if their enemies appeared they should give notice of it to the people, that they might fight in their armour, and their enemies might not fall upon them naked. He also went about the compass of the city by night, being never discouraged, neither about the work itself, nor about his own diet and sleep; for he made no use of those things for his pleasure, but out of necessity. And this trouble he underwent for two years and four months*; for in so long a time was the wall built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month. Now when the walls were finished, Nehemiah and the multitude offered sacrifices to God for the building of them, and they continued in feasting eight days. However, when the nations which dwelt in Syria heard that the building of the wall was finished, they had indignation at it. But when Nehemiah saw that the city was thin of people, he exhorted the priests and the Levites that they would leave the country, and remove themselves to the city, and there continue; and he built them houses at his own expenses; and he commanded that part of the people which were employed in cultivating the land to bring the tithes of their fruits to Jerusalem, that the priests and the Levites, having whereof they might live perpetually, might not leave the divine worship; who willingly hearkened to the constitutions of Nehemiah, by which means the city Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. So when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things, and things worthy of commendation, in a glorious manner, he came to a great age, and then died. He was a man of a good and righteous disposition, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy; and he hath left the walls of Jerusalem as an eternal monument for himself. Now this was done in the days of Xerxes

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Esther,† and Mordecai and Haman; and how, in the reign of Artaxerxes, the whole Nation of the Jews was in danger of perishing.

§ 1. After the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be transferred to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks called *Artaxerxes*. When this man had obtained the

* It may not be very improper to remark here, with what an unusual accuracy Josephus determines these years of Xerxes, in which the walls of Jerusalem were built, viz. that Nehemiah came with his commission in the 25th of Xerxes; that the walls were two years four months in building; and that they were finished on the 28th of Xerxes, sect. 7, 8. It may also be remarked farther, that Josephus hardly ever mentions more than one infallible astronomical character, I mean an eclipse of the moon, and this a little before the death of Herod the Great, Antiq. B. xvii. ch. vi. sect. 4. Now on these two chronological characters in a great measure depend some of the most important points belonging to Christianity, viz. the explication of Daniel's 70 weeks, and the duration of our Saviour's ministry, and the time of his death, in correspondence to those 70 weeks. See the Supplement to the Lit. Accomp. of Proph. p. 72.

† Since some sceptical persons are willing to discard this book of Esther as no true history; and even

government over the Persians, the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and children, were in danger of perishing; the occasion whereof we shall declare in a little time; for it is proper, in the first place, to explain somewhat relating to this king, and how he came to marry a Jewish wife, who was herself of the royal family also; and who is related to have saved our nation; for when Artaxerxes had taken the kingdom, and had set governors over the hundred and twenty-seven provinces, from India even unto Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign, he made a costly feast for his friends, and for the nations of Persia, and for their governors, such a one as was proper for a king to make, when he had a mind to make a public demonstration of his riches, and this for a hundred and four-score days; after which he made a feast for other nations, and for their ambassadors, at Shushan, for seven days. Now this feast was ordered after the manner following: He caused a tent to be pitched, which was supported by pillars of gold and silver, with curtains of linen and purple spread over them, that it might afford room for many ten thousands to sit down. The cups with which the waiters ministered were of gold, and adorned with precious stones, for pleasure and for sight. He also gave order to the servants that they should not force them to drink, by bringing them wine continually, as is the practice of the Persians, but to permit every one of the guests to enjoy himself according to his own inclination. Moreover, he sent messengers through the country, and gave order, that they should have a remission of their labours, and should keep a festival many days, on account of his kingdom. In like manner did Vashti the queen gather her guests together and made them a feast in the palace. Now the king was desirous to show her, who exceeded all other women in beauty, to those that feasted with him, and sent some to command her to come to his feast. But she, out of regard to the laws of the Persians, which forbid the wives to be seen by strangers, did not go to the king;* and though he oftentimes sent the eunuchs to her, she did nevertheless stay away, and refused to come, till the king was so much irritated that he brake up the entertainment, and rose up, and called for those seven who had the interpretation of the laws committed to them, and accused his wife, and said that he had been affronted by her, because that when she was frequently called by him to his feast, she did not obey him once. He therefore gave order that they should inform him what could be done by the law against her. So one of them, whose name was *Memucan*, said that "this affront was offered not to him alone, but to all the Persians, who were in danger of leading their lives very ill with their wives, if they must be thus despised by them; for that none of their wives would have any reverence for their husbands, if they had such an example of arrogance in the queen.

our learned and judicious Dr. Wall, in his late posthumous critical notes upon all the other Hebrew books of the Old Testament, gives us none upon the Canticles or upon Esther, and seems thereby to give up this book, as well as he gives up the Canticles, as indefensible; I shall venture to say, that almost all the objections against this book of Esther are gone at once, if, as we certainly ought to do, and as Dean Prideaux has justly done, we place this history under Artaxerxes Longimanus, as do both the Septuagint interpreters and Josephus. The learned Dr. Lee, in his posthumous dissertation on the second book of Esdras, page 25, also says that "the truth of this history is demonstrated by the feast of Purim, kept up from that time to this very day, and this surprising providential revolution in favour of a captive people, thereby constantly commemorated, standeth even upon a firmer basis than that there ever was such a man as king Alexander [the Great] in the world, of whose reign there is no such abiding monument at this day to be found anywhere. Nor will they, I dare say, who quarrel at this, or any other of the sacred histories, find it a very easy matter to reconcile the different accounts which were given by historians of the affairs of this king, or to confirm any one fact of his whatever, with the same evidence which is here given for the principal fact in the sacred book, or even so much as to prove the existence of such a person, of whom so great things are related, but upon granting this book of Esther, or sixth of Esdras (as it is placed in some of the most ancient copies of the vulgate), to be a most true and certain history," &c.

* If the Chaldee paraphrase be in the right that Artaxerxes intended to show Vashti to his guests naked, it is no wonder at all that she would not submit to such an indignity; but still, if it were not so gross as that, yet might it, in the king's cups, be done in a way so indecent, as the Persian laws would not then bear more than the common laws of modesty. And that the king had some such design seems not improbable, for otherwise the principal of these royal guests could be no strangers to the queen, nor unapprised of her beauty, so far as decency admitted. However, since Providence was now paving the way for the introduction of a Jewess into the king's affections, in order to bring about one of the most wonderful deliverances which the Jewish or any nation ever had, we need not be farther solicitous about the motives by which the king was induced to divorce Vashti and marry Esther.

towards thee, who rulest over all." Accordingly he exhorted him to punish her, who had been guilty of so great an affront to him, after a severe manner; and when he had so done, to publish to the nations what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was, to put Vashti away, and to give her dignity to another.

2. But the king, having been fond of her, did not well bear a separation, and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation, so he was under trouble, as not having it in his power to do what he desired to do. But when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to cast the memory of his wife, and his love for her, out of his mind, but to send abroad over all the habitable earth, and to search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should like best for his wife, because his passion for his former wife would be quenched by the introduction of another, and the kindness he had for Vashti would be withdrawn from her, and be placed on her that was with him. Accordingly he was persuaded to follow this advice, and gave order to certain persons to choose out of the virgins that were in his kingdom those that were esteemed the most comely. So when a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in Babylon, both whose parents were dead, and she was brought up with her uncle Mordecai, for that was her uncle's name. This uncle was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it proved that this damsel, whose name was *Esther*, was the most beautiful of all the rest, and that the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her; so she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take care of her; and she was very exactly provided with sweet odours, in great plenty, and with costly ointments, such as her body required to be anointed withal; and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number four hundred. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, in the forementioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed, he sent one to be with the king every day. So when he had accompanied with her, he sent her back to the eunuch; and when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and married her, and made her his lawful wife, and kept a wedding feast for her on the twelfth month of the seventh year of his reign, which was called *Adar*. He also sent *angari*, as they are called, or messengers, unto every nation, and gave orders that they should keep a feast for his marriage, while he himself treated the Persians and the Medes, and the principal men of the nations for a whole month, on account of this his marriage. Accordingly Esther came to his royal palace, and he set a diadem upon her head: and thus was Esther married, without making known to the king what nation she was derived from. Her uncle also removed from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there, being every day about the palace, and inquiring how the damsel did, for he loved her as though she had been his own daughter.

3. Now the king had made a law, that none of his own people should approach him unless he were called, when he sat upon his throne;* and men with axes in their hands stood round about his throne, in order to punish such as approached to him without being called. However the king sat with a golden sceptre in his hand, which he held out when he had a mind to save any one of those that approached to him without being called; and he who touched it was free from danger. But of this matter we have discoursed sufficiently.

4. Some time after this [two eunuchs] Bigthan and Teresh plotted against the king; and Barnabazus, the servant of one of the eunuchs, being by birth a Jew, was acquainted with their conspiracy, and discovered it to the queen's uncle; and Mordecai, by the means of Esther, made the conspirators known to the king

* Herodotus says, that this law [against any one's coming uncalled to the kings of Persia when they were sitting on their thrones] was first enacted by Deioces [i. e. by him who first withdrew the Medes from the dominion of the Assyrians, and himself first reigned over them.] Thus, also, says Spanheim, stood guards, with their axes, about the throne of Tenus, or Tenedus, that the offender might by them be punished immediately

This troubled the king; but he discovered the truth, and hanged the eunuchs upon a cross, while at that time he gave no reward to Mordecai, who had been the occasion of his preservation. He only bid the scribes to set down his name in the records, and bid him stay in the palace, as an intimate friend of the king's.

5. Now there was one Haman, the son of Amedatha, by birth an Amalekite, that used to go in to the king; and the foreigners and Persians worshiped him, as Artaxerxes had commanded that such honour should be paid to him; but Mordecai was so wise, and so observant of his own country's laws, that he would not worship* the man. When Haman observed this, he inquired whence he came; and when he understood that he was a Jew, he had indignation at him, and said within himself, that "whereas the Persians, who were free men, worshiped him, this man, who was no better than a slave, does not vouchsafe to do so." And when he desired to punish Mordecai, he thought it too small a thing to request of the king that he alone might be punished; he rather determined to abolish the whole nation, for he was naturally an enemy to the Jews, because the nation of the Amalekites, of which he was, had been destroyed by them. Accordingly he came to the king, and accused them, saying, "There is a certain wicked nation, and it is dispersed over all the habitable earth that was under his dominion; a nation separate from others, unsociable, neither admitting the same sort of divine worship that others do, nor using laws like to the laws of others; at enmity with thy people, and with all men, both in their manners and practices. Now if thou wilt be a benefactor to thy subjects, thou wilt give order to destroy them utterly, and not leave the least remains of them, nor preserve any of them, either for slaves or for captives." But that the king might not be damnified by the loss of the tributes which the Jews paid him, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents whensoever he pleased; and he said he would pay this money very willingly, that the kingdom might be freed from such a misfortune.

6. When Haman had made this petition, the king both forgave him the money and granted him the men, to do what he would with them. So Haman, having gained what he desired, sent out immediately a decree, as from the king, to all nations, the contents whereof were these: "Artaxerxes, the great king, to the rulers of the hundred and twenty-seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia, sends this writing: Whereas I have governed many nations, and obtained the dominion of all the habitable earth, according to my desire, and have not been obliged to do any thing that is insolent or cruel to my subjects by such my power, but have showed myself mild and gentle, by taking care of their peace and good order, and have sought how they might enjoy those blessings for all time to come: And whereas I have been kindly informed by Haman, who, on account of his prudence and justice, is the first in my esteem and in dignity, and only second to myself, for his fidelity and constant good will to me, that there is an ill-natured nation intermixed with all mankind, that is averse to our laws, and not subject to kings, and of a different conduct of life from others, that hateth monarchy, and of a disposition that is pernicious to our affairs, I give order that all these men, of whom Haman, our second father, hath informed us, be destroyed, with their wives and children, and that none of them be spared, and that none prefer pity to them before obedience to this decree. And this I will to be executed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year, that so, when all that have enmity to us are destroyed, and this in one day, we may be allowed to lead the rest of our lives in peace hereafter." Now when this decree was brought to the cities and to the country, all were ready for the destruction and entire abolishment of the Jews against the day before mentioned; and they were very

* Whether this adoration required of Mordecai to Haman were by him deemed too like the adoration due only to God, as Josephus seems here to think, as well as the Septuagint interpreters also, by their translation of Est. xiii 12, 13, 14; or whether he thought he ought to pay no sort of adoration to an Amalekite, which nation had been such great sinners as to have been universally devoted to destruction by God himself, Exod. xvii. 14, 15, 16; 2 Sam. xv. 18; or whether both causes concurred, cannot now, I suppose, be entirely determined.

hasty about it at Shushan in particular. Accordingly the king and Haman spent their time in feasting together with good cheer and wine, but the city was in disorder.

7. Now when Mordecai was informed of what was done, he rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth, and sprinkled ashes upon his head, and went about the city crying out, that "a nation that had been injurious to no man was to be destroyed." And he went on saying thus as far as the king's palace, and there he stood, for it was not lawful for him to go into it in that habit. The same thing was done by all the Jews that were in the several cities wherein this decree was published, with lamentation and mourning, on account of the calamities denounced against them. But as soon as certain persons had told the queen that Mordecai stood before the court in a mourning habit, she was disturbed at this report and sent out such as should change his garments; but when he could not be induced to put off his sackcloth, because the sad occasion that forced him to put it on was not yet ceased, she called the eunuch Acratheus, for he was then present, and sent him to Mordecai, in order to know of him what sad accident had befallen him, for he was in mourning, and would not put off the habit he had put on at her desire. Then did Mordecai inform the eunuch of the occasion of his mourning, and of the decree which was sent by the king into all the country, and of the promise of money whereby Haman bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Shushan, to be carried to Esther; and he charged her to petition the king about this matter, and not think it a dishonourable thing in her to put on an humble habit for the safety of her nation wherein she might deprecate the ruin of the Jews, who were in danger of it; for that Haman, whose dignity was only inferior to that of the king's, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him that she was not called by the king, and that he who goes in to him without being called is to be slain, unless when he is willing to save any one, he holds out his golden sceptre to him; but that to whomsoever he does so, although he go in without being called, that person is so far from being slain, that he obtains a pardon, and is entirely preserved. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he bade him also tell her that she must not only provide for her own preservation, but for the common preservation of her nation; for that if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help to them from God some other way, but that she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the very same eunuch back to Mordecai [to desire him,] to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were there together to a congregation, and to fast and to abstain from all sorts of food on her account, and to [let him know that] she with her maidens would do the same; and then she promised that she would go to the king, and though it were against the law, and that if she must die for it, she would not refuse it.

8. Accordingly Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast: and he besought God, together with them, "not to overlook his nation, particularly at this time, when it was going to be destroyed, but that, as he had often before provided for them, and forgiven when they had sinned, so he would now deliver them from that destruction which was denounced against them; for although it was not all the nation that offended, yet must they so ingloriously be slain; and that he was himself the occasion of the wrath of Haman, because, said he, I did not worship him, nor could I endure to pay that honour to him which I used to pay to thee, O Lord; for upon that his anger hath he contrived this present mischief against those that have not transgressed thy laws." The same supplications did the multitude put up; and entreated that God would provide for their deliverance, and free the Israelites that were in all the earth from this calamity which was now coming upon them, for they had it before their eyes and expected its coming. Accordingly Esther made supplication to God after

the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the earth, and putting on her mourning garments, and bidding farewell to meat and drink, and all delicacies, for three days' time; and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and to make her words appear persuasive to the king, and render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her words and beauty she might succeed, for the averting of the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and for the consolation of those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing; as also that he would excite a hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they proved to be contemned by him.

9. When Esther had used this supplication for three days, she put off those garments, and changed her habit, and adorned herself as became a queen, and took two of her handmaids with her, the one of which supported her, as she gently leaned upon her, and the other followed after, and lifted up her large train (which swept along the ground) with the extremities of her fingers. And thus she came to the king, having a blushing redness in her countenance, with a pleasant agreeableness in her behaviour; yet did she go in to him with fear, and as soon as she was come over against him, as he was sitting on his throne, in his royal apparel, which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones, which made him seem to her more terrible, especially when he looked at her somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger, her joints failed her immediately, out of the dread she was in, and she fell down sideways in a swoon: but the king changed his mind, which happened, as I suppose, by the will of God, and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some very evil thing upon her, and he leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms, and recovered her by embracing her, and speaking comfortably to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to suspect any thing that was sad on account of her coming to him without being called, because that law was made for subjects, but that she who was a queen, as well as he a king, might be entirely secure; and as he said this, he put the sceptre into her hand, and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law, and so freed her from her fear. After she had recovered herself by these encouragements, she said, "My lord, it is not easy for me, on the sudden, to say what hath happened, for as soon as I saw thee to be great, and comely, and terrible, my spirit departed from me, and I had no soul left in me." And while it was with difficulty, and in a low voice, that she could say thus much, the king was in great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to expect better fortune, since he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant to her the half of his kingdom. Accordingly Esther desired that he and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet, for she said she had prepared a supper for him. He consented to it; and when they were there, as they were drinking, he bid Esther to "let him know what she desired, for that she should not be disappointed, though she should desire the half of his kingdom." But she put off the discovery of her petition till next day, if he would come again together with Haman, to her banquet.

10. Now when the king had promised so to do, Haman went away very glad because he alone had the honour of supping with the king at Esther's banquet, and because no one else partook of the same honour with the king but himself; yet when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was very much displeased, for he paid him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home, and called for his wife Zeresh, and his friends, and when they were come, he showed them what honour he enjoyed, not only from the king, but from the queen also, for as he alone had that day supped with her, together with the king, so was he also invited again for the next day; yet, said he, am I not pleased to see Mordecai the Jew in the court. Hereupon his wife Zeresh advised him to give order that a gallows should be made fifty cubits high, and that in the morning he should speak to the king that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. So he commanded his

advice, and gave order to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court, for the punishment of Mordecai thereon, which was accordingly prepared. But God laughed to scorn the wicked expectations of Haman, and as he knew what the event would be, he was delighted at it; for that night he took away the king's sleep, and as the king was not willing to lose the time of his laying awake, but to spend it in something that might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own actions; and when he had brought them, and was reading them, one was found to have received a country on account of his excellent management on a certain occasion, and the name of the country was set down, another was found to have had a present made him on account of his fidelity; then the scribe came to Bigthan and Teresh, the eunuchs that had made a conspiracy against the king, which Mordecai had discovered; and when the scribe said no more but that, and was going on to another history, the king stopped him, and inquired "Whether it was not added that Mordecai had a reward given him?" and when he said there was no such addition, he bid him leave off, and he inquired of those that were appointed for that purpose, what hour of the night it was; and when he was informed that it was already day, he gave order, that if they found any one of his friends already come, and standing before the court, they should tell him. Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he was come sooner than ordinary to petition the king to have Mordecai put to death: and when the servants said that Haman was before the court, he bid them call him in; and when he was come in, he said, "Because I know that thou art my only fast friend, I desire thee to give me advice, how I may honour one that I greatly love, and that after a manner suitable to my magnificence." Now Haman reasoned with himself, that what opinion he should give it, would be for himself, since it was he alone who was beloved by the king; so he gave him that advice which he thought of all others the best; for he said, "If thou wouldst truly honour a man whom thou sayest thou dost love, give order that he may ride on horseback, with the same garment which thou wearest, and with a gold chain about his neck, and let one of thy intimate friends go before him, and proclaim through the whole city, that whosoever the king honoureth obtaineth this mark of his honour." This was the advice which Haman gave, out of a supposal that such reward would come to himself. Hereupon the king was pleased with the advice, and said, "Go thou, therefore, for thou hast the horse, the garment, and the chain, ask for Mordecai the Jew, and give him those things, and go before his horse and proclaim accordingly; for, said he, thou art my intimate friend, and hast given me good advice; be thou, then, the minister of what thou hast advised me to do. This shall be his reward from us, for preserving my life." When he heard this order, which was entirely unexpected, he was confounded in his mind, and knew not what to do. However, he went out and led the horse, and took the purple garment, and the golden chain for the neck, and finding Mordecai before the court, clothed in sackcloth, he bade him put that garment off, and put the purple garment on. But Mordecai, not knowing the truth of the matter, but thinking that it was done in mockery, said, "O thou wretch, the vilest of all mankind, dost thou thus laugh at our calamities?" But when he was satisfied that the king bestowed this honor upon him, for the deliverance he had procured him, when he convicted the eunuchs who had conspired against him, he put on that purple garment which the king always wore, and put the chain about his neck, and got on horseback, and went round the city, while Haman went before, and proclaimed, "This shall be the reward which the king will bestow on every one whom he loves, and esteems worthy of honour." And when they had gone round the city, Mordecai went in to the king, but Haman went home, out of shame, and informed his wife and friends with what had happened, and this with tears, who said, that "he would never be able to be revenged on Mordecai, for that God was with him."

11. Now, while these men were thus talking one to another, Esther's eunuch hastened Haman away to come to supper; but one of the eunuchs, named Sabuchadas, saw the gallows that was fixed in Haman's house, and inquired of one of his servants for what purpose they had prepared it. So he knew that it was for the queen's uncle, because Haman was about to petition the king that he might be punished; but at present he held his peace. Now when the king, with Haman, was at the banquet, he desired the queen to tell him what gift she desired to obtain, and assured her that she should have whatsoever she had a mind to. She then lamented the danger her people were in; and said, that "she and her nation were given up to be destroyed, and that she, on that account, made this her petition; that she would not have troubled him if he had only given order that they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such a misfortune would not have been intolerable; but she desired that they might be delivered from such a destruction." And when the king inquired of her who was the author of this misery to them, she then openly accused Haman, and convicted him, that he had been the wicked instrument of this, and had formed this plot against them. When the king was hereupon in disorder, and was gone hastily out of the banquet into the gardens, Haman began to intercede with Esther, and to beseech her to forgive him, as to what he had offended, for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he had fallen upon the queen's bed, and was making supplication to her, the king came in, and being still more provoked at what he saw, "O thou wretch (said he,) thou vilest of all mankind, dost thou aim to force my wife?" And when Haman was astonished at this, and not able to speak one word more, Sabuchadas the eunuch came in, and accused Haman, and said, "That he found a gallows at his house, prepared for Mordecai, for that his servant told him so much, upon his inquiry, when he was sent to him to call him to supper." He said farther, that "the gallows was fifty cubits high." Which when the king heard, he determined that Haman should be punished after no other manner than that which had been devised by him against Mordecai: so he gave order immediately that he should be hung upon those gallows, and be put to death after this manner. And from hence I cannot forbear to admire God, and to learn hence his wisdom and his justice, not only in punishing the wickedness of Haman, but in so disposing it that he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for another; as, also, because thereby he teaches others this lesson, that what mischiefs any one prepares against another, he, without knowing of it, first contrives it against himself.

12. Wherefore Haman, who had immoderately abused the honour he had from the king, was destroyed after this manner, and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also called for Mordecai (for Esther had informed him that she was akin to him,) and gave that ring to Mordecai which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman's estate to Mordecai; and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from the fear of death, and showed him what had been written over all the country by Haman the son of Ammedatha; for that if her country were destroyed, and her countrymen were to perish, she could not bear to live herself any longer. So the king promised her, that he would not do any thing that should be disagreeable to her, nor contradict what she desired, but he bid her write what she pleased about the Jews, in the king's name, and seal it with his seal, and send it to all his kingdom, for that those who read epistles whose authority is secured by having the king's seal to them, would in no way contradict what was written therein. So he commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations on the Jews' behalf, and to his lieutenants and governors, that were over his hundred and twenty-seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of this epistle were these:* "The

* The true reason why king Artaxerxes did not here properly revoke his former barbarous decree for the universal slaughter of the Jews, but only empowered and encouraged the Jews to fight for their lives, and to kill their enemies if they attempted their destruction, seems to have been that old law of the Medes

great king Artaxerxes to our rulers, and those that are our faithful subjects, sendeth, greeting: many men there are, who, on account of the greatness of the benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honour which they have obtained from the wonderful kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been their benefactors, as if they would take away gratitude from among men, and by their insolent abuse of such benefits as they never expected, they turn the abundance they have against those that are the authors of it, and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and avoid that vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, and bearing private malice of their own against some others, by deceiving those that have the power, persuade them to be angry at such as have done them no harm, till they are in danger of perishing, and this by laying accusations and calumnies. Nor is this state of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have learned by report only, but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes; so that it is not fit to attend any longer to calumnies and accusations, nor to the persuasions of others, but to determine what any one knows of himself to have been really done, and to punish what justly deserves it, and to grant such favours to such as are innocent. This hath been the case of Haman the son of Ammedatha, by birth an Amalekite, and alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men, to so great a degree as to be called my father, and to be all along worshiped, and to have honour paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor govern the magnitude of his prosperity with sound reason; nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life who gave him his authority, by endeavouring to take away Mordecai, my benefactor and my saviour, and by basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther the partner of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction, for he contrived by this means to deprive me of my faithful friends, and transfer the government to others.* But since I perceived that these Jews, that were by this pernicious fellow devoted to destruction, were not wicked men, but conducted their lives after the best manner, and were men dedicated to the worship of that God who hath preserved the kingdom to me and my ancestors, I do not only free them from the punishment which the former epistle, which was sent by Haman, ordered to be inflicted on them, to which if you refuse obedience, you shall do well, but I will that they have all honour paid them. Accordingly I have hanged up the man that contrived such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan, that punishment being sent upon him by God, who seeth all things. And I give you in charge, that you publicly propose a copy of this epistle through all my kingdom: that the Jews may be permitted peaceably to use their own laws; and that you assist them; that at the same season whereto their miserable estate did belong, they may defend themselves the very same day from unjust violence, on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar, for God hath made that day a day of salvation instead of a day of destruction to them: and may it be a good day to those that wish us well, and a memorial of the pu-

and Persians, not yet laid aside, that whatever decree was signed both by the King and his lords, *could not be changed*, but remained unalterable, Dan. vi. 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17; Esth. i. 19, and viii. 8. And Haman having engrossed the royal favour, might perhaps have himself signed this decree for the Jews' slaughter, instead of the ancient lords, and so might have rendered it by their rules irrevocable.

* These words give an intimation as if Artaxerxes suspected a deeper design in Haman than openly appeared viz. that knowing the Jews would be faithful to him, and that he could never transfer the crown to his own family, who was an Agagite, Esth. iii. 1,10, or of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. 8, 32, 33, while they were alive, and spread over all his dominions, he therefore endeavoured to destroy them. Nor is it to me improbable, that those 75,800 of the Jews' enemies which were soon destroyed by the Jews, on the permission of the king, which must be on some great occasion, were Amalekites, their old and hereditary enemies, Exod. xvii. 14, 15, and that thereby was fulfilled Balaam's prophecy, "Amalek was the first of the nations, but his latter end shall be, that he perish for ever". Numb. xxiv. 20.

nishment of the conspirators against us! And I will that you take notice, that every city and every nation, that shall disobey any thing that is contained in this epistle, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience, and let all the Jews by all means, be ready against the day beforementioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies."

13. Accordingly the horsemen who carried the epistles proceeded on the way which they were to go with speed: but as for Mordecai, as soon as he had assumed the royal garment and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, he went forth in a public procession; and when the Jews who were at Shushan saw him in so great honour with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also, and a joy and a beam of salvation encompassed the Jews, both those that were in the cities and those that were in the country, upon the publication of the king's letters, insomuch that many even of the other nations circumsised their foreskin for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby; for on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians Dystrus, those that carried the king's epistle gave them notice, that the same day wherein their danger was to have been, on that very day should they destroy their enemies. But now the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem, for the fear they were in of Mordecai forced them to act with discretion. Now when the royal decree was come to all the country that was subject to the king, it fell out that the Jews at Shushan slew five hundred of their enemies; and when the king had told Esther the number of those that were slain in that city, but did not well know what had been done in the provinces, he asked her whether she would have any thing farther done against them, for that it should be done accordingly. Upon which she desired that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; as also that they might hang the ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews so to do, as desirous not to contradict Esther. So they gathered themselve together again on the fourteenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched nothing of what riches they had. Now there were slain by the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and these were slain on the thirteenth day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival. In like manner the Jews that were in Shushan gathered themselves together and feasted on the fourteenth day, and that which followed it; whence it is, that even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep those days festival, and send portions to one another. Mordecai also wrote to the Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes to observe these days, and celebrate them as festivals, and to deliver them down to their posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, and that it might never be buried in oblivion; for since they were about to be destroyed on these days by Haman, they would do a right thing, upon escaping the danger in them, and on them inflicting punishments on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them; for which cause the Jews still keep the forementioned days, and call them days of *Phurim* [or *Purim*.*] And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen so that the affairs of the Jews were, by their means, better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.†

* Take here part of Reland's note on the disputed passage: "In Josephus's copies these Hebrew words, *days of Purim*, or *Lots*, as in the Greek copies of Esther, chap. ix. 26, 28—32, is read *days of Purim*, or *days of Protection*, but ought to be read *days of Purim*, as in the Hebrew; than which emendation, says he, nothing is more certain." And had we any assurance that Josephus's copy mentioned the *casting of lots*, as our other copies do, Esth. iii. 7, I should fully agree with Reland, but as it now stands, it seems to me by no means certain.

† As to this whole book of Esther in the present Hebrew copy, it is so very imperfect, in a case where

CHAP. VII.

How John slew his Brother Jesus in the Temple: and how Bagoses offered many Injuries to the Jews: and what Sanballat did.

§ 1. When Eliashib the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded in the high priesthood: and when he was dead, his son John took that dignity; on whose account it was also that Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerxes's* army, polluted the temple, and imposed tributes on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised to procure him the high priesthood; in confidence of whose support, Jesus quarreled with John in the temple, and so provoked his brother, that in his anger his brother slew him. Now it was a horrible thing for John, when he was high priest, to perpetrate so great a crime, and so much the more horrible, that there never was so cruel and impious a thing done, neither by the Greeks nor barbarians. However, God did not neglect its punishment, but the people were on that very account enslaved, and the temple was polluted by the Persians. Now when Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes's army, knew that John the high priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began to say in anger to them, "Have you had the impudence to perpetrate a murder in your temple?" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he said to them, "Am not I purer than he that was slain in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Accordingly Bagoses made use of this pretence, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

2. Now when John had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a brother, whose name was *Manasseh*. Now there was one *Sanballat*, who was sent by Darius, the last king [of Persia,] into Samaria. He was a Cuthean by birth; of which stock were the Samaritans also. This man knew that the city Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians, and the people of Celesyria; so that he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was *Nicaso*, in marriage to Manasseh, as thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews should continue their good will to him.

the providence of God was so very remarkable, and the Septuagint and Josephus have so much of religion, that it has not so much as the name of God once in it; and it is hard to say who made that epitome which the Masorites have given us for the genuine book itself; no religious Jews could well be authors of it, whose education obliged them to have a constant regard to God, and whatsoever related to his worship; nor do we know that there ever was so imperfect a copy of it in the world till after the days of Barchocab, in the second century.

* Concerning this *other* Artaxerxes, called *Mnemon*, and the Persian affliction and captivity of the Jews under him, occasioned by the murder of the high priest's brother in the holy house itself, see Authent. Rec. at large, page 49. And if any wonder why Josephus wholly omits the rest of the kings of Persia after Artaxerxes Mnemon, till he came to their last king Darius, who was conquered by Alexander the Great, I shall give them Vossius's and Dr. Hudson's answer, though in my own words, viz. that Josephus did not do ill in omitting those kings of Persia with whom the Jews had no concern, because he was giving the history of the Jews, and not of the Persians [which is sufficient reason also why he entirely omitted the history and the book of Job, as not particularly relating to that nation.] He justly therefore returns to the Jewish affairs after the death of Longimanus, without any mention of Darius II. *before* Artaxerxes Mnemon, or of Ochus, or Arogos, as the canon of Ptolemy names them, *after* him. Nor had he probably mentioned this *other* Artaxerxes, unless Bagoses, one of the governors and commanders under him, had occasioned the pollution of the Jewish temple, and had greatly distressed the Jews upon that pollution.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Sanballat and Manasseh, and the Temple which they built in Mount Gerizzim: as also how Alexander made his Entry into the City Jerusalem; and what Benefit he bestowed on the Jews.

§ 1. About this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Egeæ by Pausanias, the son of Cerastes, who was derived from the family of Orestæ, and his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom; who, passing over the Hellespont, overcame the generals of Darius's army in a battle fought at Granicum. So he marched over Lydia, and subdued Ionia, and overran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

2. But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Judas the high priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priesthood, quarrelled with him; for they esteemed this man's marriage a step to such as should be desirous of transgressing about the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners, although the offence of some about marriages, and their having married wives that were not of their own country, had been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the altar. Whereupon Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and told him, that "although he loved his daughter Nicaso, yet was he not willing to be deprived of his sacerdotal dignity on her account, which was the principal dignity in their nation, and always continued in the same family." And when Sanballat promised him not only to preserve to him the honour of his priesthood, but to procure for him the power and dignity of a high priest, and would make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He also told him farther, that he would build him a temple like to that at Jerusalem, upon mount Gerizzim, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in Samaria, and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elevated with these promises, and stayed with Sanballat, upon a supposal that he should gain a high priesthood, as bestowed on him by Darius, for it happened that Sanballat was then in years. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of those priests and Levites were entangled in such matches; for they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and habitations also, and all this in order every way to gratify his son-in-law.

3. About this time it was that Darius heard how Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and had beaten his lieutenants in the battle at Granicum, and was proceeding farther; whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the Macedonians before they should assault and conquer all Asia. So he passed over the river Euphrates, and came over Taurus, the Cilician mountain; and at Isis of Cilicia he waited for the enemy, as ready there to give him battle. Upon which Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down; and told Manasseh that he would suddenly perform his promises to him, and this as soon as ever Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies; for not he only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians, on account of their multitude. But the event proved otherwise than they expected, for the king joined battle with the Macedonians, and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, and his wife and children, were taken captives, and he fled into Persia. So Alexander came into Syria, and took

Damascus; and when he had obtained Sidon, he besieged Tyre, when he sent an epistle to the Jewish high priest, "To send him some auxilaries, and to supply his army with provisions; and that what presents he formerly sent to Darius he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing." But the high priest answered the messengers, that "he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said, that he would not transgress them while Darius was in the land of the living." Upon hearing this answer Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken, yet, as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had, with a good deal of pains during the siege, taken Tyre, and had settled its affairs, he came to the city of Gaza, and besieged both the city, and him that was governor of the garrison, whose name was Babemeses.

4. But Sanballat thought he had now gotten a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so he renounced Darius, and taking with him seven thousand of his own subjects, he came to Alexander; and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, he said to him, that he delivered up to him these men, who came out of places under his dominion, and did gladly accept of him for his lord, instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage, and spake to him about his present affair. He told him, that "he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Jaddua; and that there were many others of his own nation, now with him, that were desirous to have a temple in the places subject to him: that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest when the nation is of one mind, and united, upon any attempt for innovation, it prove troublesome to kings, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria." Whereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave so to do; who used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward, that his daughter's children should have that dignity; but when seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddua the high priest, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in offering sacrifices to God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them: Whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that "he should take courage, and adorn the city, and open the gates; that the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habits proper to their order, without the dread of any ill consequences, which the providence of God would prevent." Upon which, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced, and declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited for the coming of the king.

5. And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests and the multitude of the citizens. The procession was venerable, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called Sapha, which name, translated into Greek, signifies a prospect, for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the temple; and when the Phœnicians and the Chaldeans that followed him thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torment the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of

God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that name, and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also did altogether, with one voice, salute Alexander, and encompass him about: whereupon the kings of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him, "How it came to pass, that when all others adored him, he should adore the high priest of the Jews?" To whom he replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who hath honoured him with his high priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians; whence it is, that having seen no other in that habit, and now seeing this person in it, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the divine conduct, and shall therewith conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Persians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in my own mind." And when he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the high priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he came into the city: and when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high priest's directions; and magnificently treated both the high priest and the priests. And when the book of Daniel was showed him, wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended: and as he was then glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present, but the next day he called them to him, and bid them ask what favours they pleased of him; whereupon the high priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He granted all they desired. And when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do hereafter what they desired. And when he said to the multitude, that if any of them would list themselves in his army, on this condition, that they should continue under the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him, many were ready to accompany him in his wars.

6. So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neighbouring cities: and when all the inhabitants to whom he came received him with great kindness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem for their metropolis (a city situate at mount Gerizzim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation,) seeing that Alexander had so greatly honoured the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews, for such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere declared, that when the Jews are in adversity they deny that they are of kin to them, and then they confess the truth; but when they perceive that some good fortune hath befallen them, they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying that they belong to them, and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly they made their address to the king with splendour, and showed great alacrity in meeting him at a little distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander had commanded them, the Shechemites approached to him, taking with them the troops that Sanballat had sent him, and they desired that he would come to their city, and do honour to their temple also. To whom he promised, that when he returned he would come to them. And when they petitioned that he would remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because they did not sow thereon, he asked who were they that made such a petition, and when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the names of Sidonians living at Shechem, he asked them again, whether they were Jews, and when they said they were not Jews, "It was to the Jews (said he) that I granted that privilege; however, when I return, and am thoroughly informed by you of this matter, I will do

I shall think proper." And in this manner he took leave of the Shemites; but ordered that the troops of Sanballat should follow him into Egypt, because there he designed to give them lands, which he did a little after in Thebais, when he ordered them to guard that country.

Now when Alexander was dead, the government was parted among his successors, but the temple upon mount Gerizzim remained. And if any one was accused by those of Jerusalem of having eaten things common, or of having broken the Sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said, that he was accused unjustly. About this time it was that Jaddua the high priest died; and Onias his son took the high priesthood. Such was the state of the affairs of the people at Jerusalem at this time.

BOOK XII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF A HUNDRED AND SEVENTY YEARS

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.

CHAP. I.

How Ptolemy, the Son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judea by Deceit and Treachery, and carried many of the Jews thence, and planted them in Egypt.

§ 1. Now when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled the affairs in Judea after the forementioned manner, he ended his life. And as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia, Seleucus Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimichus governed the Hellespont, and Cassander possessed Macedonia; as did Ptolemy the son of Lagus seize upon Egypt. And while these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and those lasting wars too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in these times of distress, insomuch that all Syria, by the means of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of that denomination of Saviour, which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and for that end made use of deceit and treachery; for as he came into the city on a Sabbath day, as if he would offer sacrifice, he without any trouble gained the city, while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him, and because on that day they were at rest and quietness; and when he had gained it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we by it, had lost our liberty; where he says thus: "There is a nation called the *nation* of the *Jews*, who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem. These men took no care, but let it come into the hand of Ptolemy, as not willing to take arms, and thereby they submitted to be under a hard master, by reason of their unseasonable superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near mount Gerizzim he led them all into Egypt,* and settled them there. And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were most faithful to the observation of oaths and covenants,† and this from the answer they made to Alexander, when he sent an embassage to them,

* The great number of these Jews and Samaritans that were formerly carried into Egypt by Alexander, and now by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, appear afterwards in the vast multitude who, as we shall presently, were soon ransomed by Philadelphus, and by him made free, before he sent for the seventy two interpreters; in the many garrisons, and other soldiers of that nation in Egypt; in the famous settlement of the Jews, and the number of their synagogues at Alexandria, long afterward; and in the vehement contention between the Jews and Samaritans under Philometer, about the place appointed for pastor worship in the law of Moses; whether at the Jewish temple at Jerusalem, or at the Samaritan temple at Gerizzim: of all which our author treats hereafter. And as to the Samaritans carried into Egypt under the same princes. Scaliger supposes, that those who have a great synagogue at Cairo, as also those whom the Arabic geographer speaks of, as having seized on an island in the Red Sea, are remains of them at this very day, as the notes here inform us.

† Of the sacredness of oaths among the Jews in the Old Testament, see Scripture Politica, p. 54, 55.

after he had beaten Darius in battle, so he distributed many of them into garrisons; and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity to the posterity of those who committed these places to their care. Nay, there were not a few other Jews, who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy. However there were disorders among their posterity, with relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they thereupon contended one with another: while those of Jerusalem said, that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to Mount Gerizzim.

CHAP. II.

How Ptolemy Philadelphus procured the Laws of the Jews to be translated into the Greek Tongue; and set many Captives free; and dedicated many Gifts to God.

§ 1. When Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphus then took the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one. He procured the law to be interpreted;* and set free those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there, who were a hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion was this: Demetrius Phalerius, who was library-keeper to the king, was now endeavouring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was any where valuable, or agreeable to the king's inclination (who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books;) to which inclination of his Demetrius was zealously subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him, How many ten thousand of books he had collected; he replied, that he had already about twenty times ten thousand, but that in a little time he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said he had been informed, that there were many books of law among the Jews, worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library, but which being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, will cause no small pains in getting them translated into the Greek tongue: that the character in which they are written seems to be like to that which is the proper character of the Syrians, and that its sound, when pronounced, is like theirs also: and that this sound appears to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also, for while nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper for him to do and therefore he wrote to the Jewish high priest, that he should act accordingly.

2. Now there was one Aristeus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and on account of his modesty very acceptable to him. This Aristeus resolved frequently, and that before now, to petition the king, that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this a convenient opportunity for making that petition. So he discoursed in the first place with the captains of the king's guards, Sosibius of Tarentum, and Andreas; and persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly Aristeus embraced the same opinion with those that have been before

* Of the translation of the other parts of the Old Testament by seventy Egyptian Jews, in the reigns of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and Philadelphus; as also the translation of the Pentateuch by seventy-two Jerusalem Jews, in the seventh year of Philadelphus at Alexandria, as given us an account of by Aristeus, and thence by Philo and Josephus, with a vindication of Aristeus's history,—see the Appendix to Lit. Accomp. of Proph. at large, p. 117—152.

mentioned; and went to the king, and made the following speech to him: "It is not fit for us, O king, to overlook things hastily, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay the truth open; for since we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also for thy satisfaction, by what means can we do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do thou then what will be agreeable to thy magnanimity, and to thy good nature: free them from the miserable condition they are in, because that God who supporteth thy kingdom was the author of their laws, as I have learned by particular inquiry; for both these people, and we also, worship the same God, the framer of all things. We call him, and that truly, by the name [of Ζῆνα, or life, or Jupiter,] because he breathes life into all men. Wherefore do thou restore these men to their own country, and this do to the honour of God, because these men pay a peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this farther, that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor one of the same country with them, yet do I desire these favours to be done them, since all men are the workmanship of God; and I am sensible that he is well pleased with those that do good. I do therefore put up this petition to thee, to do good to them."

3. When Aristeus was saying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance, and said, "How many ten thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as want to be made free?" To which Andreas replied, as he stood by, and said, "A few more than ten times ten thousand." The king made answer, "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristeus?" But Sosibius, and the rest that stood by, said, That "he ought to offer such a thank-offering as was worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given him his kingdom." With this answer he was much pleased; and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down [a * hundred and] twenty drachmæ for every one of the slaves. And he promised to publish a magnificent decree, about what they required, which should confirm what Aristeus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby he said, he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by his father and his army, but those who were in his kingdom before, and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And when they said, that their redemption-money would amount to about four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king may be made known. Its contents were as follows: "Let all those who were soldiers under our father, and who, when they overran Syria and Phœnicia, and laid waste Judea, took the Jews captives and made them slaves, and brought them into our cities, and into this country, and then sold them; as also all those that were in my kingdom before them, and if there be any that have been lately brought thither, be made free by those that possess them; and let them accept of [a hundred and] twenty drachmæ for every slave. And let the soldiers receive this redemption-money with their pay; but the rest out of the king's treasury: for I suppose that they were made captives without our father's consent, and against equity: and that their country was harassed by the insolence of the soldiers, and that, by removing them into Egypt, the soldiers have made a great profit by them. Out of regard, therefore to justice, and out of pity to those that have been tyrannized over, contrary to equity, I enjoin those that have such Jews in their service to set them at liberty, upon the receipt of the before-

* Although this number one hundred and twenty drachmæ [of Alexandria, or sixty Jewish shekels] be here three times repeated, and that in all Josephus's copies, Greek and Latin, yet since all the copies of Aristeus, whence Josephus took his relation, have this sum several times, and still as no more than twenty drachmæ, or ten Jewish shekels; and since the sum of the talents, to be set down presently, which is little above four hundred and sixty, for somewhat more than one hundred thousand slaves, and is nearly the same in Josephus and Aristeus, does better agree to twenty than to one hundred and twenty drachmæ; and since the value of a slave of old was, at the utmost, but thirty shekels, or sixty drachmæ, see Exod. xxi. 32. while in the present circumstances of the Jewish slaves, and those so very numerous, Philadelphus would rather redeem them at a cheaper than at a dearer rate, there is great reason to prefer here Aristeus's copies before Josephus's.

mentioned sum: and that no one use any deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded. And I will that they give in their names within three days after the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to execute the same, and to produce the slaves before them also, for I think it will be for the advantage of my affairs: and let every one that will inform against those that do not obey this decree; and I will that their estates be confiscated into the king's treasury." When this decree was read to the king, it at first contained the rest that is here inserted, and omitted only those Jews that had formerly been brought, and those brought afterwards, which had not been distinctly mentioned: so he added these clauses out of his humanity, and with great generosity. He also gave order, that the payment, which was likely to be done in a hurry, should be divided among the king's ministers, and among the officers of his treasury. When this was over, what the king had decreed was quickly brought to a conclusion; and this in no more than seven days time, the number of the talents paid for the captives being above four hundred and sixty, and this because their masters required the [hundred and] twenty drachmæ for the children also, the king having in effect commanded that these should be paid for, when he said in his decree, that they should receive the forementioned sum for every slave.

4. Now when this had been done after so magnificent a manner, according to the king's inclinations, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books; for no part of the administration is done rashly by these kings, but all things are managed with great circumspection. On which account I have subjoined a copy of these epistles, and set down the multitude of the vessels sent as gifts [to Jerusalem,] and the construction of every one, that the exactness of the artificer's workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw them, and which workman made every vessel, may be made manifest, and this on account of the excellency of the vessels themselves. Now the copy of the epistle was to this purpose:" "Demetrius to the great king. When thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were wanting to fill your library, and concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters. And I let you know, that we want the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others; for they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation, are to us unknown. It hath also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to have been, because they have not had hitherto royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldst have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the legislation of God; for which cause it is, as Hecateus of Abdera says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since it is a holy law, and ought not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, thou mayest write to the high priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe, and those such as are most skilful in the laws, that by their means we may learn the clear and agreeing sense of these books; and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents, and so may have such a collection of these as may be suitable to thy desire."

5. When this epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that an epistle should be drawn up for Eleazer, the Jewish high priest, concerning these matters; and that they should inform him of the release of the Jews that had been in slavery among them. He also sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large basins, and vials, and cups, and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave order to those who had the custody of the chests that contained these stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased. He withal appointed, that a hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple for sacrifices, and for other uses. Now I will give you a description of these vessels and the manner of their construction, but not till after I have set down a copy of

the epistle which was written to Eleazar the high priest, who had obtained that dignity on the occasion following: When Onias the high priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor. He was called *Simon the Just*,* because of both his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high priesthood; and he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and that in the manner following: "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest, sendeth greeting: There were many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried captives. These were honoured by my father; some of whom he placed in the army and gave them greater pay than ordinary; to others of them, when they came with him into Egypt, he committed his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had taken the government, I treated all men with humanity, and especially those that are thy fellow-citizens, of whom I have set free above a hundred thousand that were slaves, and paid the price of their redemption to their masters out of my own revenues; and those that are of a fit age I have admitted into the number of my soldiers. And for such as are capable of being faithful to me, and proper for my court, I have put them in such a post, as thinking this [kindness done to them] to be a very great and an acceptable gift, which I devote to God for his providence over me. And as I am desirous to do what will be grateful to these, and to all the other Jews in the habitable earth, I have determined to procure an interpretation of your law, and to have it translated out of the Hebrew into Greek, and to be deposited in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and six in number out of every tribe. These, by their age, must be skilful in the laws, and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of them; and when this shall be finished, I shall think that I have done a work glorious to myself. And I have sent to thee Andreas, the captain of my guard, and Aristeus, men whom I have in very great esteem; by whom I have sent those first fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to other uses, to the value of a hundred talents. And if thou wilt send to us to let us know what thou wouldest have farther, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

6. When this epistle of the king's was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the respect possible: "Eleazar the high priest to king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting: If thou and thy queen Arsinoe†, and thy children be well, we are entirely satisfied. When we received thy epistle, we greatly rejoiced at thy intentions; and when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also showed them the twenty vials of gold, and thirty of silver, and the five large basins, and the table for the shew-bread, as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for making what shall be needful in the temple. Which things Andreas and Aristeus, those most honoured friends of thine, have brought us; and truly they are persons of an excellent character, and of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know then that we will gratify thee in what is for thy advantage, though we do what we used not to do before; for we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister, with thy children and friends; and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be in thy mind, and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, and that the transla-

* We have a very great encomium of this *Simon the Just*, the son of Onias I. in the fiftieth chapter of Ecclesiasticus, through the whole chapter. Nor is it improper to consult that chapter itself upon this occasion.

† When we have here and presently mention made of Philadelphus's Queen and sister Arsinoe, we are to remember, with Spanheim, that Arsinoe was both his sister and his wife, according to the old custom of Persia, and of Egypt at this very time; nay, of the Assyrians long afterward. See Antiq. B. xx. ch. 5. sect. 1, whence we have, upon the coins of Philadelphus, this known inscription, *the divine brother and sister*.

tion of our law may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send back the law, when it hath been translated, and to return those to us that bring it in safety. Farewell."

7. This was the reply which the high priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy [two] elders who were sent by Eleazar, and carried the law, which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I thought it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artificially contrived vessels which the king sent to God, that all may see how great a regard the king had for God; for the king allowed a vast deal of expenses for these vessels, and came often to the workmen, and viewed their works, and suffered nothing of carelessness or negligence to be any damage to their operations. And I will relate how rich they were as well as I am able, although perhaps the nature of this history may not require such a description, but I imagine I shall thereby recommend the elegant taste and magnanimity of this king to those that read this history.

8. And first I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vastly large in its dimensions; but then he gave order that they should learn what was the magnitude of the table which was already at Jerusalem, and how large it was, and whether there was a possibility of making one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he said, that "he was willing to have one made that should be five times as large as the present table, but his fear was, that it might be then useless in their sacred ministrations, by its too great largeness; for he desired that the gifts he presented them should not only be there for show, but should be useful also in their sacred ministrations." According to which reasoning, that the former table was made of so moderate a size for use, and not for want of gold, he resolved that he would not exceed the former table in largeness, but would make it exceed it in the variety and elegancy of its materials. And as he was sagacious in observing the nature of all things, and in having a just notion of what was new and surprising, and where there were no sculptures he would invent such as were proper, by his own skill, and would show them to the workmen, he commanded that such sculptures should now be made, and that those which were delineated should be most accurately formed, by a constant regard to their delineation.

9. When, therefore, the workmen had undertaken to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits [and a half,] in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half; and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They withal made a crown of a hand-breadth round it, with wave-work wreathed about it, and with an engraving imitating a cord, and was admirably turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular figure, every angle had the same disposition of its sculptures, that when you turned them about, the very same form of them was turned about without any variation. Now that part of the crown work that was enclosed under the table had its sculptures very beautiful, but that part which went round on the outside was more elaborately adorned with most beautiful ornaments, because it was exposed to sight, and to the view of the spectators; for which reason it was that both those sides which were extant above the rest were acute, and none of the angles, which we before told you were three, appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the cord work thus turned were precious stones inserted, in rows parallel one to the other, enclosed in golden buttons, which had ouches in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and encompassed the table round about. But under these oval figures, thus engraven, the workmen had put a crown all round it,

where the nature of all sorts of fruits was represented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes hung up. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruit before-mentioned, and that each in its proper colour, they made them fast with gold round the whole table. The like disposition of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown, that the table might on each side show the same appearance of variety and elegancy of its ornaments, so that neither the position of the wave work nor of the crown might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the prospect of the same artificial contrivances might be extended as far as the feet; for there was made a plate of gold four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them to the table by buttons and buttonholes, at the place where the crown was situate, that so, on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expenses bestowed upon it; but upon the table itself they engraved a meander, inserting into it very valuable stones in the middle, like stars of various colours, the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the spectators, with such stones of other sorts also as were most curious, and best esteemed, as being most precious in their kind. Hard by this meander a texture of network ran round it, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock crystal and amber, which, by the great resemblance of the appearance they made, gave wonderful light to those that saw them. The chapiters of the feet imitated the first budding of lilies, while their leaves were bent, and laid under the table, but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were made of a carbuncle; and the place at the bottom, which rested on that carbuncle, was one palm deep, and eight fingers in breadth. Now they had engraven upon it with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of pains, a branch of ivy, and tendrils of the vine, sending forth clusters of grapes, that you would guess they were nowise different from real tendrils; for they were so very thin, and so far extended at their extremities, that they were moved with the wind, and made one believe that they were the product of nature, and not the representation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be threefold, while the joints of the several parts were so united together as to be invisible, and the places were they joined could not be distinguished. Now the thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit. So that this gift, by the king's great generosity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and the artificer's skill in imitating nature with graving tools, was at length brought to perfection, while the king was very desirous that though in largeness it were not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God, yet that in exquisite workmanship, and the novelty of the contrivances, and the splendour of its construction, it should far exceed it, and be more illustrious than that was.

10. Now of the cisterns of gold there were two, whose sculpture was of scale work, from its basis to its belt-like circle, with various sorts of stones inchased in the spiral circles. Next to which there was upon it a meander of a cubit in height; it was composed of stones of all sorts of colours. And next to this was the rod work engraven; and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of net work, drawn out to the brim of the basin, while small shields, made of stones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers' depth, filled up the middle parts. About the top of the basin were wreathed the leaves of lilies, and of the convolvulus, and the tendrils of vines, in a circular manner. And this was the construction of the two cisterns of gold, each containing two firkins. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than looking-glasses, and you might in them see the images that fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king also ordered thirty vials; those of which the parts that were of gold, and filled us with precious stones, were shadowed over with the leaves of ivy and of vines, artifi-

cially engraven. And these were the vessels that were after an extraordinary manner brought to this perfection, partly by the skill of the workmen, who were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and generosity of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and with great generosity, with what they wanted, but he forbade public audiences for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performances, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so the more indefatigably kept close to their work.

11. And these were what gifts were sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. But when Eleazar the high priest had devoted them to God, and had paid due respect to those that brought them, and had given them presents to be carried to the king, he dismissed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come, and that the seventy elders were come also, he presently sent for Andreas and Aristeus, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the epistle which they brought him from the high priest, and made answer to all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then made haste to meet the elders that came from Jerusalem for the interpretation of the laws; and he gave command that every body, who came on occasions, should be sent away, which was a thing surprising, and what he did not use to do; for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassador's at the month's end. But when he had sent those away, he waited for these that were sent by Eleazar: but as the old men came in with the presents which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes, upon which they had their laws written in* golden letters, he put questions to them concerning those books; and when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapt up, they showed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures, which could not be perceived (so exactly were they connected one with another;) and this he did for a considerable time. He then said, that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them; and, above all, to that God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and wished all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears, by the violence of the pleasure he had, it being natural to men to afford the same indications in great joy that they do under sorrows. And when he had bid them deliver the books to those that were appointed to receive them, he saluted the men, and said, that it was but just to discourse, in the first place, of the errand they were sent about, and then to address himself to themselves. He promised, however, that he would make this day on which they came to him remarkable and eminent every year through the whole course of his life; for their coming to him, and the victory which he gained over Antigonus by sea, proved to be on the very same day. He also gave orders that they should sup with him; and gave it in charge that they should have excellent lodgings provided for them in the upper part of the city.

12. Now he that was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers, Nicanor by name, called for Dorotheus, whose duty it was to make provision for them, and bid him prepare for every one of them what should be requisite for their diet and way of living: Which thing was ordered by the king after this manner.—He took care that those that belonged to every city, which did not use the same way of living, that all things should be prepared for them according to the custom of those that came to him, that, being feasted according to the usual method of their own way of living, they might be the better pleased, and might not be uneasy at any thing done to them, from which they were naturally averse. And this

* The Talmudists say, that it is not lawful to write the law in letters of gold contrary to this certain and very ancient example. See Hudson's and Reland's notes here.

was now done in the case of these men by Dorotheus, who was put into this office because of his great skill in such matters belonging to common life: for he took care of all such matters as concerned the reception of strangers, and appointed them double seats for them to sit on, according as the king had commanded him to do: for he had commanded that half of their seats should be at his hand, and the other half behind his table, and took care that no respect should be omitted that could be shown them. And when they were thus sat down, he bid Dorotheus to minister to all those that were come to him from Judea after the manner they used to be ministered to: for which cause he sent away their sacred heralds, and those that slew the sacrifices, and the rest that used to say grace; but called to one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who was a priest, and desired him to say grace,* who then stood in the midst of them, and prayed,—"That all prosperity might attend the king, and those that were his subjects." Upon which an acclamation was made by the whole company with joy and a great noise; and when that was over, they fell to eating their supper, and to the enjoyment of what was set before them. And at a little interval afterward, when the king thought a sufficient time had been interposed, he began to talk philosophically to them, and he asked every one of them a philosophical question,† and such a one as might give light in those inquiries: and when they had explained all the problems that had been proposed by the king, about every point, he was well pleased with their answers. This took up the twelve days in which they were treated: and he that pleases may learn the particular questions in that book of Aristeus's, which he wrote on this very occasion.

13. And while not the king only, but the philosopher Menedemus also, admired them, and said, that "all things were governed by providence; and that it was probable that thence it was that such force or beauty was discovered in those men's words," they then left off asking any more such questions. But the king said, that he had gained very great advantages by their coming; for that he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he gave order, that they should have every one three talents given them; and that those who were to conduct them to their lodging should do it. Accordingly, when three days were over, Demetrius took them, and went over the causeway seven furlongs long; it was a bank in the sea to an island. And when they had gone over the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts, and showed them where they should meet, which was in a house that was built near the shore, and was a quiet place, and fit for their discoursing together about their work. When he had brought them thither, he entreated them (now they had all things about them which they wanted for the interpretation of their law,) that they would suffer nothing to interrupt them in their work. Accordingly, they made an accurate interpretation, with great zeal and great pains; and this they continued to do till the ninth hour of the day; after which time they relaxed and took care of their body, while their food was provided for them in great plenty; besides, Dorotheus, at the king's command, brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. But in the morning, they came to the court and saluted Ptolemy, and then went away to their former place, where, when they had washed their hands, and purified themselves,‡ they betook themselves to the interpreta-

* This is the most ancient example I have met with, of a grace, or short prayer, or thanksgiving, before meat; which, as it used to be said by a heathen priest, was now said by Eleazar, a Jewish priest, who was one of these seventy-two interpreters. The next example I have met with is that of the Essenes, of the War, B. ii. ch. viii. sect. 5, both before and after it; those of our Saviour before it, Mark viii. 6; John vi. 11, 23, and St. Paul, Acts, xxvii. 35; and a form of such a grace or prayer for Christians, at the end of the fifth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, which seems to have been intended for both times, both before and after meat.

† They were rather political questions and answers, tending to the good and religious government of mankind.

‡ This purification of the interpreters, by washing in the sea, before they prayed to God, every morning, and before they set about translating, may be compared with the like practice of Peter the apostle in the recognitions of Clement, B. iv. ch. iii. and B. v. ch. xxxvi. and with the places of the Proseuchæ, or of prayer, which were sometimes built near the sea or rivers also. Of which matter, see Antiq. B. xiv. ch. x. sect. 23, and Acts, xvi. 13, 16.

tion of the laws. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labour of interpretation was over, which came to its conclusion in seventy-two days, Demetrius gathered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and where the interpreters were, and read them over. The multitude did also approve of those elders that were the interpreters of the law. They withal commended Demetrius for his proposal, as the inventor of what was greatly for their happiness; and they desired, that he would give leave to their rulers also to read the law. Moreover, they all, both the priest, and the ancientest of the elders, and the principal men of their common-wealth, made it their request, that since the interpretation was happily finished, it might continue in the state it now was, and might not be altered. And when they all commended that determination of theirs, they enjoined, that if any one observed either any thing superfluous, or any thing omitted, that he would take a view of it again, and have it laid before them, and corrected; which was a wise action of theirs, that when the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue for ever.

14. So the king rejoiced when he saw that his design of this nature was brought to perfection, to so great advantage: and he was chiefly delighted with hearing the laws read to him; and was astonished at the deep meaning and wisdom of the legislator. And he began to discourse with Demetrius, "How it came to pass, that when this legislation was so wonderful, no one, either of the poets or of the historians, had made mention of it." Demetrius made answer, that "no one durst be so bold as to touch upon the description of these laws, because they were divine and venerable; and because some that had attempted it were afflicted by God." He also told him, that "Theopompus was desirous of writing somewhat about them, but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer] as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause." Nay, indeed, he farther saw a dream, that his distemper befell him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover, he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when in a certain dramatic representation he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer] he was freed from that affliction.

15. And when the king had received these books from Demetrius, as we have said already, he adored them: and gave order that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain uncorrupted. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him out of Judea, and that both on account of the respects that he would pay them, and on account of the presents he would make them: for he said,—"It was now but just to send them away, although if, of their own accord, they would come to him hereafter, they should obtain all that their own wisdom might justly require, and what his generosity was able to give them." So he then sent them away, and gave to every one of them three garments of the best sort, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the furniture of the room wherein they were feasted. And these were the things he presented to them. But by them he sent to Eleazar the high priest ten beds, with feet of silver, and the furniture to them belonging, and a cup of the value of thirty talents; and besides these, ten garments, and purple, and a very beautiful crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen; as also vials and dishes, and vessels for pouring, and two golden cisterns, to be dedicated to God. He also desired him, by an epistle, that he would give these interpreters leave, if any of them were desirous of coming to him, because he highly valued a conversation with men of such learning, and should be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. And this was what came to the Jews, and was much to their glory and honour, from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

CHAP. III.

How the Kings of Asia honoured the Nation of the Jews, and made them Citizens of those Cities which they built.

§ 1. The Jews also obtained honours from the kings of Asia, when they became their auxiliaries; for Seleucus Nicator made them citizens in those cities which he built in Asia, and in the Lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, insomuch that these privileges continue to this very day: an argument for which you have in this, that whereas the Jews do not make use of oil* prepared by foreigners, they receive a certain sum of money from the proper officers belonging to their exercises as the value would have deprived them of; in the last war, Mucianus, who was then president of Syria, preserved it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In which behaviour any one may discern the equity† and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus, who although they had been at a great deal of pains in the war against the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their weapons to them, but continued the war to the very last, yet did not they take away any of their forementioned privileges belonging to them as citizens, but restrained their anger; and overcame the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favour to these people, nor out of their old grudge at those whose wicked opposition they had subdued in the war: nor would they alter any of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but said, that those who had borne arms against them, and fought them, had suffered punishment already, and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

2. We also know that Marcus Agrippa was of the like disposition towards the Jews: for when the people of Ionia were very angry at them, and besought Agrippa, that they, and they only, might have those privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus (who by the Greeks was called *the God*,) had bestowed on them; and desired, that if the Jews were to be joint partakers with them, they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshiped: but when these matters were brought to the trial, the Jews prevailed, and obtained leave to make use of their own customs, and this under the patronage of Nicolaus of Damascus; for Agrippa gave sentence, that he could not innovate. And if any one had a mind to know this matter accurately, let him peruse the hundred and twenty-third and hundred and twenty-fourth book of the history of this Nicolaus. Now, as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not so much to be admired, for at that time our nation had not made war against the Romans. But one may well be astonished at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus, that after so great wars and contests which they had from us, they should use such mode-

* The use of oil was much greater, and the donatives of it much more valuable in Judea and the neighbouring countries than it is amongst us. It was also in the days of Josephus thought unlawful for Jews to make use of any oil that was prepared by heathens, perhaps on account of some superstitions intermixed with its preparation by those heathens. When therefore the heathens were to make them a donative of oil, they paid them money instead of it. See Of the War, b. ii. ch. xxi. sect. 2; the Life of Josephus, sect. 13; and Hudson's note on the place before us.

† This, and the like great and just characters of the justice and equity and generosity of the old Romans, both to the Jews and other conquered nations, affords us a very good reason why Almighty God, upon the rejection of the Jews for their wickedness, chose them for his people, and first established Christianity in that empire. Of which matter see Josephus here, sect. 2; as also Antiq. b. xiv. ch. x. sect. 21, 23; b. xvi. ch. ii. sect. 4

ration. But I will now return to that part of my history whence I made the present digression.

3. Now it happened that, in the reign of Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Asia, the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Celesyria, suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harassed; for while he was at war with Ptolemy Philopater, and with his son, who was called *Epiphanes*, it fell out that these nations were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten and when he beat the others: so that they were very like to a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides; and just thus were they in their situation in the middle, between Antiochus's prosperity and its change to adversity. But at length, when Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy, he seized upon Judea; and when Philopater was dead, his son sent out a great army under Scopas, the general of his forces, against the inhabitants of Celesyria, who took many of their cities, and in particular our nation, which, when he fell upon them, went over to him. Yet was it not long afterward when Antiochus overcame Scopas, in a battle fought at the fountains of Jordan, and destroyed a great part of his army. But afterward, when Antiochus subdued those cities of Celesyria which Scopas had gotten into his possession, and Samaria with them, the Jews, of their own accord, went over to him, and received him into the city [Jerusalem,] and gave plentiful provision to all his army, and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison which was in the citadel of Jerusalem. Wherefore Antiochus thought it but just to requite the Jews' diligence and zeal in his service: so he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends, and gave testimony to the good behaviour of the Jews towards him, and informed them what reward he had resolved to bestow on them for that their behaviour. I will set down presently the epistles themselves, which he wrote to the generals concerning them, but will first produce the testimony of Polybius of Megalopolis; for thus does he speak, in the sixteenth book of his history: "Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, went in haste to the superior parts of the country, and in the winter time overthrew the nation of the Jews. He also saith in the same book, that when Scopas was conquered by Antiochus, Antiochus received Batanea and Samaria, and Abila and Gadara; and that, a while afterwards, there came in to him those Jews that inhabited near that temple which was called *Jerusalem*; concerning which, although I have more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God about that temple, yet do I put off that history till another opportunity." This it is which Polybius relates. But we will return to the series of the history, when we have first produced the epistles of king Antiochus:

"KING ANTIOCHUS *to* PTOLEMY, *sendeth greeting:*

"Since the Jews, upon our first entrance on their country demonstrated their friendship towards us, and when we came to their city [Jerusalem,] received us in a splendid manner, and came to meet us with their senate, and gave abundance of provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and joined with us in ejecting the garrison of the Egyptians that were in the citadel, we have thought fit to reward them, and to retrieve the condition of their city, which hath been greatly depopulated by such accidents as have befallen its inhabitants, and to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. And, in the first place, we have determined, on account of their piety towards God, to bestow on them, as a pension, for their sacrifices of animals that are fit for sacrifice, for wine and oil, and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and [six] sacred artabræ of fine flour, with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And these payments I would have fully paid them, as I have sent orders to you. I would also have the work about the temple finished, and the cloisters, and if there be any thing else

that ought to be rebuilt. And for the materials of wood, let it be brought them out of Judea itself, and out of the other countries, and out of Libanus, tax free; and the same I would have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious. And let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country: and let the senate and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred singers, be discharged from poll-money and the crown tax, and other taxes also. And that the city may the sooner recover its inhabitants, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants, and to such as shall come to it, until the month Hyperberetus. We also discharge them for the future from a third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all those citizens that have been carried away, and are become slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom, and give order that their substance be restored to them."

4. And these were the contents of this epistle. He also published a decree through all his kingdom, in honour of the temple, which contained what follows: "It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the limits of the temple round about, which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according to their own custom, have purified themselves. Nor let any flesh of horses, or of mules, or of asses, be brought into the city, whether they be wild or tame; nor that of leopards, or foxes, or hares; and, in general, that of any animal which is forbidden for the Jews to eat. Nor let their skins be brought into it; nor let any such animal be bred up in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with which they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priest three thousand drachmæ of silver." Moreover, this Antiochus bare testimony to our piety and fidelity, in an epistle of his, written when he was informed of a sedition in Phrygia and Lydia, at which time he was in the superior provinces, wherein he commanded Zeuxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The epistle was this:

"KING ANTIOCHUS *to* ZEUXIS HIS FATHER, *sendeth greeting*.

"If you are in health, it is well. I also am in health. Having been informed that a sedition is arisen in Lydia and Phrygia, I thought that matter required great care: and upon advising with my friends what was fit to be done, it hath been thought proper to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, unto the castles and places that lie most convenient; for I am persuaded that they will be well disposed guardians of our possessions, because of their piety towards God, and because I know that my predecessors have borne witness to them, that they are faithful, and, with alacrity do what they are desired to do. I will, therefore, though it be a laborious work, that thou remove these Jews, under a promise that they shall be permitted to use their own laws. And when thou shalt have brought them to the places forementioned, thou shalt give every one of their families a place for building their houses, and a portion of land for their husbandry, and for the plantation of their vines; and thou shalt discharge them from paying taxes of the fruits of the earth for ten years; and let them have a proper quantity of wheat for the maintenance of their servants, until they receive bread corn out of the earth; also let a sufficient share be given to such as minister to them in the necessaries of life, that, by enjoying the effects of our humanity, they may show themselves the more willing and ready about our affairs. Take care likewise of that nation, as far as thou art able, that they may not have any disturbance given them by any one." Now these testimonials which I have produced are sufficient to declare the friendship that Antiochus the Great bare to the Jews.

CHAP. IV.

How Antiochus made a League with Ptolemy; and how Onias provoked Ptolemy Euergetes to Anger; and how Joseph brought all Things right again, and entered into Friendship with him; and what other Things were done by Joseph, and his Son Hyrcanus.

§ 1. AFTER this Antiochus made a friendship and a league with Ptolemy, and gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and yielded up to him Celesyria, and Samaria, and Judea, and Phœnicia, by way of dowry. And upon the division of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men farmed the taxes of their several countries, and collecting the sum that was settled for them, paid the same to the [two] kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much distressed the Jews, cutting off parts of their land, and carrying off slaves. This happened when Onias was high priest; for after Eleazar's death, his uncle Manasseh took the priesthood, and after he had ended his life, Onias received that dignity. He was the son of Simon, who was called *the Just*, which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as I said before. This Onias was one of a little soul, and a great lover of money; and for that reason, because he did not pay that tax of twenty talents of silver which his forefathers paid to these kings out of their own estates, he provoked king Ptolemy Euergetes to anger, who was the father of Philopater. This Euergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Onias did not pay his taxes, and threatened that, if he did not receive them, he would seize upon their land, and send soldiers to live upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king's, they were confounded: but so sordidly covetous was Onias, that nothing of this nature made him ashamed.

2. There was now one *Joseph*, young in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem, for gravity, prudence, and justice. His father's name was Tobias; and his mother was the sister of Onias the high priest, who informed him of the coming of the ambassador; for he was then sojourning at a village named *Phicol*,* were he was born. Hereupon he came to the city [Jerusalem,] and reproved Onias for not taking care of the preservation of his countrymen, but bringing the nation into dangers, by not paying this money; for which preservation of them he told him he had received the authority over them, and had been made high priest: but that, in case he was so great a lover of money as to endure to see his country in danger on that account, and his countrymen suffer the greatest damages, he advised him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole or a part of the sum demanded. Onias's answer was this, That he did not care for his authority, and that he was ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down his high priesthood; and that he would not go to the king, because he troubled not himself at all about such matters. Joseph then asked him if he would not give him leave to go ambassador on behalf of the nation. He replied, That he would give him leave. Upon which Joseph went up into the temple, and called the multitude together to a congregation, and exhorted them not to be disturbed or affrighted, because of his uncle Onias's carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not terrify themselves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy's ambassador in a hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts, and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him to the king before him, and told him that he would soon follow him; for he was now more willing to go to the king

* The name of this place, *Phicol*, is the very same with that of the chief-captain of Abimelech's host, in the days of Abraham, Gen. xxi. 22, and might possibly be the place of that Phicol's nativity or abode; for it seems to have been in the south part of Palestine, as that was.

by the encouragement of the ambassador, who earnestly persuaded him to come into Egypt, and promised him that he would take care that he should obtain every thing that he desired of Ptolemy, for he was highly pleased with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his deportment.

3. When Ptolemy's ambassador was come into Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtless temper of Onias, and informed him of the goodness of the disposition of Joseph, and that he was coming to him, to excuse the multitude, as not having done him any harm, for that he was their patron. In short, he was so very large in his encomiums upon the young man, that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindness for him before he came. So Joseph sent to his friends in Samaria, and borrowed money of them, and got ready what was necessary for his journey, garments and cups, and beasts for burden, which amounted to about twenty thousand drachmæ, and went to Alexandria. Now it happened that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phœnicia, to bid for their taxes; for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city. So these men saw Joseph journeying on the way, and laughed at him for his poverty and meanness. But when he came to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up thither to meet with him, which happened as the king was in his chariot, with his wife, and with his friend Athenion, who was the very person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and had been entertained by Joseph. As soon, therefore, as Athenion saw him, he presently made him known to the king, how good and generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him first, and desired him to come up into his chariot; and as Joseph sat there, he began to complain of the management of Onias. To which he answered, "Forgive him, on account of his age, for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, that old men and infants have their minds exactly alike; but thou shalt have from us, who are young men, every thing thou desirest, and shalt have no cause to complain." With this good humour and pleasantry of the young man the king was so delighted, that he began already, as though he had long experience of him, to have a still greater affection for him, insomuch that he bade him take his diet in the king's palace, and be a guest at his own table every day. But when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw him sitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

4. And when the day came on which the king was to let the taxes of the cities to farm, and those that were the principal men of dignity in their several countries were to bid for them, the sum of the taxes together of Celesyria and Phœnicia, and Judea, with Samaria [as they were bidden for,] came to eight thousand talents. Hereupon Joseph accused the bidders, as having agreed together to estimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate; and he promised that he would himself give twice as much for them; but for those who did not pay, he would send the king home their whole substance: for this privilege was sold together with the taxes themselves. The king was pleased to hear that offer; and because it augmented his revenues, he said he would confirm the sale of the taxes to him. But then he asked him this question, Whether he had any sureties that would be bound for the payment of the money? He answered very pleasantly, I will give such security, and those of persons good and responsible, and which you shall have no reason to distrust. And when he bid him name them, who they were, he replied, "I give thee no other persons, O king, for my sureties, than myself and this my wife; and you shall be security for both parties." So Ptolemy laughed at the proposal, and granted him the farming of the taxes without any sureties. This procedure was a sore grief to those that came from the cities into Egypt who were utterly disappointed; and they returned every one to their own country with shame.

5. But Joseph took with him two thousand foot soldiers from the king; for he desired he might have some assistance, in order to force such as were re-

fractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing of the king's friends at Alexandria five hundred talents, he made haste back into Syria. And when he was at Askelon, and demanded the taxes of the people of Askelon, they refused to pay any thing, and affronted him also: upon which he seized upon about twenty of the principal men, and slew them, and gathered what they had together, and sent it all to the king; and informed him what he had done. Ptolemy admired at the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done; and gave him leave to do as he pleased. When the Syrians heard of this, they were astonished; and having before them a sad example in the men of Askelon that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis attempted to affront him, and would not pay him those taxes which they formerly used to pay, without disputing about them, he slew also the principal men of that city, and sent their effects to the king. By this means he gathered great wealth together, and made vast gains by this farming of the taxes: and he made use of what estate he had thus gotten, in order to support his authority, as thinking it a piece of prudence to keep what had been the occasion and foundation of his present good fortune; and this he did by the assistance of what he was already possessed of, for he privately sent many presents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and to all that were powerful about the court, and thereby purchased their good will to himself.

6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years; and was become the father of seven sons, by one wife: he had also another son, whose name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Solymius's daughter, whom he married on the following occasion: He once came to Alexandria with his brother, who had along with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give her in wedlock to some of the Jews of chief dignity there. He then supped with the king, and falling in love with an actress that was of great beauty, and came into the room where they feasted, he told his brother of it, and entreated him, because a Jew is forbidden by their law to come near to a foreigner, to conceal his offence, and to be kind and subservient to him, and to give him an opportunity of fulfilling his desires. Upon which his brother willingly entertained the proposal of serving him, and adorned his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Joseph, being disordered in drink, knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother's daughter; and this did he many times, and loved her exceedingly; and said to his brother, that he loved this actress so well that he should run the hazard of his life [if he must part with her,] and yet, probably the king would not give him leave [to take her with him.] But his brother bid him be in no concern about the matter, and told him he might enjoy her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife; and opened the truth of the matter to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused, than to overlook him, and see him come to [public] disgrace. So Joseph commended him for this his brotherly love, and married his daughter, and by her begat a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as we said before. And when this his youngest son showed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was both courageous and wise, and was greatly envied by his brethren, as being of a genius much above them, and such a one as they might well envy, Joseph had once a mind to know which of his sons had the best disposition to virtue; and when he sent them severally to those that had then the best reputation for instructing youth, the rest of his children, by reason of their sloth and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out the youngest, Hyrcanus, and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bid him go two days' journey into the wilderness, and sow the land there, and yet kept back privately the yokes of the oxen that coupled them together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had no yokes with them, he contemned the drivers of the oxen, who advised him to send home to his father, to bring them some yokes: but he thinking that he ought not to lose his time, while they should be sent to

bring him the yokes, he invented a kind of stratagem, and what suited an age elder than his own; for he slew ten yoke of the oxen, and distributed their flesh among the labourers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made him yokes, and yoked the oxen together with them; by which means he sowed as much land as his father had appointed him to sow, and returned to him. And when he was come back, his father was mightily pleased with his sagacity, and commended the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did; and he still loved him the more, as if he were his only genuine son, while his brethren were much troubled at it.

7. But when one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born, and that all the principal men of Syria, and the other countries subject to him, were to keep a festival, on account of the child's birth day, and went away in haste with great retinues to Alexandria, he was himself indeed hindered from going by old age, but he made trial of his sons, whether any of them would be willing to go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said, they were not courtiers good enough for such conversation, and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly hearkened to that advice; and called Hyrcanus, and asked him whether he would go to the king, and whether it was agreeable to him to go or not? And upon his promise that he would go, and his saying that he should not want much money for his journey, because he would live moderately; and that ten thousand drachmæ would be sufficient, he was pleased with his son's prudence. After a little while the son advised his father not to send his presents to the king from thence, but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with money for purchasing what should be most excellent and most precious. So he, thinking that the expense of ten talents would be enough for presents to be made to the king, and commending his son, as giving him good advice, wrote to Arion his steward, that managed all his money matters at Alexandria; which money was not less than three thousand talents on his account, for Joseph sent the money he received in Syria to Alexandria, and when the day appointed for the payment of the taxes to the king came, he wrote to Arion to pay them. So when the son had asked his father for a letter to this steward, and had received it, he made haste to Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brethren wrote to all the king's friends, that they should destroy him.

8. But when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he would have? (hoping he would ask for no more than ten, or a little more.) He said he wanted a thousand talents. At which the steward was angry, and rebuked him, as one that intended to live extravagantly; and he let him know how his father had gathered together his estate by painstaking, and resisting his inclinations, and wished him to imitate the example of his father: he assured him withal, that he would give him but ten talents, and that for a present to the king also. The son was irritated at this, and threw Arion into prison. But when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, with her entreaty that she would rebuke the child for what he had done (for Arion was in great esteem with her,) Cleopatra informed the king of it. And Ptolemy sent for Hyrcanus, and told him, that "he wondered, when he was sent to him by his father, that he had not yet come into his presence, but had laid the steward in prison." And he gave order, therefore, that he should come to him, and give an account of the reason of what he had done. And they report, that the answer he made to the king's messenger was this, that "there was a law of his that forbade a child that was born to taste of the sacrifice before he had been at the temple, and sacrificed to God. According to which way of reasoning, he did now himself come to him, in expectation of the present he was to make to him, as to one who had been his father's benefactor; and that he had punished the slave for disobeying his commands, for that it mattered not whether a master was little or great: so that unless we punish such as these, thou thyself mayest also expect

to be despised by thy subjects." Upon hearing this his answer, he fell a laughing, and wondered at the great soul of the child.

9. When Arion was apprized that this was the king's disposition, and that he had no way to help himself, he gave the child a thousand talents, and was let out of prison. So after three days were over, Hyrcanus came and saluted the king and queen. They saw him with pleasure, and feasted him in an obliging manner, out of the respect they bare to his father. So he came to the merchants privately and bought a hundred boys, that had learning, and were in the flower of their ages, each at a talent a piece; as also he bought a hundred maidens, each at the same price as the other. And when he was invited to feast with the king among the principal men of the country, he sat down the lowest of them all, because he was little regarded, as a child in age still; and this by those who placed every one according to his dignity. Now when all those that sat with him had laid the bones of the several parts in a heap before Hyrcanus (for they had themselves taken away the flesh belonging to them,) till the table where he sat was filled full with them: Trypho, who was the king's jester, and was appointed for jokes and laughter at festivals, was now asked by the guests that sat at the table [to expose him to laughter.] So he stood by the king, and said, "Dost thou not see, my lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus? By this similitude thou mayest conjecture that his father made all Syria as bare as he hath made these bones." And the king, laughing at what Trypho said, and asking of Hyrcanus, "How he came to have so many bones before him?" he replied, "Very rightfully, my lord; for they are dogs that eat the flesh and the bones together, as these thy guests have done (looking in the meantime at those guests,) for there is nothing before them; but they are men that eat the flesh and cast away the bones, as I, who also am a man, have now done." Upon which the king admired at his answer, which was so wisely made; and bade them all make an acclamation, as a mark of their approbation of his jest, which was truly a facetious one. On the next day, Hyrcanus went to every one of the king's friends, and of the men powerful at court, and saluted them, but still inquired of the servants what presents they would make the king on his son's birth-day? and when some said that they would give twelve talents, and that others of greater dignity would every one give according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one of them to be grieved that he was not able to bring so large a present, for that he had no more than five talents. And when the servants heard what he said, they told their masters; and they rejoiced in the prospect that Joseph would be disapproved, and would make the king angry, by the smallness of his present. When the day came, the others, even those that brought the most, offered the king not above twenty talents; but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys and hundred maidens that he had bought a talent a piece, for them to carry, and introduced them, the boys to the king, and the maidens to Cleopatra; every body wondering at the unexpected richness of the presents, even the king and queen themselves. He also presented those that attended about the king with gifts, to the value of a great number of talents, that he might escape the danger he was in from them; for to these it was that Hyrcanus's brethren had written to destroy him. Now Ptolemy admired at the young man's magnanimity, and commanded him to ask what gift he pleased. But he desired nothing else to be done for him by the king than to write to his father and brethren about him. So when the king had paid him very great respects, and had given him very large gifts, and had written to his father and his brethren, and all his commanders and officers, about him, he sent him away. But when his brethren heard that Hyrcanus had received such favours from the king, and was returning home with great honour, they went out to meet him, and to destroy him, and that with the privity of their father; for he was angry at him for the [large] sum of money that he bestowed for presents, and so had no concern for his preservation. However, Joseph concealed the anger he had at his son, out of fear of the king. And when Hyrcanus's brethren came to fight him, he slew many others of those

that were with them, as also two of his brethren themselves; but the rest of them escaped to Jerusalem to their father. But when Hyrcanus came to the city, where nobody would receive him, he was afraid for himself, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode, but obliging the barbarians to pay their taxes.

10. At this time Seleucus, who was called *Soter*, reigned over Asia, being the son of Antiochus *the Great*. And [now] Hyrcanus's father Joseph died. He was a good man, and of great magnanimity, and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness, to one that was more splendid. He retained the farm of the taxes of Syria, and Phœnicia, and Samaria, twenty-two years. His uncle also, Onias, died [about this time,] and left the high priesthood to his son Simon. And when he was dead, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity. To him it was that Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, sent an embassage, with an epistle, the copy whereof here follows:

"AREUS, *king of the Lacedemonians, to* ONIAS, *sendeth greeting:*

"We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have discovered that both the Jews and the Lacedemonians are of one stock, and are derived from the kindred of Abraham.* It is but just, therefore, that you, who are our brethren, should send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We will also do the same thing, and esteem your concerns as our own, and will look upon our concerns as in common with yours. Demotoles, who brings you this letter, will bring your answer back to us. This letter is four-square: and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in his claws."

11. And these were the contents of the epistle which was sent from the king of the Lacedemonians. But upon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious on account of his sons: for whereas the elders made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war, as did Simon the high priest, by reason he was of kin to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but seated himself beyond Jordan, and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captives. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone, to the very roof; and had animals of a prodigious magnitude engraven upon it. He also drew around it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves of many furlongs in length, by hollowing a rock that was over against him; and then he made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping and living in. He introduced also a vast quantity of waters, which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. But still he made the entrances at the mouth of the caves so narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once: and the reason why he built them after that manner was a good one: it was for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his brethren, and run the hazard of being caught by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he named it *Tyre*. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon. And he ruled over those parts for seven years, even all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria.

* Whence it comes that these Lacedemonians declare themselves here to be of kin to the Jews, as derived from the same ancestor, Abraham, I cannot tell, unless, as Grotius supposes, they were derived from the Dores, that came of the Pelasgi. These are by Herodotus called *barbarians*, and perhaps were derived from the Syrians and Arabians, the posterity of Abraham by Keturah.—See Antiq. B. xvi. ch. x. sect. 22; and of the War, B. i. ch. xxvi. sect. 1; and Grot. on 1 Maccab. xii. 7. We may farther observe, from the recognitions of Clement, that Eliezer of Damascus, the *servant* of Abraham, Gen. xv. 2, and xxiv. was of old by some taken for his *son*. So that if the Lacedemonians were sprung from him, they might think themselves to be of the posterity of Abraham, as well as the Jews, who were sprung from Isaac. And perhaps this Eliezer of Damascus is that very Damascus whom Trogus Pompeius, as abridged by Justin, makes the founder of the Jewish nation itself, though he afterwards blunders, and makes Azelus, Adores, Abraham, and Israel, kings of Judea, and successors to this Damascus. It may not be improper to observe farther, that Moses Chorenensis, in his history of the Armenians, informs us, that the nation of the Parthians was also derived from Abraham by Keturah and her children.

But when he was dead, his brother Antiochus, who was called *Epiphanes*, took the kingdom. Ptolemy also, the king of Egypt, died, who was besides called *Epiphanes*. He left two sons, and both young in age; the elder of which was called *Philometer*, and the younger *Physcon*. As for Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabians, he ended his life, and slew himself with his own hand; while Antiochus seized upon all his substance.

CHAP. V.

How, upon the Quarrels of the Jews one against another about the High Priesthood, Antiochus made an Expedition against Jerusalem; took the City and pillaged the Temple, and distressed the Jews: as also, how many of the Jews forsook the Laws of their Country; and how the Samaritans followed the Customs of the Greeks, and named their Temple at Mount Gerizzim, the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius.

§ 1. About this time, upon the death of Onias the high priest, they gave the high priesthood to Jesus's brother; for that son which Onias left [or Onias IV.] was yet but an infant: and, in its proper place, we will inform the reader of all the circumstances that befell this child. But this Jesus, who was the brother of Onias, was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who was angry with him, and gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was Onias, for Simon had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came, as we have already informed the reader.* This Jesus changed his name to *Jason*, but Onias was called *Menelaus*. Now as the former high priest Jesus raised a sedition against Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided betwcen them both. And the sons of Tobias took the part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the people assisted Jason; and by that means Menelaus and the sons of Tobias were distressed, and retired to Antiochus, and informed him, that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's laws, and the Grecian way of living: wherefore they desired his permission to build them a Gymnasium† at Jerusalem. And when he had given them leave, they also hid the circumcision of their genitals, that even when they were naked, they might appear to be Greeks. Accordingly they left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of the other nations.

2. Now Antiochus, upon the agreeable situation of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to gain it, and because he contemned the son of Ptolemy, as now weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequence; so he came with great forces to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometer by treachery, and seized upon Egypt. He then came to the places about Memphis; and when he had taken

* We have hitherto had but a few of those many citations where Josephus says, that he had elsewhere formerly treated of many things, of which yet his present books have not a syllable. Our commentators have hitherto been able to give no tolerable account of these citations, which are far too numerous, and that usually in all his copies, both Greek and Latin, to be supposed later interpolations, which is almost all that has hitherto been said upon this occasion. What I have to say farther is this, that we have but very few of these references *before*, and very many *in* and *after* the history of Antiochus Epiphanes; and that Josephus's first work, the Hebrew or Chaldee, as well as the Greek history of the Jewish War, long since lost, began with that very history, so that the references are most probably made to that edition of the seven books of the war. See several other examples, besides those in the two sections before us, in Antiq. B. xiii. ch. ii. sect. 1, 4; and ch. iv. sect. 6, 8; ch. v. sect. 6, 11; ch. viii. sect. 4; and ch. xiii. sect. 4, 5; and Antiq. B. xviii. chap. ii. sect. 5.

† This word *Gymnasium* properly denotes a place where the exercises were performed *naked*, which, because it would naturally distinguish circumcised Jews from uncircumcised Gentiles, these Jewish apostates endeavoured to appear uncircumcised, by means of a chirurgical operation, hinted at by St. Paul, 2 Cor. vii 18; and described by Celsus, B. vii. ch. xxv. as Dr. Hudson here informs us.

them, he made haste to Alexandria, in hopes of taking it by siege, and of subduing Ptolemy, who reigned there. But he was driven not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the declaration of the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone; according as I have elsewhere formerly declared. I will now give a particular account of what concerns this king, how he subdued Judea and the temple; for in my former work I mentioned those things very briefly, and have now therefore thought it necessary to go over that history again, and that with great accuracy.

3. * King Antiochus returning out of Egypt for fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the hundred forty and third year of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the opposite party; and when he had plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

4. Now it came to pass, after two years in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of that month which is by us called *Chasleu*, and by the Macedonians *Apelleus*, in the hundred and fifty-third olympiad, that the king came up to Jerusalem, and pretending peace, he got possession of the city by treachery; at which time he spared not so much as those that admitted him into it, on account of the riches that lay in the temple; but, led by his covetous inclination (for he saw there was in it a great deal of gold, and many ornaments that had been dedicated to it of very great value,) and in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. So he left the temple bare; and took away the golden candlesticks; and the golden altar [of incense,] and table [of shew-bread,] and the altar [of burnt-offering;] and did not abstain from even the veils, which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied it of its secret treasures, and left nothing at all remaining; and by this means cast the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbade them to offer those daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God, according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, some of the inhabitants he slew, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children, so that the multitude of those captives that were taken alive amounted to about ten thousand. He also burnt down the finest buildings; and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built a citadel † in the lower part of the city, for the place was high, and overlooked the temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. However, in that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the [Jewish] multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens suffered many and sore calamities. And when the king had built an idol altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice neither according to the law, nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also compelled them to forsake the worship which they paid their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods; and made them build temples, and raise idol altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any that should be found to have transgressed his injunction. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews there were who com-

* Hereabouts Josephus begins to follow the first book of the Maccabees, a most excellent and most authentic history; and accordingly it is here, with great fidelity and exactness, abridged by him: between whose present copies there seems to be fewer variations than in any other sacred Hebrew book of the Old Testament whatsoever (for this book also was originally written in Hebrew,) which is very natural, because it was written so much nearer to the times of Josephus than the rest were.

† This *Citadel*, of which we have such frequent mention in the following history, both in the Maccabees and Josephus, seems to have been a castle built upon a hill, lower than Mount Zion, though upon its skirts, and higher than Mount Moriah, but between them both; which hill the enemies of the Jews now got possession of, and built on it this citadel, and fortified it, till a good while afterwards the Jews regained it, demolished it, and leveled the hill itself with the common ground, that their enemies might no more recover it, and might thence overlook the temple itself, and do them such mischief as they had long undergone from it, Antiq. B. xiii. ch. vi. sect. 6.

plied with the king's commands, either voluntarily, or out of fear of the penalty that was denounced: but the best men, and those of the noblest souls, did not regard him, but did pay a greater respect to the customs of their country, than concern as to the punishment which he threatened to the disobedient; on which account they every day underwent great miseries and bitter torments, for they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn to pieces, and were crucified, while they were still alive and breathed. They also strangled those women and their sons whom they had circumcised, as the king had appointed, hanging their sons about their necks as they were upon the crosses. And if there were any sacred book of the law found, it was destroyed, and those with whom they were found miserably perished also.

5. When the Samaritans saw the Jews under these sufferings, they no longer confessed that they were of their kindred, nor that the temple on Mount Gerizzim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as we have already shown. And they now said, that they were a colony of Medes and Persians; and indeed they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and an epistle; whose contents are these: "To king Antiochus the god, Epiphanes, a memorial from the Sidonians, who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain ancient superstition, had a custom of observing that day which by the Jews is called the *Sabbath*.* And when they had erected a temple at the mountain called *Gerizzim*, though without a name, they offered upon it the proper sacrifices. Now, upon the just treatment of these wicked Jews, those that manage their affairs supposing that we were of kin to them, and practised as they do, make us liable to the same accusations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, our benefactor and saviour, to give order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from their nation, and from their customs; but let our temple, which at present hath no name at all, be named *The Temple of Jupiter Hellenius*. If this were once done, we should be no longer disturbed, but should be more intent on our own occupation with quietness, and so bring in a greater revenue to thee." So when the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king sent them back the following answer, in an epistle: "King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians, who live at Shechem, have sent me the memorial inclosed. When therefore we were advising with our friends about it, the messengers sent by them represented to us, that they are no way concerned with accusations which belong to the Jews, but choose to live after the customs of the Greeks. Accordingly we declare them free from such accusations, and order that, agreeable to their petition, their temple be named, *The Temple of Jupiter Hellenius*." He also sent the like epistle to Apollonius, the governor of that part of the country, in the forty-sixth year, and the eighteenth day of the month Hecatombeon.

CHAP. VI.

How, upon Antiochus's Prohibition to the Jews to make use of the Laws of their Country, Mattathias, the Son of Asamoneus, alone despised the King, and overcame the Generals of Antiochus's Army: as also concerning the death of Mattathias and the Succession of Judas.

§ 1. Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt

* This allegation of the Samaritans is remarkable, that though they were not Jews, yet did they, from ancient times, observe the Sabbath day, and as they elsewhere pretend, the Sabbatic year also. Antiq. B. xii. ch. vii. sect. 6.

at Modia, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asamoneus, a priest of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem. He had five sons: John, who was called Gaddis; and Simon, who was called Matthes; and Judas, who was called Maccabeus;* and Eleazar, who is called Auran; and Jonathan, who was called *Apphus*. Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the sad state of their affairs, and the ravage made in the city, and the plundering of the temple, and the calamities the multitude were under; and he told them that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live so inglori-ously as they then did.

2. But when those that were appointed by the king were come to Modin, that they might compel the Jews to do what they were commanded, and to enjoin those that were there to offer sacrifice as the king had commanded, they desired that Mattathias, a person of the greatest character among them, both on other accounts, and particularly on account of such a numerous and so deserving a family of children, would begin the sacrifice, because his fellow-citizens would follow his example, and because such a procedure would make him honoured by the king. But Mattathias said, "he would not do it; and that if all the other nations would obey the commands of Antiochus, either out of fear, or to please him, yet would not he nor his sons leave the religious worship of their country." But as soon as he had ended his speech, there came one of the Jews into the midst of them, and sacrificed as Antiochus had commanded. At which Mattathias had great indignation, and ran upon him violently, with his sons, who had swords with them, and slew both the man himself that sacrificed, and Apelles the king's general, who compelled them to sacrifice, with a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the idol altar, and cried out, "If, said he, any one be zealous for the laws of his country, and for the worship of God, let him follow me." And when he had said this, he made haste into the desert, with his sons, and he left all his substance in the village. Many others did the same also, and fled with their children and wives into the desert, and dwelt in caves. But when the king's generals heard this, they took all the forces they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert; and when they had overtaken them, they in the first place endeavoured to persuade them to repent, and to choose what was most for their advantage, and not put them to the necessity of using them according to the law of war. But when they would not comply with their persuasions, but continued to be of a different mind, they fought against them on the Sabbath-day, and they burnt them as they were in the caves without resistance, and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they avoided to defend themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the honour they owed the Sabbath, even in such distresses; for our law requires that we rest upon that day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered and died in these caves; but many of those that escaped joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight, even on the Sabbath-day; and told them that "unless they would do so, they would become their own enemies, by observing the law [so rigorously,] while their adversaries would still assault them on this day, and they would not then defend themselves, and that nothing could then hinder but they must all perish without fighting." This speech persuaded them. And this rule continues among us to this day, that if there be a necessity, we may fight on Sabbath days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and overthrew their idol altars, and slew those that broke the laws, even all that he could get under his power, for many of them were dispersed among the nations round

* That this appellation of *Maccabee* was not first of all given to Judas Maccabeus, nor was derived from any initial letters of the Hebrew words on his banner, *Mi Kamoka Be Elim, Jehovah? Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah?* Exod. xv. 11. as the modern Rabbins vainly pretend, see Authen. Rec. part i. p. 205, 206. Only we may note by the way, that the original name of these Maccabees, and their posterity, was *Asamonians*; which was derived from Asamoneus the great-grandfather of Mattathias, as Josephus here informs us.

about them for fear of him. He also commanded, that those boys which were not yet circumcised should be circumcised now; and he drove those away that were appointed to hinder such their circumcision.

3. So when he had ruled one year, and was fallen into a distemper, he called for his sons, and set them round about him, and said, "O my sons, I am going the way of all the earth, and I recommend to you my resolution, and beseech you not to be negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the desires of him who begat you, and brought you up, and to preserve the customs of your country, and to recover your ancient form of government, which is in danger of being overturned, and not to be carried away with those, that either by their own inclination or out of necessity betray it, but to become such sons as are worthy of me; to be above all force and necessity, and so to dispose your souls, as to be ready, when it shall be necessary, to die for your laws, as sensible of this by just reasoning, that if God see that you are so disposed he will not overlook you, but will have a great value for your virtue, and will restore to you again what you have lost, and will return to you that freedom in which you shall live quietly, and enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal and subject to fate, but they receive a sort of immortality by the remembrance of what actions they have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory, and that, when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple, for such things, to lose your lives. I exhort you, especially, to agree one with another; and in what excellence any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so far, and by that means to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Do you then esteem Simon as your father, because he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and be governed by him in what counsels he gives you. Take Maccabeus for the general of your army, because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge your nation, and will bring vengeance on your enemies. Admit among you the righteous and religious, and augment their power."

4. When Mattathias had thus discoursed to his sons, and had prayed to God to be their assistant, and to recover to the people their former constitution, he died a little afterward, and was buried at Modin; all the people making great lamentation for him. Whereupon his son Judas took upon him the administration of public affairs, in the hundred forty and sixth year; and thus, by the ready assistance of his brethren, and of others, Judas cast their enemies out of the country, and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed its laws, and purified the land of all the pollutions that were in it.

CHAP. VII.

How Judas overthrew the Forces of Apollonius and Seron, and killed the Generals of their Armies themselves; and how, when a little while afterwards Lysias and Georgias were beaten, he went up to Jerusalem and purified the Temple.

§ 1. When Apollonius, the general of the Samaritan forces, heard this, he took his army, and made haste to go against Judas; who met him, and joined battle with him, and beat him, and slew many of his men, among them Apollonius himself, their general, whose sword being that which he happened then to wear, he seized upon, and kept for himself; but he wounded more than he slew, and took a great deal of prey from the enemies' camp, and went his way. But when Seron, who was general of the army of Celesyria, heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had about him an army sufficient for fighting, and for making war, he determined to make an expedition against him, as thinking it became him to endeavour to punish those that transgressed the king's in

junctions. He then got together an army, as large as he was able, and joined to it the runagade and wicked Jews, and came against Judas. He came as far as Bethhoron, a village of Judea, and there pitched his camp; upon which Judas met him; and when he intended to give him battle, he saw that his soldiers were backward to fight, because their number was small, and because they wanted food, for they were fasting; he encouraged them, and said to them, that "victory and conquest of enemies are not derived from the multitude in armies, but in the exercise of piety towards God, and that they had the plainest instances in their forefathers, who, by their righteousness, and exerting themselves on behalf of their own laws and their own children, had frequently conquered many ten thousands; for innocence is the strongest army." By this speech he induced his men to contemn the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he beat the Syrians; and when their general fell among the rest, they all ran away with speed, as thinking that to be their best way of escaping: So he pursued them unto the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy, but the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea.

2. When king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened; so he got together all his own army, with many mercenaries whom he had hired from the islands, and took them with him, and prepared to break into Judea about the beginning of the spring. But when, upon his mustering his soldiers, he perceived that his treasures were deficient, and there was a want of money in them, for all the taxes were not paid, by reason of the seditions there had been among the nations, he having been so magnanimous and so liberal that what he had was not sufficient for him, he therefore resolved first to go into Persia, and collect the taxes of that country. Hereupon he left one whose name was Lysias, who was in great repute with him, governor of the kingdom, as far as the bounds of Egypt, and of the Lower Asia, and reaching from the river Euphrates, and committed to him a certain part of his forces, and of his elephants, and charged him to bring up his son Antiochus with all possible care, until he came back; and that he should conquer Judea, and take its inhabitants for slaves, and utterly destroy Jerusalem, and abolish the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these things in charge to Lysias, he went into Persia; and in the hundred and forty-seventh year he passed over Euphrates, and went up to the superior provinces.

3. Upon this Lysias chose Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, very potent men among the king's friends, and delivered to them forty thousand foot soldiers, and seven thousand horsemen, and sent them against Judea, who came as far as the city Emmaus, and pitched their camp in the plain country. There came also to them auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about, as also many of the runagade Jews. And besides these came some merchants to buy those that should be carried captives (having bonds with them to bind those that should be made prisoners), with that silver and gold which they were to pay for their price. And when Judas saw their camp, and how numerous their enemies were, he persuaded his own soldiers to be of good courage, and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and to make supplication to him, according to the custom of their country, clothed in sackcloth; and to show what was their usual habit of supplication in the greatest dangers, and thereby to prevail with God to grant you the victory over your enemies. So he set them in their ancient order of battle used by their forefathers, under their captains of thousands, and other officers; and dismissed such as were newly married, as well as those that had newly gained possessions, that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, out of an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus disposed his soldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following speech, which he made to them: "O my fellow-soldiers, no other time remains more opportune than the present for courage and contempt of dangers; for if you now fight manfully, you may recover your liberty,

which, as it is a thing of itself agreeable to all men, so it proves to be to us much more desirable, by its affording us the liberty of worshiping God. Since therefore, you are in such circumstances at present, that you must either recover that liberty, and so regain a happy and blessed way of living, which is that according to our laws and the customs of our country, or to submit to the most opprobrious sufferings: nor will any seed of your nation remain if you be beat in this battle. Fight, therefore, manfully; and suppose that you must die though you do not fight. But believe, that besides such glorious rewards as those of the liberty of your country, of your laws, of your religion, you shall then obtain everlasting glory. Prepare yourselves, therefore, and put yourselves into such an agreeable posture that you may be ready to fight with the enemy as soon as it is day to-morrow morning."

4. And this was the speech which Judas made to encourage them. But when the enemy sent Gorgias, with five thousand foot and one thousand horse, that he might fall upon Judas by night, and had for that purpose certain of the runagade Jews as guides, the son of Mattathias perceived it, and resolved to fall upon those enemies that were in their camp, now their forces were divided. When they had therefore supped in good time, and had left many fires in their camp, he marched all night to those enemies that were at Emmaus; so that when Gorgias found no enemy in their camp, but suspected that they were retired, and had hidden themselves among the mountains, he resolved to go and seek them wheresoever they were. But about break of day, Judas appeared to those enemies that were at Emmaus, with only three thousand men, and those illarmed, by reason of their poverty; and when he saw the enemy very well and skilfully fortified in their camp, he encouraged the Jews, and told them that "they ought to fight, though it were with their naked bodies, for that God had sometimes of old given such men strength, and that against such as were more in number, and were armed also, out of regard to their great courage." So he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle: and by thus falling upon their enemies when they did not expect it, and thereby astonishing and disturbing their minds, he slew many of those that resisted him, and went on pursuing the rest as far as Gadara, and the plains of Idumea, and Ashdod, and Jamnia; and of these there fell about three thousand. Yet did Judas exhort his soldiers not to be too desirous of the spoils, for that still they must have a contest and a battle with Gorgias and the forces that were with him; but that when they had once overcome them, then they might securely plunder the camp, because they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected no others. And just as he was speaking to his soldiers, Gorgias's men looked down into that army which they left in their camp, and saw that it was overthrown, and the camp burnt, for the smoke that arose from it showed them, even when they were a great way off, what had happened. When, therefore, those that were with Gorgias understood that things were in this posture, and perceived that those that were with Judas were ready to fight them, they also were affrighted and put to flight; but then Judas, as though he had already beaten Gorgias's soldiers, without fighting, returned and seized on the spoils. He took a great quantity of gold and silver, and purple, and blue, and then returned home with joy, and singing hymns to God for their good success; for this victory greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.

5. Hereupon Lysias was confounded at the defeat of the army which he had sent, and the next year he got together sixty thousand chosen men. He also took five thousand horsemen, and fell upon Judea; and he went up to the hill country at Bethsur, a village of Judea, and pitched his camp there, where Judas met him with ten thousand men; and when he saw the great number of his enemies, he prayed to God that he would assist him, and joined battle with the first of the enemy that appeared, and beat them, and slew about five thousand of them, and thereby became terrible to the rest of them. Nay, indeed, Lysias

observing the great spirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their desperate way of fighting, as if it were real strength, he took the rest of the army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he listed foreigners into the service, and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army.

6. When, therefore, the generals of Antiochus's armies had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, that "after these many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed sacrifice." But as soon as he, with the whole multitude, was come to Jerusalem, and found the temple deserted, and its gates burnt down, and plants growing in the temple of their own accord, on account of its desertion, he and those that were with him began to lament, and were quite confounded at the sight of the temple: so he chose out some of his soldiers, and gave them order to fight against those guards that were in the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. When, therefore, he had carefully purged it, and had brought in new vessels, the candlestick, the table [of shew-bread,] and the altar [of incense,] which were made of gold, he hung up the vails at the gates, and added doors to them. He also took down the altar [of burnt-offering,] and built a new one of stones that he gathered together, and not of such as were hewn with iron tools. So on the five-and-twentieth day of the month Casleu, which the Macedonians call *Apelleus*, they lighted the lamps that were on the candlestick, and offered incense upon the altar [of incense,] and laid the loaves upon the table [of shew-bread,] and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar [of burnt-offering.] Now it so fell out, that these things were done on the very same day on which their divine worship had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common use, after three years' time; for so it was that the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for three years. This desolation happened to the temple in the hundred and forty-fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apelleus, and on the hundred and fifty-third olympiad; but it was dedicated anew, on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apelleus, in the hundred and forty-eighth year, and on the hundred and fifty-fourth olympiad. And this desolation came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship [for some time.]

7. Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the sacrifices at the temple for eight days; and omitted no sort of pleasures thereon, but he feasted them upon very rich and splendid sacrifices; and he honoured God, and delighted them by hymns and psalms. Nay, they were so very glad at the revival of their customs, when, after a long time of intermission, they unexpectedly had regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it a law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival on account of the restoration of their temple worship for eight days. And from that time to this we celebrate this festival, and call it *Lights*. I suppose the reason was because this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us, and that thence was the name given to that festival. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city, and reared towers of great height against the incursions of enemies, and set guards therein. He also fortified the city Bethsura, that it might serve as a citadel against any distresses that might come from our enemies

CHAP. VIII.

How Judas subdued the Nations round about; and how Simon beat the People of Tyre and Ptolemais; and how Judas overcame Timotheus, and forced him to fly away, and did many other Things after Joseph and Azarias had been beaten.

§ 1. WHEN these things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power, and rose up together, and destroyed many of them, as gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and making secret conspiracies against them. Judas made perpetual expeditions against these men, and endeavoured to restrain them from those incursions, and to prevent the mischiefs they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Idumeans, the posterity of Esau, at Acrabattene, and slew a great many of them, and took their spoils. He also shut up the sons of Bean, that laid wait for the Jews; and he sat down about them, and besieged them, and burnt their towers, and destroyed the men [that were in them.] After this he went thence in haste against the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army, of which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized on the city Jazer, and took their wives and their children captives, and burned the city, and then returned into Judea. But when the neighbouring nations understood that he was returned, they got together in great numbers, in the land of Gilead, and came against those Jews that were at their borders, who then fled to the garrison of Dathema, and sent to Judas to inform him that Timotheus was endeavouring to take the place whither they were fled. And as these epistles were reading, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and of Tyre and Sidon, and strangers of Galilee, were gotten together.

2. Accordingly Judas, upon considering what was fit to be done, with relation to the necessity both these cases required, gave order that Simon his brother should take three thousand chosen men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee, while he and another of his brothers, Jonathan, made haste into the land of Gilead, with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, to be over the rest of the forces; and charged them to keep Judea very carefully, and to fight no battles with any person whomsoever until his return. Accordingly Simon went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and put them to flight, and pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand of them; and took the spoils of those that were slain, and those Jews whom they had made captives, with their baggage; and then returned home.

3. Now as for Judas Maccabeus, and his brother Jonathan, they passed over the river Jordan; and when they had gone three days' journey, they lighted upon the Nabateans, who came to meet them peaceably, and who told them how the affairs of those in the land of Gilead stood: and how many of them were in distress, and driven into garrisons, and into the cities of Gallilee; and exhorted them to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavour to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened, and returned into the wilderness; and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Bosor, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and destroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight, and burned the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but he journeyed in it to the garrison where the Jews happened then to be shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army; and Judas came upon the city in the morning; and when he found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon those walls, and that others brought engines [to batter them,] he bid the trumpeter to sound his trumpet, and he encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for the sake of their brethren and kindred; he also parted

his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies. But when Timotheus's men perceived that it was Maccabeus that was upon them, of both whose courage and good success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they were put to flight; but Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called *Malle*, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Casphom and Bosor, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

4. But not long after this Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries, and induced some of the Arabians, by the promise of rewards, to go with him in this expedition, and came with his army beyond the brook, over against the city Raphon; and he encouraged his soldiers, if it came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to hinder their passing over the brook; for he said to them beforehand, that "if they come over it we shall be beaten." And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army, and went in haste against Timotheus his enemy; and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemies, and some of them met him, whom he slew, and others of them he so terrified that he compelled them to throw down their arms, and fly; and some of these escaped, but some of them fled to what was called the temple of Carnaim, and hoped thereby to preserve themselves; but Judas took the city, and slew them, and burned the temple, and so used several ways of destroying his enemies.

5. When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children and wives, and the substance that belonged to them, and was going to bring them back into Judea. But as soon as he was come to a certain city, whose name was *Ephron*, that lay upon the road (and as it was not possible for him to go any other way, so he was not willing to go back again,) he then sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates and permit them to go on their way through the city, for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city round, and besieged it, and lying round it by day and by night, took the city, and slew every male it, and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through it; and the multitude of those that were slain was so great that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over against which is situate the city Bethshan, which is called by the Greeks *Scythopolis*.* And going away hastily from thence, they came into Judea, singing psalms and hymns as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their good success and for the preservation of their army, for not one of the Jews was slain in these battles†.

6. But as to Joseph, the son of Zecharias, and Azarius, whom Judas left generals [of the rest of the forces,] at the same time when Simon was in Galilee, fighting against the people of Ptolemais, and Judas himself and his brother Jonathan were in the land of Gilead, did these men also effect the glory of being courageous generals in war, in order whereto they took the army that was under their command, and came to Jamnia. There Gorgias, the general of the forces of Jamnia, met them; and upon joining battle with him, they lost two thousand of their army, and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders of Judea.‡

* The reason why Bethshan was called *Scythopolis* is well known from Herodotus, B. i. p. 105, and Syncellus, p. 214, that the Scythians, when they overran Asia, in the days of Josiah, seized on this city, and kept it as long as they continued in Asia, from which time it retained the name of *Scythopolis*, or *the city of the Scythians*.

† This most providential preservation of all the religious Jews in this expedition, which was according to the will of God, is observable often among God's people, the Jews; and somewhat very like it in the changes of the four monarchies, which were also providential. See Prideaux, at the years 331, 333, and 334.

‡ Here is another great instance of Providence, that when, even at the very time that Simon and Jo

And this misfortune befell them by their disobedience to what injunctions Judas had given them, "Not to fight with any one before his return." For, besides the rest of Judas's sagacious counsels, one may well wonder at this concerning the misfortune that befell the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas and his brethren did not leave off fighting with the Idumeans, but pressed upon them on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set its towers on fire and burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city Marissa. They came also to Ashdod, and took it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoils and prey that were in it, and returned to Judea.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Death of Antiochus Epiphanes. How Antiochus Eupator fought against Judas, and besieged him in the Temple, and afterwards made Peace with him, and departed. Of Alcimus and Onias.

§ 1. About this time it was that king Antiochus, as he was going over the upper countries, heard that there was a very rich city in Persia, called *Elymais*, and therein a very rich temple of Diana, and that it was full of all sorts of donations dedicated to it; as also weapons and breastplates, which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedonia. And being incited by these motives, he went in haste to Elymais, and assaulted it and besieged it. But as those that were in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him very courageously, he was beaten off his hopes; for they drove him away from the city, and went out and pursued after him, insomuch that he fled away as far as Babylon, and lost a great many of his army. And when he was grieving for this disappointment, some persons told him of the defeat of his commanders whom he had left behind him to fight against Judea, and what strength the Jews had already gotten. When this concern about these affairs was added to the former, he was confounded, and by the anxiety he was in fell into a distemper, which as it lasted a great while, and as his pains increased upon him, so he at length perceived he should die in a little time: so he called his friends to him, and told them that his distemper was severe upon him, and confessed withal that his calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation, while he plundered their temple and contemned their God; and when he had said this, he gave up the ghost. Whence one may wonder at Polybius of Megalopolis, who, though otherwise a good man, yet saith, that "Antiochus died because he had a purpose to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia;" for the purposing to do a thing, but not actually doing it, is not worthy of punishment.* But if Polybius could think that Antiochus thus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that this king died on account of his sacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jerusalem. But we will not contend about this matter, with those who may think that the cause assigned by this Polybius of Megalopolis is nearer the truth than that assigned by us.

das and Jonathan were so miraculously preserved, and blessed, in the just defence of their laws and religion, these other generals of the Jews, who went to fight for honour, in a vainglorious way, and without any commission from God, or the family he had raised up to deliver them, were miserably disappointed and defeated. See 1 Maccab. v. 61, 62.

* Since St. Paul, a Pharisee, confesses, that he had not *known concupiscence*, or *desires*, to be sinful, had not the tenth commandment said, *Thou shalt not covet*, Rom. vii. 7, the case seems to have been much the same with our Josephus, who was of the same sect, that he had not a deep sense of the greatness of any sins that proceeded no farther than the intention. However, since Josephus speaks here properly of the punishment of death, which is not inflicted by any law either of God or man for the bare intention, his words need not be strained to mean, that sins intended, but not executed, were no sins at all.

2. However, Antiochus, before he died, called for Philip, who was one of his companions, and made him the guardian of his kingdom; and gave him his diadem, and his garment, and his ring, and charged him to carry them, and deliver them to his son Antiochus; and desired him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him.* This Antiochus died in the hundred and forty-ninth year. But it was Lysias that declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king (of whom at present he had the care,) and called him *Eupator*.

3. At that time it was that the garrison in the citadel at Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagades, did a great deal of harm to the Jews; for the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their sacrifices; for this citadel adjoined to and overlooked the temple. When these misfortunes had often happened to them, Judas resolved to destroy that garrison; whereupon he got all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Seleucidæ. So he made engines of war, and erected bulwarks, and very zealously pressed on to take the citadel: but there were not a few of the runagades who were in the place, that went out by night into the country, and got some other wicked men like themselves, and went to Antiochus the king, and desired of him that "he would not suffer them to be neglected, under the great hardships that lay upon them from those of their own nation, and this because their sufferings were occasioned on his father's account, while they left the religious worship of their fathers, and preferred that which he had commanded them to follow: that there was danger lest the citadel and those appointed to garrison it by the king, should be taken by Judas and those that were with him, unless he would send them succours." When Antiochus, who was but a child, heard this, he was angry, and sent for his captains, and his friends, and gave order that they should get an army of mercenaries together, with such men also of his own kingdom as were of an age fit for war. Accordingly an army was collected of about a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and thirty-two elephants.

4. So the king took this army, and marched hastily out of Antioch, with Lysias who had the command of the whole, and came to Idumea, and thence went up to the city Bethsura, a city that was strong, and not to be taken without great difficulty: he set about this city, and besieged it. And while the inhabitants of Bethsura courageously opposed him, and sallied out upon him, and burnt the engines of war, a great deal of time was spent in the siege. But when Judas heard of the king's coming, he raised the siege of the citadel, and met the king, and pitched his camp in certain straits, at a place called *Bethzachariah*, at the distance of seventy furlongs from the enemy; but the king soon drew his forces from Bethsura, and brought them to those straits. And as soon as it was day he put his men in battle-array, and made his elephants follow one another through the narrow passes, because they could not be set sideways one by another. Now round about every elephant there were a thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. The elephants also had high towers [upon their backs,] and archers [in them.] And he also made the rest of his army to go up the mountains, and put his friends before the rest; and gave orders for the army to shout aloud, and so he attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight their golden and brazen shields, so that a glorious splendour was sent from them; and when they shouted, the mountains echoed again. When Judas saw this, he was not terrified, but received the enemy with great courage, and slew about six hundred of the first ranks. But when his brother Eleazar, whom they called *Auran*, saw the tallest of all the elephants, armed with royal breast-plates, and supposed that the king was upon him, he attacked him with great quickness and bravery. He also slew many of those

* No wonder that Josephus here describes Antiochus Eupator as young, and wanting tuition, when he came to the crown, since Appian informs us, Syriac, p. 177, that he was then but nine years old.

that were about the elephant, and scattered the rest, and then went under the belly of the elephant, and smote him, and slew him: so the elephant fell upon Eleazar, and by his weight crushed him to death. And thus did this man come to his end, when he had first courageously destroyed many of his enemies.

5. But Judas, seeing the strength of the enemy, retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege. As for Antiochus, he sent part of his army to Bethsura, to besiege it, and with the rest of his army he came against Jerusalem; but the inhabitants of Bethsura were terrified at his strength, and seeing that their provisions grew scarce, they delivered themselves up on the security of oaths, that they should suffer no hard treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the city, he did them no other harm than sending them out naked. He also placed a garrison of his own in the city. But as for the temple of Jerusalem, he lay at its siege a long time, while they within bravely defended it; for what engines soever the king sent against them, they set other engines again to oppose them. But then their provisions failed them; what fruits of the ground they had laid up were spent, and the land, not being ploughed that year, continued unsowed, because it was the seventh year, on which by our laws we are obliged to let it lie uncultivated. And, withal, so many of the besieged ran away for want of necessaries, that but a few only were left in the temple.

6. And these happened to be the circumstances of such as were besieged in the temple. But then, because Lysias the general of the army, and Antiochus the king, were informed that Philip was coming upon them out of Persia, and was endeavouring to get the management of public affairs to himself, they came into these sentiments, to leave the siege, and to make haste to go against Philip; yet did they resolve not to let this be known to the soldiers or to the officers: but the king commanded Lysias to speak openly to the soldiers and the officers, without saying a word about the business of Philip; and to intimate to them, that the siege would be very long, that the place was very strong, that they were already in want of provisions, that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation, and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends to their whole nation, by permitting them to observe the laws of their fathers, while they broke out into this war only because they were deprived of them, and so to depart home. When Lysias had discoursed thus to them, both the army and the officers were pleased with this resolution.

7. Accordingly the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with him, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make use of, and live according to, the laws of their fathers. And they gladly received his proposals: and when they had gained security upon oath for their performance, they went out of the temple. But when Antiochus came into it, and saw how strong the place was, he broke his oaths, and ordered his army that was there to pluck down the walls to the ground; and when he had so done, he returned to Antioch: he also carried with him Onias the high priest, who was also called *Menelaus;* for Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no farther disturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them, by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers. So the king sent Menelaus to Berea, a city of Syria, and there had him put to death, when he had been high priest ten years. He had been a wicked and an impious man; and, in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their own laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was also called *Jacimus*, was made high priest. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already possessed himself of the government, he made war against him, and subdued him, and took him, and slew him. Now, as to Onias, the son of the high priest, who, as we before informed you, was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high priest stock, but as induced by Lysias to translate that dignity

from this family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and when he found he was in great esteem with him, and with his wife Cleopatra, he desired and obtained a place in the Nomus of Heliopolis, wherein he built a temple like to that of Jerusalem, of which, therefore, we shall hereafter give an account, in a place more proper for it.

CHAP. X.

How Bacchides, the General of Demetrius's Army, made an Expedition against Judea, and returned without Success; and how Nicanor was sent a little Time afterward against Judas, and perished, together with his Army: as also concerning the Death of Alcimus, and the Succession of Judas.

§ 1. About the same time, Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripoli, a city of Syria, and set the diadem on his own head. He also gathered certain mercenary soldiers together, and entered into his kingdom, and was joyfully received by all who delivered themselves up to him. And when they had taken Antiochus the king, and Lysias, they brought them to him alive; both which were immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years, as we have already elsewhere related. But there were now many of the wicked Jewish runagades that came together to him, and with them Alcimus the high priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren; and said that "they had slain all his friends, and that those in his kingdom that were of his party, and waited for his return, were by them put to death; that these men had ejected them out of their own country, and caused them to be sojourners in a foreign land; and they desired that he would send some one of his own friends, and know from him what mischief Judas's party had done."

2. At this Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes, a good man,* and one that had been entrusted with all Mesopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high priest to his care, and gave him charge to slay Judas, and those that were with him. So Bacchides made haste, and went out of Antioch with his army; and when he was come into Judea, he sent to Judas and his brethren, to discourse with them about a league of friendship and peace, for he had a mind to take him by treachery; but Judas did not give credit to him, for he saw that he came with so great an army as men do not bring when they come to make peace, but to make war. However, some of the people acquiesced in what Bacchides caused to be proclaimed; and supposing they should undergo no considerable harm from Alcimus, who was their countrymen, they went over to them; and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither they themselves nor those of the same sentiments should come to any harm, they entrusted themselves with them. But Bacchides troubled not himself about the oaths he had taken, and slew threescore of them, although by not keeping his faith with those that first went over, he deterred all the rest, who had intentions to go over to him, from doing it. But as he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at the village called *Bethzetho*, he sent out, and caught many of the deserters, and some of the people also, and slew them all: and enjoined all that lived in the country to submit to Alcimus. So he left him there, with some part of the army, that he might have wherewith to keep the country in obedience, and returned to Antioch, to king Demetrius.

3. But Alcimus was desirous to have the dominion more firmly assured to him: and understanding, that if he could bring it about that the multitude should be his

* It is no way probable that Josephus would call Bacchides, that bitter and bloody enemy of the Jews, as our present copies have it, *a man good*, or *kind and gentle*. What the author of the first book of Maccabees, whom Josephus here follows, instead of that character, says of him is, that he was *a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to the king*; which was very probably Josephus's meaning also.

friends, he should govern with greater security, he spake kind words to them all, and discoursed to each of them after an agreeable and pleasant manner, by which means he quickly had a great body of men and an army about him, although the greater part of them were of the wicked and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country, and slew all that he could find of Judas's party. But when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country, he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other's party. But when Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance: so he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him, alleging that he had undergone a great many miseries by his means, and that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, which must be done by sending a powerful force against him.

4. So Demetrius, being already of opinion that it would be a thing pernicious to his own affairs to overlook Judas, now he was becoming so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most kind and the most faithful of all his friends; for he it was who fled away with him from the city of Rome. He also gave him as many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas withal, and bid him not to spare the nation at all. When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace, and said, "there was no manner of necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves; and that he would give him his oath that he would do him no harm, for that he only came with some friends in order to let him know what king Demetrius's intentions were, and what opinion he had of their nation." When Nicanor had delivered this message, Judas and his brethren complied with him, and suspecting no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor and his army; but while he was saluting Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his own soldiers, upon which they were to seize upon Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of his purpose, and of the snares laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and prepared for fighting him; and upon joining battle with him at a certain village called Capharsalama, he beat Judas,* and forced him to fly to that citadel which was at Jerusalem.

5. And when Nicanor came down from the citadel into the temple, some of the priests and elders met him, and saluted him, and showed him the sacrifices which they said they offered to God for the king; upon which he blasphemed, and threatened them, that unless the people would deliver up Judas to him, upon his return he would pull down their temple. And when he had thus threatened them, he departed from Jerusalem. But the priests fell into tears out of grief at what he had said, and besought God to deliver them from their enemies. But now for Nicanor, when he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at a certain village called Bethoron, he there pitched his camp, another army out of Syria having joined him. And Judas pitched his camp at Adasa, another village, which was thirty furlongs distant from Bethoron, having no more than one thousand soldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, nor to regard how many they were against whom they were going to fight, but to consider who they themselves were, and for what great rewards they

* Josephus's copies must have been corrupted when they here give victory to Nicanor, contrary to the words following, which imply that he who was beaten fled into the *citadel*, which for certain belonged to the city of David, or to Mount Zion, and was in the possession of Nicanor's garrison, and not of Judas's: as also it is contrary to the express words of Josephus's original author, 1 Maccab. vii. 32, who says, that Nicanor lost about 5000 men, and fled to the city of David

hazarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight, and, joining battle with Nicanor, which proved to be a severe one, he overcame the enemy, and slew many of them; and at last Nicanor himself, as he was fighting gloriously, fell. Upon whose fall the army did not stay, but when they had lost their general they were put to flight, and threw down their arms: Judas also pursued them and slew them, and gave notice, by the sound of the trumpets, to the neighbouring villages, that he had conquered the enemy; which when the inhabitants heard, they put on their armour hastily, and met their enemies in the face as they were running away, and slew them, insomuch that not one of them escaped out of this battle, and were in number nine thousand. This victory happened to fall on the thirteenth day of that month which by the Jews is called Adar, and by the Macedonians Dystrus; and the Jews thereon celebrate this victory every year, and esteem it as a festival day. After which the Jewish nation were, for a while, free from wars, and enjoyed peace; but afterward they returned into their former state of wars and hazards.

6. But now as the high priest Alcimus was resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time, and had been built by the holy prophets, he was smitten suddenly by God, and fell down. This stroke made him fall down speechless upon the ground; and undergoing torments for many days, he at length died,* when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas: who hearing of the power of the Romans, and that they had conquered in war Galatia, and Iberia, and Carthage, and Libya; and that, besides these, they had subdued Greece, and their kings, Perseus, and Philip, and Antiochus the Great also,† he resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them. He therefore sent to Rome some of his friends, Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and by them desired the Romans that they would assist them, and be their friends, and would write to Demetrius that he would not fight against the Jews. So the senate received the ambassadors that came to Rome from Judas, and discoursed with them about the errand on which they came, and then granted them a league of assistance. They also made a decree concerning it, and sent a copy of it into Judea. It was also laid up in the capitol, and engraven in brass. The decree itself was this: "The decree of the senate concerning a league of assistance and friendship with the nation of the Jews. It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so, either by sending them corn, or ships, or money; and if any attack be made upon the Jews, the Romans shall assist them, as far as they are able; and again, if any attack be made upon the Romans, the Jews shall assist them. And if the Jews have a mind to add to, or to take away any thing from this league of assistance, that shall be done with the common consent of the Romans. And whatsoever addition shall thus be made, it shall be of force." This decree was written by Eupolemus the son of John, and by Jason the son of Eleazar,‡ when Judas was high priest of the nation, and Simon his brother was general of the army. And this was the first league that the Romans made with the Jews, and was managed after this manner.

* This account of the miserable death of Alcimus or Jacimus, the wicked high priest (the first that was not of the family of the high priests, and made by a vile heathen, Lysias,) before the death of Judas, and of Judas's succession to him as high priest, both here and at the conclusion of this book, directly contradicts 1 Maccab. ix. 54—57, which places his death after the death of Judas, and says not a syllable of the high priesthood of Judas.

† How well the Roman histories agree to this account of the conquests and powerful condition of the Romans at this time, see the notes in Havercamp's edition; only, that the number of senators of Rome was then just 320 is, I think, only known from 1 Maccab. viii. 15.

‡ This subscription is wanting, 1 Maccab. viii. 17, 29, and must be the words of Josephus, who, by mistake, thought, as we have just now seen, that Judas was at this time high priest, and accordingly then reckoned his brother Jonathan to be then general of the army, which yet he seems not to have been till after the death of Judas.

CHAP. XI.

That Bacchides was again sent out against Judas; and how Judas fell as he was courageously fighting.

§ 1. But when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor, and of the destruction of the army that was with him, he sent Bacchides again with an army into Judea, who marched out of Antioch, and came into Judea, and pitched his camp at Arbela, a city of Galilee; and having besieged and taken those that were there in caves (for many of the people had fled into such places,) he removed, and made all the haste he could to Jerusalem. And when he learned that Judas had pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetho, he led his army against them: they were twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen. Now Judas had no more soldiers than one thousand.* When these saw the multitude of Bacchides's men, they were afraid, and left their camp, and fled all away, excepting eight hundred. Now when Judas was deserted by his own soldiers, and the enemy pressed upon him, and gave him no time to gather his army together, he was disposed to fight with Bacchides's army, though he had but eight hundred men with him; so he exhorted these men to undergo the danger courageously, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said they were not a body sufficient to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now, and save themselves, and that when he had gathered his own men together, then he should fall upon the enemy afterwards, his answer was this: "Let not the sun ever see such a thing that I should show my back to the enemy; and although this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatsoever comes upon me, than, by now running away, bring reproach upon my former great actions, or tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to those that remained with him, whereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

2. But Bacchides drew his army out of their camp, and put them in array for the battle. He set the horsemen on both the wings, and the light soldiers and the archers he placed before the whole army, but he was himself on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to join battle with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout, and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the same, he joined battle with them; and as both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sunset, Judas saw that Bacchides and the strongest part of the army were in the right wing, and thereupon took the most courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and broke their ranks, and drove them into the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as to a mountain called Aza: but when those of the left wing saw that the right wing was put to flight, they encompassed Judas, and pursued him, and came behind him, and took him into the middle of their army; so being not able to fly, but encompassed round about with enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought; and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he at last was himself wounded, and fell, and gave up the ghost, and died in a way like to his former famous actions. When Judas was dead, those that were with him had no one whom they could regard [as their commander,] but when they saw themselves

* That this copy of Josephus's, as he wrote it, had here not 1000 but 3000, with 1 Maccab. ix. 5, is very plain, because, though the main part ran away at first, even in Josephus, as well as in 1 Maccab. ix. 6, yet, as there, so here, 800 are said to have remained with Judas: which would be absurd, if the whole number had been no more than 1000.

deprived of such a general, they fled. But Simon and Jonathan, judas's brethren, received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy, and carried it to the village Modin, where their father had been buried, and there buried him; while the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the usual solemn rites of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of valour and a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of their father Mattathias; and had undergone all difficulties, both in doing and suffering, for the liberty of his countrymen. And when his character was so excellent [while he was alive,] he left behind him a glorious reputation and memorial, by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high priesthood three years, he died.

BOOK XIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTY-TWO YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS, TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDER.

CHAP. I.

How Jonathan took the Government after his Brother Judas; and how he, together with his Brother Simon, waged War against Bacchides.

§ 1. By what means the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into slavery by the Macedonians, and what struggles, and now great battles Judas the general of their army ran through, till he was slain as he was fighting for them, hath been related in the foregoing book; but after he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of their forefathers, sprang up again in Judea, and grew upon them, and distressed them on every side. A famine also assisted their wickedness, and afflicted the country, till not a few, who by reason of their want of necessaries, and because they were not able to bear up against the miseries that both the famine and their enemies brought upon them, deserted their country, and went to the Macedonians. And now Bacchides gathered those Jews together who had apostatized from the accustomed way of living of their forefathers, and chose to live like their neighbours, and committed the care of the country to them; who also caught the friends of Judas, and those of his party, and delivered them up to Bacchides, who when he had, in the first place, tortured and tormented them at his pleasure, he by that means at length killed them. And when this calamity of the Jews was become so great as they had never had experience of the like since their return out of Babylon, those that remained of the companions of Judas, seeing that the nation was ready to be destroyed after a miserable manner, came to his brother Jonathan, and desired him that he would imitate his brother, and that care which he took of his countrymen, for whose liberty in general he died also; and that he would not permit the nation to be without a governor, especially in those destructive circumstances wherein it now was. And when Jonathan said that he was ready to die for them, and was indeed esteemed no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army.

2. When Bacchides heard this, and was afraid that Jonathan might be very troublesome to the king and the Macedonians, as Judas had been before him, he sought how he might slay him by treachery; but this intention of his was not unknown to Jonathan, nor to his brother Simon; but when these two were apprized of it, they took all their companions, and presently fled into that wilderness which was nearest to the city; and when they were come to the lake called *Asphar*, they abode there. But when Bacchides was sensible that they were in a low state, and were in that place, he hastened to fall upon them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond Jordan, he recruited his army. But when Jonathan knew that Bacchides was coming upon him, he sent his brother John, who was also called *Gaddis*, to the Nabatean Arabs, that he might lodge his baggage with them until the battle with Bacchides should be over, for they were the Jews' friends. And the sons of Ambri laid an ambush for John, from the city Medaba.

and seized upon him, and upon those that were with him, and plundered all that they had with them; they also slew John, and all his companions. However, they were sufficiently punished for what they now did by John's brethren, as we shall relate presently.

3. But when Bacchides knew that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the lakes of Jordan, he observed when their sabbath-day came, and then assaulted him, as supposing that he would not fight because of the law [for resting on that day.] But he exhorted his companions [to fight;] and told them that their lives were at stake, since they were encompassed by the river and by their enemies, and had no way to escape; for that their enemies pressed upon them before, and the river was behind them. So, after he had prayed to God to give them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy, of whom he overthrew many; and as he saw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he stretched out his right hand to smite him, but the other foreseeing and avoiding the stroke, Jonathan, with his companions, leaped into the river, and swam over it, and by that means escaped beyond Jordan, while the enemy did not pass over that river; but Bacchides returned presently to the citadel at Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand of his army. He also fortified many cities of Judea, whose walls had been demolished, Jericho, and Emmaus, and Bethoron, and Bethel, and Timna, and Pharatho, and Tecoa, and Gazara, and built towers in every one of these cities, and encompassed them with strong walls, that were very large also, and put garrisons into them, that they might issue out of them, and do mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel at Jerusalem more than all the rest. Moreover he took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges, and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded it.

4. About the same time, one came to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon, and told them, that the sons of Ambri were celebrating a marriage, and bringing the bride from the city Gabatha, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, and that the damsel was to be conducted with pomp and splendour, and much riches. So Jonathan and Simon thinking this appeared to be the fittest time for them to avenge the death of their brother, and that they had forces sufficient for receiving satisfaction from them for his death, they made haste to Medaba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies; and as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin, and her bridegroom, and such a great company of their friends with them as was to be expected at this wedding, they sallied out of their ambush, and slew them all, and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them; and so returned, and received this satisfaction for their brother John from the sons of Ambri; for as well those sons themselves, as their friends, and wives, and children, that followed them, perished, being in number about four hundred.

5. However, Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river, and abode there. But Bacchides, when he had secured all Judea, with his garrisons, returned to the king; and then it was that the affairs of Judea were quiet for two years. But when the deserters and the wicked saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the country very quietly, by reason of the peace, they sent to king Demetrius, and excited him to send Bacchides to seize upon Jonathan, which they said was to be done without any trouble, and in one night's time; and that if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might slay them all. So the king sent Bacchides, who, when he was come into Judea, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and auxiliaries, that they should seize upon Jonathan, and bring him to him; and when, upon all their endeavours, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, for he was sensible of the snares they laid for him, and very carefully guarded against them, Bacchides was angry at these deserters, as having imposed upon him and upon the king, and slew fifty of their leaders; whereupon Jonathan, with his brother, and those that were with him, retured to Bethagla, a village that lay in the wilderness, out of his fear of Bacchi-

des. He also built towers in it, and encompassed it with walls, and took care that it should be safely guarded. Upon the hearing of which, Bacchides led his own army along with him, and, besides, took his Jewish auxiliaries, and came against Jonathan, and made an assault upon his fortifications, and besieged him many days; but Jonathan did not abate of his courage at the zeal Bacchides showed in the siege, but courageously opposed him; and while he left his brother Simon in the city, to fight with Bacchides, he went privately out himself into the country, and got a great body of men together of his own party, and fell upon Bacchides's camp in the night time, and destroyed a great many of them. His brother Simon knew also of this his falling upon them, because he perceived that the enemies were slain by him; so he sallied out upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians used, and made a great slaughter of them. And when Bacchides saw himself encompassed with enemies, and some of them before and some behind him, he fell into despair and trouble of mind, as confounded at the unexpected ill success of this siege. However, he vented his displeasure at these misfortunes upon those deserters who sent for him from the king, as having deluded him. So he had a mind to finish this siege after a decent manner, if it were possible for him so to do, and then to return home.

6. When Jonathan understood these his intentions, he sent ambassadors to him, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, and that they might restore those they had taken captive on both sides. So Bacchides thought this a pretty decent way of retiring home, and made a league of friendship with Jonathan, when they sware that they would not any more make war one against another. Accordingly he restored the captives, and took his own men with him, and returned to the king to Antioch; and after this his departure, he never came into Judea again. Then did Jonathan take the opportunity of this quiet state of things, and went and lived in the city Michmash; and there governed the multitude, and punished the wicked and ungodly, and by that means purged the nation of them.

CHAP. II.

How Alexander [Bala,] in his War with Demetrius, granted Jonathan many Advantages, and appointed him to be High Priest, and persuaded him to assist him, although Demetrius promised him greater Advantages on the other Side. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

§ 1. Now in the hundred and sixtieth year, it fell out that Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes,* came up into Syria, and took Ptolemais, the soldiers within having betrayed it to him, for they were at enmity with Demetrius, on account of his insolence and difficulty of access; for he shut himself up in a palace of his that had four towers, which he had built himself, not far from Antioch, and admitted nobody. He was withal slothful and negligent about the public affairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the more kindled against him, as we have elsewhere already related. When, therefore, Demetrius heard that Alexander

* This Alexander Bala, who certainly pretended to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and was owned for such by the Jews and Romans, and many others, and yet is by several historians deemed to be counterfeit, and of no family at all, is, however, by Josephus believed to have been the real son of that Antiochus, and by him always spoken of accordingly. And truly, since the original contemporary and authentic author of the first book of Maccabees, x. 1, calls him by his father's name Epiphanes, and says he was the son of Antiochus, I suppose the other writers, who are all much later, are not to be followed against such evidence, though perhaps Epiphanes might have him by a woman of no family. The king of Egypt also, Philometor, soon gave him his daughter in marriage, which he would hardly have done had he believed him to be a counterfeit, and of so very mean a birth, as the latter historians pretend

was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army, and led it against him: he also sent ambassadors to Jonathan, about a league of mutual assistance and friendship, for he resolved to be beforehand with Alexander, lest the other should treat with him first, and gain assistance from him: and this he did out of the fear he had, lest Jonathan should remember how ill Demetrius had formerly treated him, and should join with him in this war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armour made, and should receive back those hostages of the Jewish nation whom Bacchides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan, by the concession of Demetrius, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king's letter in the audience of the people, and of those that kept the citadel. When these were read, these wicked men and deserters, who were in the citadel, were greatly afraid, upon the king's permission to Jonathan to raise an army, and to receive back the hostages: so he delivered every one of them to his own parents. And thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renewing the city to a better state, and reforming the buildings as he pleased; for he gave orders that the walls of the city should be rebuilt with square stones, that it might be more secure from their enemies. And when those that kept the garrisons that were in Judea saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, excepting those that were in the city Bethsura, and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, for the greater part of these was of the wicked Jews and deserters, and on that account these did not deliver up their garrisons.

2. When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had made Jonathan, and withal knew his courage, and what great things he had done when he fought the Macedonians, and besides, what hardships he had undergone by the means of Demetrius, and of Bacchides, the general of Demetrius's army, he told his friends, that "he could not at present find any one else that might afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who was both courageous against his enemies and had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as having both suffered many hard things from him, and acted many hard things against him. If, therefore, they were of opinion that they should make him their friend against Demetrius, it was more for their advantage to invite him to assist him now than at another time." It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan he wrote to him this epistle: "King Alexander to his brother Jonathan sendeth greeting: We have long ago heard of thy courage and thy fidelity, and for that reason have sent to thee, to make with thee a league of friendship and mutual assistance. We therefore do ordain thee this day the high priest of the Jews, and that thou beest called my friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe and a golden crown, and desire that now thou art by us honoured, thou wilt in like manner respect us also."

3. When Jonathan had received this letter, he put on the pontificial robe at the time of the feast of tabernacles, four years after the death of his brother Judas,* for at that time no high priest had been made. So he raised great forces, and had abundance of armour got ready. This greatly grieved Demetrius when he heard of it, and made him blame himself for his slowness, that he had not prevented Alexander, and got the good will of Jonathan, but had given him time so to do. However, he also himself wrote a letter to Jonathan, and to the people, the contents whereof are these: "King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: Since you have preserved your friendship

* Since Jonathan plainly did not put on the pontificial robes till seven or eight years after the death of his brother Judas, or not till the feast of tabernacles in the hundred and sixtieth of the Seleucidæ, 1 Maccan. x. 21, Petitus's emendation seems here to deserve consideration, who, instead of *after four years since the death of his brother Judas*, would have us read *and therefore after* eight *years since the death of his brother Judas*. This would tolerably well agree with the date of the Maccabees, and with Josephus's own exact chronology at the end of the twentieth book of these Antiquities, which the present text cannot be made to do

for us, and when you have been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined yourselves to them, I both commend you for this your fidelity, and exhort you to continue in the same disposition, for which you shall be repaid, and receive rewards from us; for I will free you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors, and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and, besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt, and the value of the crowns which you used to offer to me;* and instead of the third part of the fruits [of the field,] and the half of the fruits of the trees, I relinquish my part of them from this day: and as to the poll-money which ought to be given me for every head of the inhabitants of Judea, Samaria, and of the three toparchies that adjoin to Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, and Perea, that I relinquish to you for this time, and for all time to come. I will also, that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from the tithe, and from the taxes, unto its utmost bounds. And I so far recede from my title to the citadel as to permit Jonathan your high priest to possess it, that he may place such a garrison in it as he approves of for fidelity and good will to himself, that they may keep it for us. I also make free all those Jews who have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom. I also give order that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for our service: and let their Sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three days before each of them, be free from any imposition. In the same manner, I set free the Jews that are inhabitants in my kingdom, and order that no injury be done them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to list themselves in my army, that they may do it, and those as far as thirty thousand; which Jewish soldiers, wheresoever they go, shall have the same pay as my own army hath; and some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine own body, and as rulers over those that are in my court. I give them leave also to use the laws of their forefathers, and to observe them; and I will that they have power over the three toparchies that are added to Judea; and it shall be in the power of the high priest to take care that no one Jew shall have any other temple for worship, but only that at Jerusalem. I bequeath also, out of my own revenues, yearly, for the expenses about the sacrifices, one hundred and fifty thousand [drachmæ;] and what money is to spare, I will that it shall be your own. I also release to you those ten thousand drachmæ which the kings received from the temple, because they appertain to the priests that minister in the temple. And whosoever shall fly to the temple at Jerusalem, or to the places thereto belonging, or who owe the king money, or are there on any other account, let them be set free, and let their goods be in safety. I also give you leave to repair and rebuild your temple, and that all be done at my expenses. I also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high towers, and that they be erected at my charge. And if there be any fortified town that would be convenient for the Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so built at my expenses."

4. This was what Demetrius promised, and granted to the Jews, by this letter. But king Alexander raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius. And when it was come to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those that opposed them to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp; but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten; and as for all the rest, they ran away; but Demetrius fought courageously, and slew a great many of the enemy; but as he was in pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened that, upon his horse's falling down, he could not escape being killed; for when

* Take Grotius's note here: "The Jews," says he, "were wont to present *crowns* to the kings [of Syria:] afterwards that gold which was paid instead of those crowns, or which was expended in making them, was the *crown gold* and the *crown tax*." Ou 1 Maccab. x. 29.

his enemies saw what had befallen him, they returned back, and encompassed Demetrius round, and they all threw their darts at him: but he, being now on foot, fought bravely, but at length he received so many wounds that he was not able to bear up any longer, but fell. And this is the end that Demetrius came to when he had reigned eleven years,* as we have elsewhere related.

CHAP. III.

The Friendship that was between Onias and Ptolemy Philometor; and how Onias built a Temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem.

§ 1. But then the son of Onias the high priest, who was of the same name with his father, and who fled to king Ptolemy, who was called *Philometor*, lived now at Alexandria, as we have said already. When this Onias saw that Judea was oppressed by the Macedonians, and their kings, out of a desire to purchase to himself a memorial and eternal fame, he resolved to send to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to ask leave of them that he might build a temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem, and might ordain Levites and priests out of their own stock. The chief reason why he was desirous so to do was, that he relied upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived about six hundred years before, and foretold that there certainly was to be a temple built to Almighty God in Egypt, by a man that was a Jew. Onias was elevated with this prediction; and wrote the following epistle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra: "Having done many and great things for you in the affairs of the war, by the assistance of God, and that in Celesyria and Phœnicia, I came at length with the Jews to Leontopolis, and to other places of your nation, where I found that the greatest part of your people had temples in an improper manner, and that on this account they bear ill will one against another, which happens to the Egyptians by reason of the multitude of their temples, and the difference of opinion about divine worship. Now I found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the country Diana; this place is full of materials of several sorts, and replenished with sacred animals: I desire, therefore, that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no master, and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions, that may be for the benefit of thyself, and thy wife and children, that those Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and be subservient to thy advantages; for the prophet Isaiah foretold, that *there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God*:† and many other such things did he prophesy relating to that place."

* Since the rest of the historians now extant give this Demetrius thirteen years, and Josephus only eleven years, Dean Prideaux does not amiss in ascribing to him the mean number twelve.

† It seems to me, contrary to the opinion of Josephus and of the moderns, both Jews and Christians, that this prophesy of Isaiah, xix. 19, &c. *In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, &c.* directly foretold the building of this temple of Onias in Egypt, and was a sufficient warrant to the Jews for building it, and for worshiping the true God, the God of Israel, therein. See Authent. Rec. ii. p. 755. That God seems to have soon better accepted of the sacrifices and prayers here offered him than of those at Jerusalem, see the note on chap. x. sect. 7. And truly the marks of Jewish corruption, or interpolation in this text, in order to discourage their people from approving of the worship of God here, are very strong, and highly deserve our consideration and correction. The foregoing verse in Isaiah runs thus in our common copies: *In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan* [the Hebrew language; shall be full of Jews, whose sacred books were in Hebrew,] *and swear to the Lord of hosts. One* [of the first] *shall be called the city of destruction*, Isa. xx. 18. A strange name. *city of destruction!* upon so joyful an occasion, and a name never heard of in the land of Egypt, or perhaps in any other nation. The old reading was evidently the city *of the sun*, or *Heliopolis*: and Onkelos, in effect, and Symmachus, with the Arabic version, entirely confess that to be the reading. The Septuagint also, although they have the text disguised in the common copies, and call it *Asedek*, the *city of righteousness*; yet, in two or three other copies, the Hebrew word itself for the *sun*, *Acheres* or *Thares*, is preserved. And since Onias insists with the king and

2. And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy. Now any one may observe his piety, and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra, by that epistle which they wrote in answer to it; for they laid the blame and the transgression of the law upon the head of Onias. And this was their reply: "King Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra to Onias send, greeting: We have read thy petition, wherein thou desirest leave to be given thee to purge that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country Bubastis; on which account we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But, since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have at all offended God herein."

3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe its dimensions, or its vessels, which have been already described in my seventh book of the wars of the Jews. However, Onias found other Jews like to himself, together with priests and Levites, that there performed divine service. But we have said enough about this temple.

4. Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian Jews, and those Samaritans who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander at Mount Gerizzim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself; the Jews saying that according to the law of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying that it was to be built at Gerizzim. They desired, therefore, the king to sit with his friends, and hear the debates about these matters, and punish those with death who were baffled. Now Sabbeus and Theodosius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus, the son of Messalamus, for the people of Jerusalem; and they took an oath, by God and the king, to make their demonstrations according to the law; and they desired Ptolemy, that whomsoever he should find that transgressed what they had sworn to, he would put him to death. Accordingly the king took several of his friends into the council, and sat down, in order to hear what the pleaders said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were in great concern for those men, whose lot it was to contend for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of that temple, which was so ancient, and so celebrated all over the habitable earth. Now when Sabbeus and Theodosius had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate, out of the law, and out of the successions of the high priests, how they every one in succession from his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple; and how all the kings of Asia had honoured that temple with their donations, and with the most splendid gifts dedicated thereto: but as for that at Gerizzim, he made no account of it, and regarded it as if it had never had a being. By this speech, and other arguments, Andronicus persuaded the king to determine that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses,* and put Sabbeus and Theodosius to death. And

queen, that Isaiah's prophesy contained many other predictions relating to this place, besides the words by him recited, it is highly probable that these were especially meant by him; and that one main reason why he applied this prediction to himself, and to his prefecture of Heliopolis, which Dean Prideaux well proves was in that part of Egypt, and why he chose to build in that prefecture of Heliopolis, though otherwise an improper place, was this, that the same authority that he had for building this temple in Egypt, the very same he had for building it in his own prefecture of Heliopolis also, which he desired to do, and which he did accordingly. Dean Prideaux has much ado to avoid seeing this corruption of the Hebrew, but it being in support of his own opinion about this temple, he durst not see it; and, in deed, he reasons here in the most weak and most injudicious manner possible. See him at the year 149.

* A very unfair disputation this! while the Jewish disputant, knowing that he could not properly prove out of the Pentateuch, that *the place which the Lord their God shall choose to place his name there*, so often referred to in the book of Deuteronomy, was Jerusalem any more than Gerizzim, that being not determined till the days of David, Antiq. B. vii. chap. xiii. sec. 4, proves only what the Samaritans did not deny, that the temple at Jerusalem was much more ancient, and much more celebrated and honoured than that at Gerizzim, which was nothing to the present purpose. The whole evidence, by the very

these were the events that befell the Jews at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

CHAP. IV.

How Alexander honoured Jonathan after an extraordinary manner; and how Demetrius, the Son of Demetrius, overcame Alexander, and made a League of Friendship with Jonathan.

§ 1. DEMETRIUS being thus slain in battle, as we have above related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria; and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor, and desired his daughter in marriage; and said, it was but just that he should be joined in affinity to one that had now received the principality of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God's providence, and had conquered Demetrius, and that was on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this proposal of marriage gladly; and wrote him an answer, saluting him on account of his having received the principality of his forefathers, and promising him that he would give him his daughter in marriage; and assured him that he was coming to meet him at Ptolemais, and desired that he would there meet him, for that he would accompany her from Egypt so far, and would there marry his child to him. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and brought his daughter Cleopatra along with him; and as he found Alexander there before him, as he desired him to come, he gave him his child in marriage, and for her portion gave her as much silver and gold as became such a king to give.

2. When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan the high priest, and desired him to come to Ptolemais. So when he came to these kings, and had made them magnificent presents, he was honoured by them both. Alexander compelled him also to put off his own garment, and to take a purple garment, and made him sit with him on his throne; and commanded his captains that they should go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill will, when they saw the honour that was done to him by proclamation, and that by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan that he set him down as the principal of his friends.

3. But then, upon the hundred and sixty-fifth year, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Crete with a great number of mercenary soldiers, which Lasthenes the Cretian brought him, and sailed to Cilicia. The thing cast Alexander into great concern and disorder when he heard it; so he made haste immediately out of Phœnicia, and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there before Demetrius should come. He also left Apollonius Dau[s]*

oaths of both parties, being we see obliged to be confined to the law of Moses, or to the Pentateuch alone However, wordly policy and interest, and the multitude, prevailing, the court gave sentence, as usual, on the stronger side, and poor Sabbeus and Theodosius, the Samaritan disputants, were martyred, and this, so far as appears, without any direct hearing at all, which is like the usual practice of such political courts about matters of religion. Our copies say, that the body of the Jews were in a great concern about *those men*, in the plural, who were to dispute for the temple at Jerusalem; whereas it seems but they had but one disputant, Andronicus by name: perhaps more were prepared to speak on the Jews' side; but the first having answered to his name, and *overcome* the Samaritans, there was no necessity for any other defender of the Jerusalem temple.

* Of the several *Apollonii* about these ages, see Dean Prideaux at the year 148. This Apollonius Daus was, by his account, the son of that Apollonius who had been made governor of Celesyria and Phœnicia by Seleucus Philopator, and was himself a confidant of his son Demetrius the father, and restored to his father's government by him, but afterwards revolted from him to Alexander, but not to Demetrius the son, as he supposes.

governor of Celesyria, who, coming to Jamnia with a great army, sent to Jonathan the high priest, and told him that "it was not right that he alone should live at rest, and with authority, and not be subject to the king; that this thing had made him a reproach among all men, that he had not yet made him subject to the king. Do not thou, therefore, deceive thyself, and sit still among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee; but, if thou hast any dependence on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be compared together, and the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the most courageous. However, take notice, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and that these are the very men who have always beaten thy progenitors; but let us have the battle in such a place of the country where we may fight with weapons, and not with stones, and where there may be no place whither those that are beaten may fly."

4. With this Jonathan was irritated; and choosing himself out ten thousand of his soldiers, he went out of Jerusalem in haste, with his brother Simon, and came to Joppa, and pitched his camp on the outside of the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him, for they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius; but when Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take them by force, and so they opened the gates to him. But Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footmen, and came to Ashdod, and removing thence, he made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, he made as if he was retiring from the place, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himself highly upon his horsemen, and having his hopes of victory principally in them. However, Jonathan sallied out, and pursued Apollonius to Ashdod; but as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle; but Apollonius had lain a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might be seen by their enemies as behind them; which when Jonathan perceived, he was under no consternation, but ordering his army to stand in a square battle array, he gave them a charge to fall on the enemy on both sides, and set them to face those that attacked them, both before and behind; and while the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies; but for himself, he charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armour, and receive the darts of the horsemen; who did as they were commanded; so that the enemies' horsemen, while they threw their darts till they had no more left, did them no harm; for the darts that were thrown did not enter into their bodies, being thrown upon the shields, that were united and conjoined together, the closeness of which easily overcame the force of the darts, and they flew about without any effect. But when the enemy grew remiss in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their weariness, and fell upon the body of men before him; and, because his soldiers showed great alacrity, he put the enemy to flight: and when the horsemen saw that the footmen ran away, neither did they stay themselves, but they being very weary, by the duration of the fight till the evening, and their hope from the footmen being quite gone, they basely ran away, and in great confusion also, till they were separated one from another, and scattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod, and slew a great many of them, and compelled the rest, in despair of escaping, to fly to the temple of Dagon, which was at Ashdod; but Jonathan took the city on the first onset, and burnt it, and the villages about it; nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of the enemies that fell in the battle, and were consumed in the temple were eight thousand. When Jonathan, therefore, had overcome so great an army, he removed from Ashdod, and came to Askelon: and when he had pitched his camp

without the city, the people of Askelon came out and met him, bringing him hospitable presents, and honouring him; so he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jerusalem with a great deal of prey, which he brought thence when he conquered his enemies; but when Alexander heard that Apollonius the general of his army was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, because he had fought with Jonathan, his friend and ally, against his directions. Accordingly he sent to Jonathan, and gave testimony to his worth; and gave him honorary rewards, as a golden button,* which it is the custom to give the king's kinsman; and allowed him Ekron, and its toparchy for his own inheritance.

5. About this time it was that king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, led an army, part by the sea and part by the land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Ashdod; where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt, and accused Jonathan of having laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to meet Ptolemy as far as Joppa, and obtained from him hospitable presents, and those glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honour. And when he had conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem

6. But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction; for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, by the means of Ammonius, who was his friend; and, as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him what snare had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desiring that he might be accordingly punished for it. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who laid the designs, and was very angry at him. Alexander had also formerly been on very ill terms with the people of Antioch, for they had suffered very much by his means; yet did Ammonius at length undergo the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner, like a woman, while he endeavoured to conceal himself in a feminine habit, as we have elsewhere related.

7. Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him, to assist him against Demetrius: so he dissolved his relation to him, and took his daughter away from him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make a league of mutual assistance and friendship with him, and agreed with him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this embassage, and accepted of his assistance, and of the marriage of his daughter. But Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do, and that was to persuade the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius, because they were greatly displeased at him on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them; yet did he bring this about; for, as the people of Antioch hated Alexander on Ammonius's account, as we have showed already, they were easily prevailed with to cast him out of Antioch; who, thus expelled out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. Ptolemy came then into Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants, and by the army; so that he was forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt; but being naturally a good and a righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others, and, besides these dispositions, being also a wise man in reasoning about futurities, he determined to avoid the envy of the Romans; so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and persuaded them to receive Demetrius; and assured them, that "he would not be mindful of what they did to his father, in case he should be now obliged by

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8. But now Alexander made haste with a numerous and great army, and came out of Cilicia into Syria, and burnt the country belonging to Antioch, and pillaged it; whereupon Ptolemy and his son-in-law Demetrius brought their army against him (for he had already given him his daughter in marriage,) and beat Alexander, and put him to flight; and accordingly he fled into Arabia. Now it happened in the time of battle, that Ptolemy's horse, upon hearing the noise of an elephant, cast him off his back, and threw him on the ground; upon the sight of which accident his enemies fell upon him, and gave him many wounds upon his head, and brought him into danger of death: for when his guards caught him up, he was so very ill that for four days' time he was not able either to understand or to speak. However Zabdiel, a prince among the Arabians, cut off Alexander's head, and sent it to Ptolemy, who, recovering of his wounds, and returning to his understanding on the fifth day, heard at once a most agreeable hearing, and saw a most agreeable sight, which were the death and head of Alexander; yet a little after this his joy for the death of Alexander, with which he was so greatly satisfied, he also departed this life. Now Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years, as we have elsewhere related.

9. But when Demetrius, who was styled *Nicator*,* had taken the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's soldiers very hardly, neither remembering the league of mutual assistance that was between them, nor that he was his son-in-law and kinsman, by Cleopatra's marriage to him; so the soldiers fled from his wicked treatment to Alexandria, but Demetrius kept his elephants. But Jonathan the high priest levied an army out of all Judea, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it; it was held by a garrison of Macedonians, and by some of those wicked men who had deserted the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place, as depending on its strength; but some of those wicked men went out by night, and came to Demetrius, and informed him that the citadel was besieged; who was irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and came from Antioch, against Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly to Ptolemais: upon which Jonathan did not intermit the siege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people, and the priests, and carried with him gold, and silver, and garments, and a great number of presents of friendship, and came to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood, as he had possessed it by the grants of the kings his predecessors. And when the Jewish deserters accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when he petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judea, and the three toparchies of Samaria, and Perea, and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter confirming all those grants; whose contents were as follows: "King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: We have sent you a copy of that epistle which we have written to Lasthenes our kinsman, that you may know its contents. King Demetrius to Lasthenes our father, sendeth greeting: I have determined to return thanks, and to show favour to the nation of the Jews, which hath observed the rules of justice in our concerns. Accordingly I remit to them the three prefectures, Apherima, and Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judea out of Samaria, with their appurtenances: as also what the kings my predeces

* This name, *Demetrius, Nicator*, or *Demetrius the conqueror*, is so written on his coins still extant, as Hudson and Spanheim informs us: the latter of whom gives us here the entire inscription, *King Demetrius the God Philadelphus Nicator.*

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8. But now Alexander made haste with a numerous and great army, and came out of Cilicia into Syria, and burnt the country belonging to Antioch, and pillaged it; whereupon Ptolemy and his son-in-law Demetrius brought their army against him (for he had already given him his daughter in marriage,) and beat Alexander, and put him to flight; and accordingly he fled into Arabia. Now it happened in the time of battle, that Ptolemy's horse, upon hearing the noise of an elephant, cast him off his back, and threw him on the ground; upon the sight of which accident his enemies fell upon him, and gave him many wounds upon his head, and brought him into danger of death: for when his guards caught him up, he was so very ill that for four days' time he was not able either to understand or to speak. However Zabdiel, a prince among the Arabians, cut off Alexander's head, and sent it to Ptolemy, who, recovering of his wounds, and returning to his understanding on the fifth day, heard at once a most agreeable hearing, and saw a most agreeable sight, which were the death and head of Alexander; yet a little after this his joy for the death of Alexander, with which he was so greatly satisfied, he also departed this life. Now Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years, as we have elsewhere related.

9. But when Demetrius, who was styled *Nicator*,* had taken the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's soldiers very hardly, neither remembering the league of mutual assistance that was between them, nor that he was his son-in-law and kinsman, by Cleopatra's marriage to him; so the soldiers fled from his wicked treatment to Alexandria, but Demetrius kept his elephants. But Jonathan the high priest levied an army out of all Judea, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it; it was held by a garrison of Macedonians, and by some of those wicked men who had deserted the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place, as depending on its strength; but some of those wicked men went out by night, and came to Demetrius, and informed him that the citadel was besieged; who was irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and came from Antioch, against Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly to Ptolemais: upon which Jonathan did not intermit the siege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people, and the priests, and carried with him gold, and silver, and garments, and a great number of presents of friendship, and came to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood, as he had possessed it by the grants of the kings his predecessors. And when the Jewish deserters accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when he petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judea, and the three toparchies of Samaria, and Perea, and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter confirming all those grants; whose contents were as follows: "King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: We have sent you a copy of that epistle which we have written to Lasthenes our kinsman, that you may know its contents. King Demetrius to Lasthenes our father, sendeth greeting: I have determined to return thanks, and to show favour to the nation of the Jews, which hath observed the rules of justice in our concerns. Accordingly I remit to them the three prefectures, Apherima, and Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judea out of Samaria, with their appurtenances: as also what the kings my predeces

* This name, *Demetrius*, *Nicator*, or *Demetrius the conqueror*, is so written on his coins still extant, as Hudson and Spanheim informs us: the latter of whom gives us here the entire inscription, *King Demetrius the God Philadelphus Nicator*.

sors received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem; and what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, and what else belongs to us; with the salt pits, and the crowns that used to be presented to us. Nor shall they be compelled to pay any of these taxes from this time to all futurity. Take care therefore that a copy of this epistle be taken, and given to Jonathan, and be set up in an eminent place of their holy temple." And these were the contents of this writing. And now when Demetrius saw that there was peace every where, and that there was no danger, nor fear of war, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and diminished their pay, and even retained in pay no others than such foreigners as came up with him from Crete, and from the other islands. However, this procured him ill will and hatred from the soldiers; on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, while the kings before him used to pay them in time of peace, as they did before, that they might have their good will, and that they might be very ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if any occasion should require it.

CHAP. V.

How Trypho, after he had beaten Demetrius, delivered the Kingdom to Antiochus the Son of Alexander, and gained Jonathan, for his Assistant: and concerning the Actions and Embassies of Jonathan.

§ 1. Now there was a certain commander of Alexander's forces, an Apanemian by birth, whose name was Diodotus, and was also called Trypho, took notice of the ill will the soldiers bare to Demetrius, and went to Malchus the Arabian, who brought up Antiochus, the son of Alexander, and told him what an ill will the armies bare Demetrius, and persuaded him to give him Antiochus, because he would make him king, and recover to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at the first opposed him in this attempt because he could not believe him; but when Trypho lay hard at him for a long time, he overpersuaded him to comply with Trypho's intentions and entreaties. And this was the state Trypho was now in.

2. But Jonathan the high priest, being desirous to get clear of those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters, and wicked men, as well as of those in all the garrisons in the country, sent presents and ambassadors to Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his soldiers out of the strong holds of Judea. Demetrius made answer, that after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that also: and he desired he would send him some assistance; and informed him that his army had deserted him. So Jonathan chose out three thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, both on account of what mischief he had himself done them, and because they were his enemies also on account of his father Demetrius, who had greatly abused them; so they watched some opportunity which they might lay hold on, to fall upon him. And when they were informed of the assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevented him, and seized upon him, they took their weapons immediately, and encompassed his palace in the way of a siege, and seizing upon all the ways of getting out, they sought to subdue their king. And when he saw that the people of Antioch were become his bitter enemies, and that they were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers which he had with him, and those Jews who were sent by Jonathan, and assaulted the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them, for they were many ten thousands, and was beaten. But when the Jews saw that the Antiochians were superior, they went up to the top

of the palace, and shot at them from thence; and because they were so remote from them by their height, that they suffered nothing on their side, but did great execution on the others, as fighting from such an elevation, they drove them out of the adjoining houses, and immediately set them on fire, whereupon the flame spread itself over the whole city, and burnt it all down. This happened by reason of the closeness of the houses, and because they were generally built of wood. So the Antiochians, when they were not able to help themselves, nor to stop the fire, were put to flight. And as the Jews leaped from the top of one house to the top of another, and pursued them after that manner, it thence happened that the pursuit was so very surprising. But when the king saw that the Antiochians were very busy in saving their children and their wives, and so did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow passages, and fought them, and slew a great many of them, till at last they were forced to throw down their arms, and to deliver themselves up to Demetrius. So he forgave them this their insolent behaviour, and put an end to the sedition: and when he had given rewards to the Jews out of the rich spoils he had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cause of his victory, he sent them away to Jerusalem, to Jonathan, with an ample testimony of the assistance they had afforded him. Yet did he prove an ill man to Jonathan afterward, and broke the promises he had made: and he threatened that he would make war upon him, unless he would pay all that tribute which the Jewish nation owed to the first kings [of Syria.] And this he had done, if Trypho had not hindered him, and diverted his preparations against Jonathan, to a concern for his own preservation: for he now returned out of Arabia into Syria, with the child Antiochus, for he was yet in age but a youth, and put the diadem on his head: and as the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay, came to his assistance, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him both his elephants, and the city Antioch.

4. Demetrius, upon this defeat, retired into Cilicia; but the child Antiochus sent ambassadors, and an epistle to Jonathan, and made him his friend and confederate, and confirmed to him the high priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judea. Moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold, and a purple garment, and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a golden button, and styled him one of his principal friends; and appointed his brother Simon to be general over the forces, from the ladder of Tyre unto Egypt. So Jonathan was so pleased with these grants made him by Antiochus, that he sent ambassadors to him, and to Trypho, and professed himself to be their friend and confederate, and said he would join with him in a war against Demetrius, informing him that he had made no proper return for the kindnesses he had done him; for that when he had received many marks of kindness from him, when he stood in great need of them, he, for such good turns, had requited him with farther injuries.

5. So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raise himself a numerous army out of Syria and Phœnicia, and to make war against Demetrius's generals; whereupon he went in haste to the several cities, which received him splendidly indeed, but put no forces into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Askelon, the inhabitants of Askelon came and brought him presents, and met him in a splendid manner. He exhorted them, and every one of the cities of Celesyria, to forsake Demetrius, and to join with Antiochus; and in assisting him, to endeavour to punish Demetrius for what offences he had been guilty of against themselves; and told them there were many reasons for that their procedure, if they had a mind so to do. And when he had persuaded those cities to promise their assistance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza, in order to induce them also to be friends to Antiochus; but he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected, for they had shut their gates against him, and although they had deserted Demetrius, they had not resolved to join themselves

to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them. and to harass their country; for as he set a part of his army round about Gaza itself, so with the rest he overran their land, and spoiled it, and burnt what was in it. When the inhabitants of Gaza saw themselves in this state of affliction, and that no assistance came to them from Demetrius, that what distressed them was at hand, but what should profit them was still at a great distance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer continuance with him, and to cultivate friendship with the other; so they sent to Jonathan, and professed they would be his friends, and offered him assistance: for such is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great afflictions, they do not understand what is for their advantage, but when they find themselves under such afflictions, they then change their minds, and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been at all damaged, they choose to do, but not till after they have suffered such damages. However, he made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance of it, and sent these hostages to Jerusalem, while he went himself over all the country, as far as Damascus.

6. But when he heard that the generals of Demetrius's forces were come to the city Cadesh with a numerous army (the place lies between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee,) for they supposed they should hereby draw him out of Syria, in order to preserve Galilee, and that he would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them, he went to meet them, having left Simon in Judea, who raised as great an army as he was able out of the country, and then sat down before Bethsura, and besieged it, that being the strongest place in all Judea; and a garrison of Demetrius's kept it, as we have already related. But as Simon was raising banks, and bringing his engines of war against Bethsura, and was very earnest about the siege of it, the garrison was afraid lest the place should be taken of Simon by force, and they put to the sword; so they sent to Simon, and desired the security of his oath, that they should come to no harm from him, and that they would leave the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly he gave them his oath, and ejected them out of the city, and he put therein a garrison of his own.

7. But Jonathan removed out of Galilee, and from the waters which are called Gennesar, for there he was before encamped, and came into the plain that is called Asor, without knowing that the enemy was there. When therefore Demetrius's men knew a day beforehand, that Jonathan was coming against them, they laid an ambush in the mountain, who were to assault him on the sudden, while they themselves met with an army in the plain, which army, when Jonathan saw ready to engage him, he also got ready his own soldiers for the battle as well as he was able; but those that were laid in ambush by Demetrius's generals being behind them, the Jews were afraid lest they should be caught in the midst between two bodies, and perish, so they ran away in haste, and indeed all the rest left Jonathan; but a few there were, in number about fifty, who staid with him, and with them Mattathias, the son of Absalom, and Judas, the son of Chapseus, who were commanders of the whole army. These marched boldly, and like men desperate, against the enemy, and so pushed them, that by their courage they daunted them, and with their weapons in their hands, they put them to flight. And when these soldiers of Jonathan, that had retired, saw the enemy giving way, they got together after their flight, and pursued them with great violence: and this they did as far as Cadesh, where the camp of the enemy lay.

8. Jonathan having thus gotten a glorious victory, and slain two thousand of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem. So when he saw that all his affairs prospered, according to his mind, by the providence of God, he sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing that friendship which their nation had with them formerly. He enjoined the same ambassadors, that, as they came back, they should go to the Spartans, and put them in mind of their friendship and kin-

dred. So when the ambassadors came to Rome, they went into their senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan the high priest to say, how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendship with the Jews; and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might safely conduct them to their own country. Accordingly as they returned, they came to Sparta, and delivered the epistle which they had received of Jonathan to them; a copy of which here follows; "Jonathan the high priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate, and body of the people of the Jews, to the *ephori* and senate, and people of the Lacedemonians, send greeting: If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be agreeable to your mind, it is according to our wishes. We are also well. When in former times an epistle was brought to Onias, who was then our high priest, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, concerning the kindred that was between us and you, a copy of which is here subjoined, we both joyfully received the epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteles and Areus, although we did not need such a demonstration, because we were satisfied about it from the sacred writings,* yet did not we think fit first to begin the claim of this relation to you, lest we should seem too early in taking to ourselves the glory which is now given us by you. It is a long time since this relation of ours to you hath been renewed; and when we, upon holy and festival days, offer sacrifices to God, we pray to him for your preservation and victory. As to ourselves, although we have had many wars that have compassed us around, by reason of the covetousness of our neighbours, yet did not we determine to be troublesome either to you, or to others that were related to us; but since we have now overcome our enemies, and have occasion to send Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, who are both honourable men belonging to our senate, to the Romans, we gave them this epistle to you also, that they might renew that friendship which is between us. You will therefore do well yourselves to write to us, and send an account of what you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things disposed to act according to your desires." So the Lacedemonians received the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendship and mutual assistance, and sent it to them.

9. At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; the one was called the sect of the *Pharisees*, another the sect of the *Sadducees*, and the other the sect of the *Essenes*. Now for the Pharisees,† they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But the sect of the Essenes affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. And for the Sadducees, they take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and

* This clause is otherwise rendered in the first book of the Maccabees, xii. 9. *For that we have the holy books of scripture in our hands to comfort us.* The Hebrew original being lost, we cannot certainly judge which was the truest version, only the coherence favours Josephus. But if this were the Jews' meaning, that they were satisfied out of their Bible, that the Jews and Lacedemonians were of kin, that part of their Bible is now lost, for we find no such assertion in our present copies.

† Those that suppose Josephus to contradict himself in his three several accounts of the notions of the Pharisees, this here, and that earlier one, which is the largest, Of the War, B. ii. chap. viii. sect. 14; and that later, Antiq. B. xviii. chap. i. sect. 3; as if he sometimes said they introduced an absolute fatality, and denied all freedom of human actions, is almost wholly groundless; he ever, as the very learned Casaubon here truly observes, asserting, that the Pharisees were between Essenes and Sadducees, and did only so far ascribe all to fate or divine providence, as was consistent with the freedom of human actions. However, their perplexed way of talking about fate or providence as overruling all things, made it commonly thought they were willing to excuse their sins by ascribing them to fate, as in the Apostolical Constitutions, B. vi. chap. vi. Perhaps under the same general name some difference of opinion in this point might be propagated, as is very common in all parties, especially in points of metaphysical subtility: however, our Josephus, who in his heart was a great admirer of the piety of the Essenes, was in practice a Pharisee, as he himself informs us, in his own Life, sect. 2. And his account of this doctrine of the Pharisees, is for certain agreeable to his own opinion, who ever both fully allowed the freedom of human actions, and yet strongly believed the powerful interposition of divine providence. See concerning this matter a remarkable clause, Antiq. B xviii. chap. xi. sect. 7.

that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal, but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of these opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

10. But now the generals of Demetrius, being willing to recover the defeat they had had, gathered a greater army together than they had before, and came against Jonathan; but as soon as he was informed of their coming, he went suddenly to meet them, to the country of Hamoth, for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judea, so he pitched his camp at fifty furlongs distance from the enemy, and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and after what manner they were encamped. When his spies had given him full information, and had seized upon some of them by night, who told him the enemy would soon attack him, he, thus apprized beforehand, provided for his security, and placed watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night; and he gave them a charge to be of good courage, and to have their minds prepared to fight in the night-time, if they should be obliged so to do, lest their enemy's designs should seem concealed from them. But when Demetrius's commanders were informed that Jonathan knew what they intended, their counsels were disordered, and it alarmed them to find, that the enemy had discovered those their intentions; nor did they expect to overcome them any other way, now they had failed in the snares they had laid for them; for should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army; so they resolved to fly: and having lighted many fires, that when the enemy saw them they might suppose they were there still, they retired. But when Jonathan came to give them battle in the morning in their camp, and found it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them, yet he could not overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Eleutherus, and were out of danger. So when Jonathan was returned thence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans, and drove away a great deal of their prey, and took [many] captives, and came to Damascus, and there sold off that he had taken. About the same time it was that Simon his brother went over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon, and fortified the strong holds: and when he had made them very strong both in the edifices erected, and in the garrisons placed in them, he came to Joppa, and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it, for he heard that the people of Joppa were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius's generals.

11. When Simon and Jonathan had finished these affairs, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the temple, which had been thrown down, and to make the places adjoining stronger by very high towers; and besides that, to build another wall in the midst of the city, in order to exclude the market-place from the garrison which was in the citadel, and by that means to hinder them from any plenty of provisions; and moreover, to make the fortresses that were in the country much stronger, and more defensible than they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jonathan himself took care of the building that belonged to the city, and sent Simon away to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over [Euphrates] and came into Mesopotamia, as desirous to retain that country still, as well as Babylon; and when he should have obtained the dominion of the upper provinces, to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom; for those Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised, that if he would come to them, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist them in fighting against Arsaces,* the king of the Parthians. So he was ele-

* This king, who was of the famous race of Arsaces, is both here, and 1 Mac. xiv. 2, called by the

vated with these hopes, and came hastily to them, as having resolved that, if he had once overthrown the Parthians, and gotten an army of his own, he would make war against Trypho, and eject him out of Syria; and the people of that country received him with great alacrity. So he raised forces, with which he fought against Arsaces, and lost all his army, and was himself taken alive, as we have elsewhere related.

CHAP. VI.

How Jonathan was slain by Treachery; and how thereupon the Jews made Simon their General and High Priest; what courageous Actions also he performed, especially against Trypho.

§ 1. Now when Trypho knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus, but contrived by subtility to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom; but the fear that he was in of Jonathan was an obstacle to this his design, for Jonathan was a friend to Antiochus, for which cause he resolved first to take Jonathan out of the way, and then to set about his designs relating to Antiochus; but he judged it best to take him off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethshan, which by the Greeks is called *Scythopolis*, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thousand chosen men, for he thought that he came to fight him; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by presents, and kind treatment, and gave orders to his captains to obey him; and by these means was desirous of giving him assurance of his good will, and to take away all suspicions out of his mind, that so he might make him careless and inconsiderate, and might take him when he was unguarded. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was no occasion for bringing it with him when there was no war, but all was in peace. However, he desired him to retain a few about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for that he would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the fortresses that were in the country under his dominion: and he told him, that he came with those very designs.

2. Yet did not Jonathan suspect any thing at all by this his management, but believed that Trypho gave him this advice out of kindness, and with a sincere design. Accordingly he dismissed his army, and retained no more than three thousand of them with him, and left two thousand in Galilee, and he himself, with one thousand, came with Trypho to the Ptolemais. But when the people of Ptolemais had shut their gates, as it had been commanded them by Trypho to do, he took Jonathan alive and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against those two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to destroy them: but those men having heard the report of what had happened to Jonathan, they prevented the execution, and before those that were sent by Trypho came, they covered themselves with their armour, and went away out of the country. Now when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no disturbance, but returned back to Trypho.

3. But when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were destroyed, they deplored his sad fate, and there was earnest inquiry made about him by every body, and a great and just fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest now they were deprived of the courage and conduct of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill-will, and as they were before quiet on account of Jonathan, they should now rise up

family name *Arsaces*, but Appian says, his proper name was *Phraates*. He is here also called by Josephus, the *king of the Parthians*, as the Greeks used to call them, but by the elder author of the first book of Maccabees, the *king of the Persians and Medes*, according to the language of the eastern nations. See Authent. Rec. part ii. p. 1108.

against them, and by making war with them, should force them into the utmost dangers. And, indeed, what they suspected really befell them; for when those nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war with the Jews, as now destitute of a governor; and Trypho himself got an army together, and had an intention to go up to Judea, and make war against its inhabitants. But when Simon saw that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and thereby to render them more resolute in opposing Trypho when he should come against them. He then called he people together into the temple, and thence began thus to encourage them: 'O my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our father, myself, and my brethren have ventured to hazard our lives, and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty; since I have therefore such plenty of examples before me, and we of our family have determined with ourselves to die for our laws, and our divine worship, there shall no terror be so great as to banish this resolution from our souls, nor to introduce in its place a love of life, and a contempt of glory. Do you, therefore, follow me with alacrity, whithersoever I shall lead you, as not destitute of such a captain as is willing to suffer, and to do the greatest things for you, for neither am I better than my brethren that I should be sparing of my own life, nor so far worse than they as to avoid and refuse what they thought the most honourable of all things, I mean to undergo death for your laws, and for that worship of God which is peculiar to you; I will therefore give such proper demonstrations as will show that I am their own brother; and I am so bold as to expect that I shall avenge their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you all, with your wives and children, from the injuries they intend against you, and with God's assistance to preserve your temple from destruction by them; for I see that these nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor, and that they thence are encouraged to make war against you."

4. By this speech of Simon's, he inspired the multitude with courage, and as they had been before dispirited through fear, they were now raised to a good hope of better things, insomuch that the whole multitude of the people cried out all at once, that Simon should be their leader; and that instead of Judas and Jonathan, his brethren, he should have the government over them; and they promised that they would readily obey him in whatsoever he should command them. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and made haste in rebuilding the walls of the city, and strengthened them by very high and strong towers; and sent a friend of his, one Jonathan, the son of Absalom, to Joppa, and gave him order to eject the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho, but he himself stayed to secure Jerusalem.

5. But Trypho removed from Ptolemais with a great army, and came into Judea, and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon also met him with his army at the city Adida, which is upon a hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judea. And when Trypho knew that Simon was by the Jews made their governor, he sent to him, and would have imposed upon him by deceit and treachery, and desired, if he would have his brother Jonathan released, that he would send him a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, that when he shall be released, he may not make Judea revolt from the king, for that at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and now owed it to him. But Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho, and although he knew, that if he gave him the money he should lose it, and that Trypho would not send his brother free, and withal, should deliver the sons of Jonathan to the enemy, yet because he was afraid that he should have a calumny raised against him among the multitude as the cause of his brother's death, if he neither gave the money nor sent Jonathan's sons, he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made; and added this, that the offers were ensnaring and treacherous, and yet that it was more eligible to send the money and

Jonathan's sons, than to be liable to the imputation of not complying with Trypho's offers, and thereby refusing to save his brother. Accordingly Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money; but when Trypho had received them, he did not keep his promise, nor set Jonathan free, but took his army, and went about all the country, and resolved to go up afterward to Jerusalem by the way of Idumea, while Simon went over against him with his army, and all along pitched his own camp over against his.

6. But when those that were in the citadel had sent to Trypho, and besought him to make haste and come to them, and to send them provisions, he prepared his cavalry as though he would be at Jerusalem that very night, but so great a quantity of snow fell in the night that it covered the roads, and made them so deep, that there was no passing, especially for the cavalry. This hindered him from coming to Jerusalem; whereupon Trypho removed thence, and came into Celesyria, and falling vehemently upon the land of Gilead, he slew Jonathan there, and when he had given order for his burial, he returned himself to Antioch. However, Simon sent some to the city Basca to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Modin; and all the people made great lamentation over him. Simon also erected a very large monument for his father and his brethren, of white and polished stone, and raised it a great height, and so as to be seen a long way off, and made cloisters about it, and set up pillars, which were of one stone apiece; a work it was wonderful to see. Moreover, he built seven pyramids also for his parents and his brethren, one for each of them, which were made very surprising, both for their largeness and beauty, and which have been preserved to this day; and we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high priest four years,* and had been also governor of his nation. And these were the circumstances that concerned his death.

7. But Simon, who was made high priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high priesthood set his people free from their slavery under the Macedonians, and permitted them to pay tribute to them no longer: which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after a hundred and seventy years† of the kingdom of the Assyrians, which was after Seleucus, who was called Nicator, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the multitude towards Simon was so great, that in their contracts one with another, and in their public records, they wrote, "In the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews; for under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies that were round about them, for Simon overthrew the city Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamnia. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the

* There is some error in the copies here, when no more than four years are ascribed to the high priesthood of Jonathan. We know by Josephus's last Jewish chronology, Antiq. B. xx. ch. x. that there was an interval of seven years between the death of Alcimus or Jacimus, the last high priest, and the real high priesthood of Jonathan, to whom yet those seven years seem here to be ascribed, as a part of them were to Judas before, Antiq. B. xii. chap. x. sect. 6. Now since, besides these seven years *interregnum* in the pontificate, we are told, Antiq. B. xx. ch. x. that Jonathan's real high priesthood lasted seven years more, these two seven years will make up fourteen years, which I suppose was Josephus's own number in this place, instead of the four in our present copies.

† These 170 years of the Assyrians mean no more, as Josephus explains himself here, than from the æra of Seleucus, which as it is known to have begun on the 312th year before the Christian æra, from its spring in the first book of Maccabees, and from its autumn in the second book of Maccabees, so did it not begin at Babylon till the next spring on the 311th year. See Prid. at the year 312. And it is truly observed by Dr. Hudson on this place, that the Syrians and Assyrians are sometimes confounded in ancient authors, according to the words of Justin the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius, who says, "That the Assyrians were afterwards called *Syrians*." B. I. ch. xi. See Of the War, B. v. ch. ix. sect. 4. where the Philistines themselves, at the very south limit of Syria, in its utmost extent are called *Assyrians* by Josephus, as Spanheim observes.

temple might be higher than it. And indeed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to have it so demolished, and this by putting them in mind what miseries they had suffered by its garrison, and the Jewish deserters, and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should obtain the kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to a compliance, because he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good; so they all set themselves to work, and leveled the mountain, and in that work spent both day and night without any intermission, which cost them three whole years before it was removed, and brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city. After which the temple was the highest of all the buildings, now the citadel, as well as the mountain whereon it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

CHAP. VII.

How Simon confederated himself with Antiochus Pius, and made war against Trypho, and a little afterward against Cendebeus, the General of Antiochus's Army: as also how Simon was murdered by his Son-in-law Ptolemy, and that by Treachery.

§ 1.* Now a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor destroyed Antiochus, the son of Alexander,† who was called *the God*,‡ and this when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the hands of the surgeons. He then sent his friends, and those that were most intimate with him, to the soldiers; and promised that he would give them a great deal of money if they would make him king. He intimated to them that Demetrius was made a captive by the Parthians: and that Demetrius's brother Antiochus, if he came to be king, would do them a great deal of mischief, in way of revenge for their revolting from his brother. So the soldiers, in expectation of the wealth they should get by bestowing the kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when Trypho had gained the management of affairs, he demonstrated his disposition to be wicked; for while he was a private person, he cultivated a familiarity with the multitude, and pretended to great

* It must here be diligently noted, that Josephus's copy of the first book of Maccabees, which he has so carefully followed, and faithfully abridged as far as the 50th verse of the twelfth chapter, seems then to have ended. What few things there are afterward common to both, might probably be learned by him from some other more imperfect records. However, we must exactly observe here, what the remaining part of that book of the Maccabees informs us of, and what Josephus would never have omitted, had his copy contained so much, that this Simon the Great, the Maccabee, made a league with Antiochus Soter, the son of Demetrius Soter, and brother of the other Demetrius, who was now a captive in Parthia, that upon his coming to the crown, about the 140th year before the Christian æra, he granted great privileges to the Jewish nation, and to Simon their high priest and ethnarch, which privileges Simon seems to have taken of his own accord, about three years before. In particular he gave him leave to coin money for his country, with his own stamp: and as concerning Jerusalem, and the sanctuary, that they should be *free*, or as the vulgar Latin hath it, *holy and free*, 1 Maccab. xv. 6, 7, which I take to be the truer reading, as being the very words of his father's concession offered to Jonathan several years before, ch. x. 31, and Antiq. B. xiii. ch. ii. sect. 3. Now what makes this date, and these grants, greatly remarkable, is the state of the remaining genuine shekels of the Jews with Samaritan characters, which seem to have been, most of them at least, coined in the four first years of this Simon the Asamonean, and having upon them these words on the one side, *Jerusalem the holy*, and on the reverse, *In the year of freedom*, 1, or 2, or 3, or 4, which shekels therefore are original monuments of these times, and undeniable marks of the truth of the history in these chapters, though it be in a great measure omitted by Josephus. See Essay on the Old Test. p. 157, 158. The reason why I rather suppose that his copy of the Maccabees wanted these chapters, than that his own copies are here imperfect, is this, that all their contents are not here omitted, though much the greatest part be.

† How Trypho killed this Antiochus, the epitome of Livy informs us, chap. 53, viz. that he corrupted his physicians or surgeons, who falsely pretending to the people that he was perishing with the stone, as they cut him for it, killed him, which exactly agrees with Josephus.

‡ That this Antiochus the son of Alexander Balas, was called *the God*, is evident from his coins, which Spanheim assures us bear this inscription, *King Antiochus the God, Epiphanes the Victorious.*

moderation, and so drew them on artfully to whatsoever he pleased; but when he had once taken the kingdom, he laid aside any further dissimulation, and was true *Trypho*, which behaviour made his enemies superior to him; for the soldiery hated him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children. But as Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, who was called *Soter*, was not admitted by any of the cities on account of Trypho, Cleopatra sent to him, and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom. The reasons why she made this invitation were these; that her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

2. As Antiochus was now come to Seleucia, and his forces increased every day, he marched to fight Trypho; and having beaten him in the battle, he ejected him out of the Upper Syria into Phœnicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dora, which was a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled. He also sent ambassadors to Simon the Jewish high priest, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance: who readily accepted of the invitation, and sent to Antiochus great sums of money, and provisions, for those that besieged Dora, and thereby supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends; but still Trypho fled from Dora to Apamia, where he was taken during the siege, and put to death when he had reigned three years.

3. However Antiochus forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded him in his necessity, by reason of his covetous and wicked disposition, and committed an army of soldiers to his friend Cendebeus, and set him at once to ravage Judea, and to seize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus's breaking his league with him, although he were now in years, yet provoked with the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and taking a resolution brisker than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army. He also sent his sons before among the most hardy of his soldiers, and he himself marched on with his army another way, and laid many of his men in ambushes in the narrow valley between the mountains; nor did he fail of success in any of his attempts, but was too hard for his enemies in every one of them. So he led the rest of his life in peace, and did also himself make a league with the Romans.

4. Now he was the ruler of the Jews in all eight years; but at a feast came to his end. It was caused by the treachery of his son-in-law Ptolemy; who caught also his wife, and two of his sons, and kept them in bonds. He also sent some to kill John the third son, whose name was *Hyrcanus*; but the young man perceiving them coming, he* avoided the danger he was in from them, and made haste into the city [Jerusalem,] as relying on the good will of the multitude, because of the benefits they had received from his father, and because of the hatred the same multitude bare to Ptolemy, so that when Ptolemy was endeavouring to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, as having already admitted of Hyrcanus.

* Here Josephus begins to follow and to abridge the next sacred Hebrew book, styled, in the end of the first book of Maccabeus, *The Chronicles of John [Hyrcanus's] high priesthood*, but in some of the Greek copies, the *fourth book of Maccabeus*. A Greek version of this chronicle was extant not very long ago in the days of Santes Pagninus, and Sixtus Senensis, at Lyons, though it seems to have been there burnt, and so be now utterly lost. See Sixtus Senensis's account of it, of its many Hebraisms, and its great agreement with Josephus's abridgment, in the Authent. Rec. part i. p. 206, 207, 208.

CHAP. VIII.

Hyrcanus receives the High Priesthood, and ejects Ptolemy out of the Countr . Antiochus makes War against Hyrcanus, and afterwards makes a League with him.

§ 1. So Ptolemy retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, which was called *Dagon:* but Hyrcanus having taken the priesthood that had been his father's before, and in the first place propitiated God by sacrifices, he then made an expedition against Ptolemy: and when he made his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him, but was rendered weaker than he, by the commiseration he had for his mother and brethren, and by that only; for Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus would leave off the siege. And as he thought that so far as he relaxed as to the siege and taking of the place, so much favour did he show to those that were dearest to him by preventing their misery; his zeal about it was cooled. However his mother spread out her hands, and begged of him that he would not grow remiss on her account, but indulge his indignation so much the more, and that he would do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get the enemy under his power, and then to avenge upon him what he had done to those that were dearest to himself; for that death would be to her sweet, though with torment, if that enemy of theirs might be brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them. Now when his mother said so, he resolved to take the fortress immediately; but when he saw her beaten and torn to pieces, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with what his mother suffered, and was thereby overcome. And as the siege was drawn out into length by this means, that year on which the Jews used to rest came on, for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day; so that Ptolemy being* for this cause released from the war, he slew the brethren of Hyrcanus, and his mother: and when he had so done, he fled to Zeno, who was called *Cotylais,* who was then the tyrant of the city Philadelphia.

2. But Antiochus being very uneasy at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, he invaded Judea in the fourth year of his reign, and the first year of the principality of Hyrcanus, in the hundred and sixty-second olympiad.† And when he had burnt the country, he shut up Hyrcanus in the city, which he encompassed round with seven encampments, but did just nothing at first, because of the strength of the walls, and because of the valour of the besieged, although they were once in want of water, which yet they were delivered from by a large shower of rain, which fell at the setting of the Pleiades.‡ However, about the

* Hence we learn, that in the days of this excellent high priest John Hyrcanus, the observation of the *Sabbatic year*, as Josephus supposed, required a rest from *war*, as did that of the *weekly Sabbath* from *work*. I mean this, unless in the case of necessity, when the Jews were attacked by their enemies, in which case indeed, and in which alone, they then allowed defensive fighting to be lawful even on the Sabbath day, as we see in several places of Josephus, Antiq. B. xii. ch. vi. sect. 2; B. xiii. ch. i. sect. 3: Of the War, B. i. ch. vii. sect. 3. But then it must be noted, that this rest from war no way appears in the first book of Maccabees, ch. xvi. but the direct contrary; though indeed the Jews, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, did not venture upon fighting on the Sabbath day, even in the defence of their own lives, till the Asamoneans or Maccabees decreed so to do, 1 Mac. ii. 32—41; Antiq. B. xii. ch. vi. sect. 2.

† Josephus's copies, both Greek and Latin, have here a gross mistake, when they say, that this first year of John Hyrcanus, which we have just now seen to have been a *Sabbatic year*, was in the 162nd olympiad, whereas it was for certain the second year of the 161st. See the like before, B. xii ch. vii. sect. 6.

‡ This helical setting of the Pleiades, or seven stars, was in the days of Hyrcanus and Josephus, early in the spring, about February, the time of the latter rain in Judea: and this, so far as I remember, is the only astronomical character of time, besides one eclipse of the moon in the reign of Herod, that we meet with in all Josephus, the Jews being little accustomed to astronomical observations, any farther than for the uses of their kalendar, and utterly forbidden those astrological uses which the heathens commonly made of them.

north part of the wall, where it happened the city was upon a level with the outward ground, the king raised a hundred towers of three stories high, and placed bodies of soldiers upon them, and as he made his attacks every day, he cut a double ditch, deep and broad, and confined the inhabitants within it as within a wall: but the besieged contrived to make frequent sallies out; and if the enemy were not any where upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of mischief, and if they perceived them, they then retired into the city with ease. But because Hyrcanus discerned the inconvenience of so great a number of men in the city, while the provisions were the sooner spent by them, and yet, as is natural to suppose, those great numbers did nothing, he separated the useless part, and excluded them out of the city, and retained that part only which were in the flower of their age, and fit for war. However, Antiochus would not let those that were excluded go away, who therefore wandering about between the walls, and consuming away by famine, died miserably; but when the feast of tabernacles was at hand, those that were within commiserated their condition, and received them in again. And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce for seven days, because of the festival, he gave way to this piety towards God, and made that truce accordingly: and besides that, he sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls, with their horns gilded,* with all sorts of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple; Antiochus, the meanwhile, feasting his army: which was quite a different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, he offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh in order to violate the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers; for which reason our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him. But for this Antiochus, all men called him *Antiochus the Pious*, for the great zeal he had about religion.

3. Accordingly Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly; and when he understood how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an embassage to him, and desired that he would restore the settlements they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counsel of those that† would have him utterly destroy the nation by reason of their way of living, which was to others unsociable, and did not regard what they said. But being persuaded that all they did was out of a religious mind, he answered the ambassadors, That if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute for Joppa, and the other cities which bordered upon Judea, and admit a garrison of his, on these terms, he would make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, did not agree to admit the garrison, because they could not associate with other people, nor converse with them; yet were they willing, instead of the admission of the garrison, to give him hostages, and five hundred talents of silver, of which they paid down three hundred, and sent the hostages immediately, which king Antiochus accepted. One of those hostages was Hyrcanus's brother: but still he broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city: and upon these conditions Antiochus broke up the siege and departed.

4. But Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on his wealth, maintained foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual assistance made between them: upon which Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatsoever his army wanted in great plenty, and with great generosity, and marched along with him

* Dr. Hudson tells us here, that this custom of gilding the horns of those oxen that were to be sacrificed, is a known thing both in the poets and orators.

† This account in Josephus, that the present Antiochus was persuaded, though in vain, not to make peace with the Jews, but to cut them off utterly, is fully confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, in Photius's extracts out of his 34th Book.

when he made an expedition against the Parthians; of which Nicolaus of Damascus is a witness for us; who in his history writes thus: "When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus, upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he stayed there two days. It was at the desire of Hyrcanus the Jew, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he did not speak falsely in saying so; for that festival, which we call Pentecost, did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath: nor is it lawful* for us to journey, either on the Sabbath day, or on a festival day. But when Antiochus joined battle with Arsaces, the king of Parthia, he lost a great part of his army, and was himself slain; and his brother Demetrius succeeded in the kingdom of Syria, by the permission of Arsaces, who freed him from his captivity, at the same time that Antiochus attacked Parthia, as we have formerly related elsewhere.

CHAP. IX.

How, after the Death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Syria, and made a League with the Romans. Concerning the Death of King Demetrius and Alexander.

§ 1. But when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he presently made an expedition against the cities of Syria, hoping to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba, and that not without the greatest distress of his army. After this he took Samega, and the neighbouring places; and besides these, Shechem and Gerizzim, and the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt at the temple which resembled that temple which was at Jerusalem, and which Alexander permitted Sanballat the general of his army, to build for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to Jaddua the high priest, as we have formerly related; which temple was now deserted two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took also Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumea, and subdued all the Idumeans; and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise their genitals, and make use of the laws of the Jews; and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers that they submitted to the use of circumcision,† and of the rest of the Jewish ways of living, at which time therefore this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.

2. But Hyrcanus the high priest was desirous to renew that league of friend-

* The Jews were not to march, or journey, on the Sabbath, or on such a great festival as was equivalent to the Sabbath, any farther than a *Sabbath day's journey*, or 2000 cubits. See the note on Antiq. B. xx. ch. viii. sect. 6.

† This account of the Idumeans admitting circumcision, and the entire Jewish law, from this time, or from the days of Hyrcanus, is confirmed by their entire history afterward.—See Antiq. B. xiv. ch. viii. sect. 1; B. xv. ch. vii. sect. 9: Of the War, B. ii. ch. iii. sect. 1; B. iv. ch. iv. sect. 5. This, in the opinion of Josephus, made them proselytes of justice, or entire Jews, as here and elsewhere, Antiq. B. xiv. ch. viii. sect. 1. However Antigonus, the enemy of Herod, though Herod were derived from such a proselyte of justice for several generations, will allow him to be no more than a *half Jew*, B. xiv. ch. xv. sect. 2. But still take out of Dean Prideaux, at the year 129, the words of Ammonius, a grammarian, which fully confirms this account of the Idumeans in Josephus: "The Jews, says he, are such by nature, and from the beginning, whilst the Idumeans were not Jews from the beginning, but Phœnicians and Syrians; but being afterward subdued by the Jews, and compelled to be circumcised, and to unite into one nation, and be subject to the same laws, were called *Jews*." Dio also says, as the Dean there quotes him from book xxxvi. p. 37: "That country is called *Judea*, and the people *Jews*, and this name is given also to as many others as embrace their religion, though of other nations." But then upon what foundation so good a governor as Hyrcanus took upon him to *compel* these Idumeans either to become Jews, or to leave their country, deserves great consideration. I suppose it was because they had long ago been driven out of the land of Edom, and had seized on and possessed the tribe of Simeon, and all the southern parts of the tribe of Judah, which was the peculiar inheritance of the worshipers of the true God without idolatory, as the reader may learn from Reland, Palestine, part i. p. 154, 305: and from Prideaux, at the years 140 and 155.

ship and amity they had with the Romans: accordingly he sent an embassage to them: and when the senate had received their epistle, they made a league of friendship with them after the manner following: "Fanius the son of Marcus the prætor, gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the ides of February, in the senate-house, when Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius, of the Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, were present. The occasion was, that the ambassadors sent by the people of the Jews,* Simon the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Didorus, the son of Jason, who were good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted between them and the Romans, and about other public affairs, who desired that Joppa and the havens, and Gazara and the springs [of Jordan,] and the several other cities and countries of theirs which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them: and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, and the countries of those that are subject to them: and that what attempts Antiochus then made during that war, without the decree of the senate, might be made void: and that they would send ambassadors, who should take care that restitution be made them of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they should make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in that war; and that they would grant them letters of protection to the kings and free people, in order to their quiet return home. It was therefore decreed, as to these points, to renew their league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good men, and who were sent by a good and a friendly people." But that as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter, when their own affairs would give them leave, and that they would endeavour for the time to come, that no like injury should be done them; and that their prætor Fanius should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expenses home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury: and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and to take care that they should return home in safety.

3. And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus the high priest. But as for king Demetrius, who had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus, there was no opportunity nor room for it, while both the Syrians and the soldiers bare ill will to him, because he was an ill man. But when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, who was called Physcon, that he would send them one of the family of Seleucus, in order to take the kingdom, and he had sent them Alexander, who was called Zebina, with an army, and there had been a battle between them, Demetrius was beaten in the fight, and fled to Cleopatra his wife, to Ptolemais; but his wife would not receive him. He went thence to Tyre, and was there caught, and when he had suffered much from his enemies before his death, he was slain by them. So Alexander took the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus, who yet, when he afterward fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius, who was called Grypus, was also beaten in the fight, and slain.

CHAP. X.

How, upon the Quarrel between Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, about the Kingdom, Hyrcanus took Samaria, and utterly demolished it; and how Hyrcanus joined himself to the Sect of the Sadducees, and left that of the Pharisees.

§ 1. When Antiochus had taken the kingdom, he was afraid to make war

* In this decree of the Roman senate, it seems that these ambassadors were sent from the *people of the Jews*, as well as from their *prince or high priest John Hyrcanus*

against Judea, because he heard that his brother by the same mother, who was also called Antiochus, was raising an army against him out of Cyzicum; so he staid in his own land, and resolved to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Cyzicenus, because he had been brought up in that city. He was the son of Antiochus that was called Soter, who died in Portia. He was the brother of Demetrius, the father of Grypus, for it so happened, that one and the same Cleopatra was married to two, who were brethren, as we have related elsewhere. But Antiochus Cyzicenus coming into Syria, continued many years at war with his brother. Now Hyrcanus lived all this while in peace; for, after the death of Antiochus, he revolted from the Macedonians,* nor did he any longer pay them the least regard, either as their subject or their friend; but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the times of Alexander Zebina, and especially under these brethren; for the war which they had with one another gave Hyrcanus the opportunity of enjoying himself in Judea quietly, insomuch that he got an immense quantity of money. However when Antiochus Cyzicenus distressed his land, he then openly showed what he meant. And when he saw that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were in an ill condition in the struggles they had one with another, he despised them both.

2. So he made an expedition against Samaria, which was a very strong city; of whose present name Sebaste, and its rebuilding by Herod, we shall speak at a proper time; but he made his attack against it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains; for he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Merissa, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them, and this in compliance to the kings of Syria. When he had therefore drawn a ditch, and built a double wall round the city, which were fourscore furlongs long, he set his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus over the siege, which brought the Samaritans to that great distress by famine, that they were forced to eat what used not to be eaten, and to call for Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Aristobulus, and when he was pursued so far as Scythopolis by the two brethren, he got away. So they returned to Samaria, and shut them again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathyrus, which were sent them without his mother's consent, who had then in a manner turned him out of his government. With these Egyptians Antiochus did at first overrun and ravage the country of Hyrcanus, after the manner of a robber, for he durst not meet him in the face to fight with him, as not having an army sufficient for that purpose, but only from this supposal, that by thus harassing his land, he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria; but because he fell into snares, and lost many of his soldiers therein, he went away to Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to Callimander and Epicrates.

3. But as to Callimander, he attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight, and destroyed immediately; and as to Epicrates, he was such a lover of money that he openly betrayed Scythopolis, and other places near it, to the Jews, but was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken that city, which was not done till after a year's siege, he was not contented with doing that only, but he demolished it entirely, and brought rivulets to it to drown it; for he dug such hollows as might let the water run under it nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been such a city there. Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hyrcanus, how God came to discourse with him; for they say, that on the very same day on which his sons fought with Antiochus Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple, as high

* Dean Prideaux takes notice at the year 130, that Justin, in agreement with Josephus, says, "The power of the Jews was now grown so great that after this Antiochus they would not bear any Macedonian king over them, and that they set up a government of their own, and infested Syria with great wars."

priest, offering incense, and heard a voice, that "his sons had just then overcome Antiochus." And this he openly declared before all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple; and it accordingly proved true. And in this posture were the affairs of Hyrcanus.

4. Now it happened at this time, that not only those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt and Cyprus, for Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, and appointed for her generals Chelcias, and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that at Jerusalem, as we have elsewhere related. Cleopatra intrusted these men with her army; and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attests, when he saith thus: "Now the greater part, both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately; only those that were called Onias's party, being Jews, continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favour with the queen." These are the words of Strabo.

5. However this prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus but they that were the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees,* who are one of the sects of the Jews, as we have informed you already. These have so great a power over the multitude, that when they say any thing against the king, or against the high priest, they are presently believed. Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them. And when he once invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly, when he saw them in a good humour, he began to say to them, that "they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God, which was the profession of the Pharisees also. However, he desired, that if they observed him offending in any point, and going out of the right way, they would call him back and correct him." On which occasion they attested to his being entirely virtuous; with which commendation he was well pleased. But still there was one of his guests there, whose name was Eleazar,† a man of an ill temper, and delighting in seditious practices. This man said, "Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people." And when he desired to know for what cause he ought to lay down the high priesthood? the other replied, "We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." This story was false, and Hyrcanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him.

6. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus's, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus, that "Eleazar had cast such a reproach upon him according to the common sentiments of all the Pharisees; and that this would be made manifest if he would but ask them the question, what punishment they thought this man deserved? for that he might depend upon it, that the reproach was not laid on him with their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deser-

* The original of the Sadducees, as a considerable party among the Jews, being contained in this and the two following sections, take Dean Prideaux's note upon this their first public appearance, which I suppose to be true: "Hyrcanus," says he, "went over to the party of the Sadducees, that is by embracing their doctrine against the traditions of the elders, added to the written law, and made of equal authority with it, but not their doctrine against the resurrection and a future state, for this cannot be supposed of so good and righteous a man as John Hyrcanus is said to be. It is most probable, that at this time the Sadducees had gone no farther in their doctrines of that sect than to deny all their unwritten traditions, which the Pharisees were so fond of; for Josephus mentions no other difference at this time between them: neither does he say that Hyrcanus went over to the Sadducees in any other particular than in the abolishing of all the traditionary constitutions of the Pharisees, which our Saviour condemned as well as they." [At the year 108.]

† This slander, that arose from a Pharisee, has been preserved by their successors the Rabins to these latter ages, for Dr. Hudson assures us, that David Gantz, in his chronology *S. Pr.* p. 77, in Vorstius' version, relates that Hyrcanus's mother was taken captive in Mount Modinth. See ch. xii. sect. 5.

ved." So the Pharisees made answer, that "he deserved stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish reproaches with death." And indeed the Pharisees, even upon other occasions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this gentle sentence Hyrcanus was very angry, and thought that this man reproached him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan who chiefly irritated him, and influenced him so far that he made him leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and to punish those that observed them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude; but of these matters we shall speak hereafter. What I would now explain is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the law of Moses; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say, that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them, while the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude of their side. But about these two sects, and that of the Essenes, I have treated accurately in the second book of Jewish affairs.

7. But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died;* leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of the three greatest privileges, the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy; for God was with him, and enabled him to know futurities: and to foretell this in particular, that as to his two eldest sons, he foretold that they would not long continue in the government of public affairs; whose unhappy catastrophe will be worth our description, that we may thence learn how very much they were inferior to their father's happiness.

CHAP. XI.

How Aristobulus, when he had taken the Government, first of all put a Diadem on his Head, and was most barbarously cruel to his Mother and his Brethren; and how, after he had slain Antigonus, he himself died.

§ 1. Now when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldest son, Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for so he resolved to do, first of all put a diadem on his head, four hundred eighty one years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babylonish slavery, and were returned to their own country again. This Aristobulus loved his next brother Antigo-

* Here ends the high priesthood and the life of this excellent person John Hyrcanus; and together with him the holy *theocracy*, or *divine government* of the Jewish nation, and its concomitant oracle by *Urim*. Now follows the profane and tyrannical Jewish *monarchy*, first of the Asamoneans or Maccabees, and then of Herod the Great, the Idumean, till the coming of the Messiah. See the note on Antiq. B. II. chap. viii. sect. 9. Hear Strabo's testimony on this occasion, B. xvi. page 761, 762: "Those," says he, "that succeeded Moses, continued for some time in earnest, both in righteous actions, and in piety; but after a while, there were others that took upon them the high priesthood; at first superstitious and afterwards tyrannical persons. Such a prophet was Moses, and those that succeeded him, beginning in a way not to be blamed, but changing for the worse. And when it openly appeared that the government was become tyrannical, Alexander was the first that set up himself for a king instead of a priest; and his sons were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus." All in agreement with Josephus, excepting this, that Strabo omits the first king Aristobulus, who reigned but a single year, seems hardly to have come to his knowledge. Nor indeed does Aristobulus, the son of Alexander, pretend that the name of *king* was taken before his father Alexander took it himself. Antiq. B. xiv. chap. iii. sect. 2. See also chap. xii. sect. 1, which favour Strabo also. And indeed, if we may judge from the very different characters of the Egyptian Jews under high priests, and of the Palestine Jews under kings, in the two next centuries, we may well suppose, that the divine *Shechian* was removed into Egypt, and that the worshipers at the temple of Onias were better men than those at the temple of Jerusalem.

nus, and treated him as his equal, but the others he held in bonds. He also cast his mother into prison, because she disputed the government with him, for Hyrcanus had left her to be mistress of all. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity as to kill her in prison with hunger; nay, he was alienated from his brother Antigonus by calumnies, and added him to the rest whom he slew, yet he seemed to have an affection for him, and made him above the rest a partner with him in the kingdom. Those calumnies he at first did not give credit to, partly because he loved him, and so did not give heed to what was said against him, and partly because he thought the reproaches were derived from the envy of the relaters. But when Antigonus was once returned from the army, and that feast was then at hand when they make tabernacles to [the honour of] God, it happened that Aristobulus was fallen sick, and that Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned, and with his soldiers about him in their armour. to the temple, to celebrate the feast, and to put up many prayers for the recovery of his brother, when some wicked persons, who had a great mind to raise a difference between the brethren, made use of this opportunity of the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and of the great actions which he had done, and went to the king, and spitefully aggravated the pompous show of his at the feast, and pretended that all these circumstances were not like those of a private person; that these actions were indications of an affection of royal authority; and that his coming with a strong body of men must be with an intention to kill him; and that his way of reasoning was this, that it was a silly thing in him, while it was in his power to reign himself, to look upon it as a great favour that he was honoured with a lower dignity by his brother.

2. Aristobulus yielded to these imputations, but took care both that his brother should not suspect him, and that he himself might not run the hazard of his own safety; so he ordered his guards to lie in a certain place that was under ground, and dark (he himself then lying sick in the tower which was called Antonia,) and he commanded them, that in case Antigonus came into him unarmed, they should not touch any body, but if armed, they should kill him; yet did he send to Antigonus, and desired that he would come unarmed. But the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary: how his brother had heard that he had made himself a fine suit of armour for war, and desired him to come to him in that armour that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus, suspecting no treachery, but depending on the good will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with his entire armour, in order to show it to him; but when he was come at a place which is called Strato's Tower, where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him; which death of his demonstrates that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny, and that nothing does more certainly divide the good-will and natural affections of men than those passions. But here one may take occasion to wonder at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essenes, and who never missed the truth in his predictions; for this man, when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and friends, who abode with him as his scholars, in order to learn the art of foretelling things to come,* "That it was good for him to die now, since he had spoken falsely about Antigonus, who is still alive, and I see him passing by, although he had foretold he should die at the place called Strato's Tower, that very day, while yet the place is six hundred furlongs off, where he had foretold he should be slain; and still this day is a great part of it already past, so that he was in danger of proving a false prophet." As he was saying this, and that in a melancholy mood, the news came that Antigonus was slain in a place under ground, which itself was also

* Hence we learn, that the Essenes pretended to have rules whereby men might foretell things to come, and that this Judas the Essene taught those rules to his scholars; but whether their pretences were of an astrological or magical nature, which yet in such religious Jews, who were utterly forbidden such arts, is no way probable, or to any Bath Col, spoken of by the latter Rabbins, or otherwise, I cannot say See Of the War, B. ii. ch. viii. sect. 12.

called Strato's Tower, or of the same name with that Cesarea which is seated at the sea. This event put the prophet into a great disorder.

3. But Aristobulus repented immediately of this slaughter of his brother; on which account his disease increased upon him, and he was disturbed in his mind, upon the guilt of such wickedness, insomuch that his entrails were corrupted by his intolerable pain, and he vomited blood: at which time one of the servants that attended upon him, and was carrying his blood away, did by divine providence, as I cannot but suppose, slip down, and shed part of his blood at the very place where there were spots of Antigonus's blood, there slain, still remaining; and when there was a cry made by the spectators, as if the servant had on purpose shed the blood on that place, Aristobulus heard it, and inquired what the matter was? And as they did not answer him, he was the more earnest to know what it was, it being natural to men to suspect that what is thus concealed is very bad: so upon his threatening, and forcing them by terrors to speak, they at length told him the truth; whereupon he shed many tears, in that disorder of mind which arose from his consciousness of what he had done, and gave a deep groan, and said: "I am not therefore, I perceive, to be concealed from God, in the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of, but a sudden punishment is coming upon me for the shedding the blood of my relations. And now, O thou most impudent body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die, in order to appease the ghosts of my brother and my mother? Why dost thou not give it all up at once? And why do I deliver up my blood drop by drop to those whom I have so wickedly murdered?" In saying which last words, he died, having reigned a year. He was called a lover of the Grecians; and had conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they should continue in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws. He was naturally a man of candour, and of great modesty, as Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes; who says thus: "This man was a person of candour, and very serviceable to the Jews, for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Itureans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the circumcision of their genitals."

CHAP. XII.

How Alexander, when he had taken the Government, made an Expedition against Ptolemais, and then raised the Siege out of Fear of Ptolemy Lathyrus; and how Ptolemy made War against him, because he had sent to Cleopatra to persuade her to make War against Ptolemy, and yet pretended to be in Friendship with him, when he beat the Jews in the Battle.

§ 1. When Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who by the Greeks was called Alexandria, let his brethren out of prison (for Aristobulus had kept them in bonds, as we have said already,) and made Alexander Janneus king, who was the superior in age, and in moderation. The child happened to be hated by his father as soon as he was born, and could never be permitted to come into his father's sight, till he died. The occasion of which hatred is thus reported: When Hyrcanus chiefly loved the two eldest of his sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus, God appeared to him in his sleep, of whom he inquired, which of his sons should be his successor; upon God's representing to him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was to be the heir of all his goods, and suffered him to be brought up in Galilee.* However, God did not deceive Hyrca-

* The reason why Hyrcanus suffered not this son of his whom he did not love to come into Judea, but ordered him to be brought up in Galilee, is suggested by Dr. Hudson, that Galilee was not esteemed so

nus, for after the death of Aristobulus, he certainly took the kingdom; and one of his brethren, who affected the kingdom, he slew, and the other, who chose to live a private and quiet life, he had in esteem.

2. When Alexander Janneus had settled the government in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having overcome the men in battle, he shut them up in the city, and sat round about and besieged it; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, besides Strato's Tower, and Dora, which were held by the tyrant Zoilus. Now while Antiochus Philometer, and Antiochus, who was called Cyzicenus, were making war one against another, and destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could have no assistance from them; but when they were distressed with this siege, Zoilus, who possessed Strato's Tower and Dora, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and on occasion of the contest between the kings affected tyranny himself, came and brought some small assistance to the people of Ptolemais; nor indeed had the kings such a friendship for them, as that they should hope for any advantage from them. Both those kings were in the case of wrestlers, who finding themselves deficient in strength, and yet being ashamed to yield, put off the fight by laziness, and by lying still as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who now held Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt by Cleopatra his mother: so the people of Ptolemais sent to this Ptolemy Lathyrus, and desired him to come as a confederate, to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of Alexander. And as the ambassadors gave him hopes, that if he would pass over into Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais; as also they said, that Zoilus, and besides these the Sidonians, and many others, would assist them; so he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

3. But in this interval Demenetus, one that was of abilities to persuade men to do as he would have them, and a leader of the populace, made those of Ptolemais change their opinions: and said to them, That "it was better to run the hazard of being subject to the Jews than to admit of evident slavery by delivering themselves up to a master; and besides that, to have not only a war at present, but to expect a much greater war from Egypt, for that Cleopatra would not overlook an army raised by Ptolemy for himself out of the neighbourhood, but would come against them with a great army of her own, and this because she was labouring to eject her son out of Cyprus also; that as for Ptolemy, if he fail of his hopes, he can still retire to Cyprus, but that they will be left in the greatest danger possible." Now Ptolemy, although he had heard of the change that was made in the people of Ptolemais, yet did he still go on with his voyage, and came to the country called Sycamine, and there set his army on shore. This army of his in the whole, horse and foot together, were about thirty thousand, with which he marched near Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp: but when the people of Ptolemais neither received his ambassadors, nor would hear what they had to say, he was under a very great concern.

4. But when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by the Jews, and by Alexander, Alexander raised the siege, for fear of Ptolemy: and when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he used a stratagem afterwards, by privately inviting Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual assistance with him; and promising to give him four hundred talents of silver, he desired that, by way of requital, he would take off Zoilus the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy

happy and well cultivated a country as Judea, Matt. xxvi. 73; John, vii. 52; Acts, ii. 7; although another obvious reason occurs also, that he was farther out of his sight in Galilee than he would have been in Judea.

with pleasure made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus: but when he afterward heard that he had privily sent to Cleopatra his mother, he broke the league with him, which yet he had confirmed with an oath, and fell upon him, and besieged Ptolemais, because it would not receive him. However, leaving his generals, with some part of his forces, to go on with the siege, he went himself immediately with the rest to lay Judea waste; and when Alexander understood this to be Ptolemy's intention, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country; nay,* as some writers have said, eighty thousand. He then took his army and went to meet Ptolemy; but Ptolemy fell upon Asochis, a city of Galilee, and took it by force on the Sabbath day, and there he took about ten thousand slaves, and a great deal of other prey.

5. He then tried to take Sepphoris, which was a city not far from that which was destroyed, but lost many of his men; yet did he then go to fight with Alexander, which Alexander met him at the river Jordan, near a certain place called *Saphoth* [not far from the river Jordan,] and pitched his camp near to the enemy. He had however eight thousand in the first rank, which he styled *Hecatontomachi*, having shields of brass. Those in the first rank of Ptolemy's soldiers also had shields covered with brass: but Ptolemy's soldiers in other respects were inferior to those of Alexander, and therefore were more fearful of running hazards; but Philostephanus, the camp-master, put great courage into them, and ordered them to pass the river, which was between their camps: nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it, for he thought that if the enemy had once gotten the river on their back, that he should the easier take them prisoners, when they could not flee out of the battle: in the beginning of which, the acts on both sides with their hands, and with their alacrity, were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies, but Alexander was superior, till Philostephanus opportunely brought up the auxiliaries to help those that were giving way; but as there were no auxiliaries to afford help to that part of the Jews that gave way. it fell out that they fled, and those near them did not assist them, but fled along with them. However, Ptolemy's soldiers acted quite otherwise; for they followed the Jews, and killed them, till at length those that slew them pursued after them, when they had made them all run away, and slew them so long that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter for the report was, that thirty thousand men were then slain. Timagenes says, they were fifty thousand. As for the rest they were part of them taken captives, and the other part ran away to their own country.

6. After this victory, Ptolemy overran all the country; and when night came on, he abode in certain villages of Judea, which when he found full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to strangle them, and cut them in pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons, and then to devour their limbs as sacrifices. This commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and ate men's flesh, and might on that account be still more terrified at them upon such a sight And both Strabo and Nicholaus [of Damascus] affirm that they used these people after this manner, as I have already related. Ptolemy also took Ptolemais by force, as we have declared elsewhere.

* From these and other occasional expressions dropped by Josephus, we may learn, that where the sacred books of the Jews were deficient, he had several other histories then extant, but now most of them lost, which he faithfully followed in his own history: nor indeed have we any other records of those times, relating to Judea, that can be compared to these accounts of Josephus, though, when we do meet with authentic fragments of such original records, they almost always confirm his history.

CHAP. XIII.

How Alexander, upon the League of mutual Defence which Cleopatra had agreed with him, made an Expedition against Celesyria and utterly overthrew the City of Gaza; and how he slew many Ten Thousands of Jews that rebelled against him; also concerning Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus, Antiochus Cyzicenus, and Antiochus Pius, and others.

§ 1. When Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and laid Judea waste without disturbance, and had gotten the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, when he was almost at her gates; and she concluded that now he was so much stronger than before, he would be very desirous of the dominion over the Egyptians, but she immediately marched against him with a fleet at sea, and an army of foot on land, and made Chelcias and Ananias the Jews, generals of her whole army, while she sent the greatest part of her riches, her grandchildren, and her testament to the people of Cos.* Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phœnicia; and when that country revolted, she came to Ptolemais, and because the people of Ptolemais did not receive her, she besieged the city; but Ptolemy went out of Syria, and made haste into Egypt, supposing that he should find it destitute of an army, and soon take it, though he failed of his hopes. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Celesyria, as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy.

2. When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, and that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed according to his expectations, she sent thither part of her army, and drove him out of that country; so when he was returned out of Egypt again, he abode during the winter at Gaza, in which time Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Ptolemais by siege, as well as the city; and when Alexander came to her, he gave her presents, and such marks of respect as were but proper, since under the miseries he endured by Ptolemy, he had no other refuge but her. Now there were some of her friends who persuaded her to seize Alexander, and to overrun and take possession of the country, and not to sit still and see such a multitude of brave Jews subject to one man. But Ananias's counsel was contrary to theirs, who said, that "she would do an unjust action if she deprived a man that was her ally of that authority which belonged to him, and this a man who is related to us; for," said he, "I would not have thee ignorant of this, that what injustice thou dost to him will make all us that are Jews to be thy enemies." This desire of Ananias Cleopatra complied with, and did no injury to Alexander, but made a league of mutual assistance with him, at Scythopolis, a city of Colesyria.

3. So when Alexander was delivered from the fear he was in of Ptolemy, he presently made an exhibition against Celesyria. He also took Gadara after a siege of ten months. He took also Amathus, a very strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, where Theodorus the son of Zeno had his chief treasure, and what he esteemed most precious. This Zeno fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and slew ten thousand of them, and seized upon Alexander's baggage; yet did not this misfortune terrify Alexander, but he made an expedition upon the maritime parts of the country, Raphia and Anthedon (the name of which king Herod afterwards changed to Agrippias,) and even took that by force; but when Alexander saw that Ptolemy was retired from Gaza to Cyprus, and his mother Cleopatra was returned to Egypt, he grew angry at the people of Gaza, because they had invited Ptolemy to assist them, and besieged their city, and

* This city or island of *Cos* is not that remote island in the Ægean sea famous for the birth of the great Hippocrates, but a city or island of the same name adjoining to Egypt, mentioned both by Stephanus and Ptolemy, as Dr. Hudson informs us. Of which Cos, and the treasures there laid up by Cleopatra and the Jews, see Antiq. b. xiv. ch. vii. sect. 2.

ravaged their country. But as Appollodotus, the general of the army of Gaza, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night, with two thousand foreign, and ten thousand of his own forces, while the night lasted, those of Gaza prevailed, because the enemy was made to believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them; but when day was come on, and that mistake was corrected, and the Jews knew the truth of the matter, they came back again, and fell upon those of Gaza, and slew of them about a thousand: but as those of Gaza stoutly resisted them, and would not yield for either their want of any thing, nor for the great multitude that were slain, for they would rather suffer any hardship whatever than come under the power of their enemies, Aretas, king of the Arabians, a person then very illustrious, encouraged them to go on with alacrity, and promised them that he would come to their assistance; but it happened that before he came, Apollodotus was slain, for his brother Lysimachus, envying him for the great reputation he had gained among the citizens, slew him, and got the army together, and delivered up the city to Alexander, who, when he came in at first, lay quiet, but afterward set his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave them leave to punish them; so some went one way, and some went another, and slew the inhabitants of Gaza: yet were not they of cowardly hearts; but opposed those that came to slay them, and slew as many of the Jews; and some of them, when they saw themselves deserted, burnt their own houses, that the enemy might get none of their spoils; nay, some of them with their own hands slew their children and their wives, having no other way but this of avoiding slavery for them; but the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo's temple (for this attack happened to be made while they were sitting,) whom Alexander slew; and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in that siege.

4. About this very time Antiochus,* who was called Grypus, died. His death was caused by Heracleon's treachery, when he had lived forty-five years, and had reigned twenty-nine.† His son Seleucus succeeded him in the kingdom; and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus, and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him. But after a while Antiochus,‡ the son of Cyzicenus, who was called Pius, came to Aradus, and put the diadem on his own head; and made war with Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of all Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopsuestia again, and levied money upon them; but the people of Mopsuestia had indignation at what he did, and burnt down his palace, and slew him, together with his friends. But when Antiochus the son of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria, Antiochus,§ the brother of Seleucus made war upon him, and was overcome and destroyed, he and his army. After him, his brother Philip put on the diadem and reigned over some part of Syria; but Ptolemy Lathyrus sent for his fourth brother Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, from Cnidus, and made him king of Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose, but presently died; for when he was come as an auxiliary to Laodice,‖ queen of the Gileadites, when she was making war against the Parthians, and he was fighting courageously, he fell, while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as hath been elsewhere related.

* This account of the death of Antiochus Grypus is confirmed by Appian, Syriac, p. 132, here cited by Spanheim.

† Porphyry says, that this Antiochus Grypus reigned but 26 years, as Dr. Hudson observes.

‡ The copies of Josephus, both Greek and Latin, have here a so grossly false reading, *Antiochus* and *Antonius*, or *Antonius Pius*, for *Antiochus Pius*, that the editors are forced to correct the text from the other historians, who all agree that this king's name was nothing more than *Antiochus Pius*.

§ These two brothers, Antiochus and Philippus, are called *twins* by Porphyry; the fourth brother was king of Damascus; both which are the observations of Spanheim.

‖ This Laodicea was a city of Gilead beyond Jordan. However, Porphyry says that this Antiochus Pius did not die in this battle, but, running away, was drowned in the river Orontes. Appian says, that he was deprived of the kingdom of Syria by Tigranes; but Porphyry makes this Laodice Queen of the Calaenaus: all which is noted by Spanheim. In such confusion of the latter [illegible]nians, we have no reason to prefer any of them before Josephus, who had more original ones before him.

5. As to Alexander, his own people were seditious against him, for at a festival which was then celebrated, when he stood upon the altar, and was going to sacrifice, the nation rose upon him, and pelted him with citrons, [which they then had in their hands, because] the law of the Jews required, that at the feast of tabernacles everyone should have branches of the palm-tree and citron-tree; which thing we have elsewhere related. They also reviled him, as derived* from a captive, and so unworthy of his dignity and of sacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and slew of them about six thousand. He also built a partition wall of wood round the altar and the temple, as far as that partition within it which was only lawful for the priests to enter, and by this means he obstructed the multitude from coming at him. He also maintained foreigners of Pisidia and Cilicia: for as to the Syrians, he was at war with them, and so made no use of them. He also overcame the Arabians, such as the Moabites and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute. Moreover, he demolished Amathus, while Theodorus† durst not fight with him: but as he had joined battle with Obedas, king of the Arabians, and fell into an ambush in places that were rugged and difficult to be travelled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley by the multitude of the camels at Gadara, a village of Gilead, and hardly escaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where, besides his other ill success, the nation insulted him, and he fought against them for six years, and slew no fewer than fifty thousand of them. And when he desired that they would desist from their ill-will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he had asked them what he ought to do? they all cried out, "that he ought to kill himself." They also sent to Demetrius Eucerus, and desired him to make a league of mutual defence with them.

CHAP. XIV.

How Demetrius Eucerus overcame Alexander, and yet in a little Time retired out of the Country for fear of the Jews; as also how Alexander slew many of the Jews, and thereby got clear of his Troubles. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

§ 1. So Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invited him, and pitched his camp near the city Shechem: upon which Alexander, with his six thousand two hundred mercenaries, and about twenty thousand Jews, who were of his party, went against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen. Now there were great endeavours used on both sides, Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius. However, when neither of them could persuade them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror, in which all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

2. Now as Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand of the Jews hereupon came together [from Demetrius,] to him, out of pity at the change of his fortune: upon which Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and, being beaten, were slain in great numbers in the several battles they had: and when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethome, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them: for as he was

* This reproach upon Alexander, that he was sprung from a captive, seems only the repetition of the old Pharisaical calumny upon his father, chap. x. sect. 5.

† This Theodorus was the son of Zeno, and was in possession of Amathus, as we learn from sect. 3, foregoing.

feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified, and while they were living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, though we suppose that he had been never so much distressed, as indeed he had been, by his wars with them; for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard, both of his life and of his kingdom, while they were not satisfied by themselves only to fight against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose; nay, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in them, that they might not join with them in the war against him, as they had done ten thousand other things that had tended to affront and reproach him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, on which account he bare the name of a Thracian* among the Jews: whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night, and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived: who, being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquillity.

3. But when Demetrius was departed out of Judea, he went to Berea, and besieged his brother Philip, having with him ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen. However, Strato, the tyrant of Berea, the confederate of Philip, called in Zizon, the ruler of the Arabian tribes, and Mithridates Sinax, the ruler of the Parthians, who coming with a great number of forces, and besieging Demetrius in his encampment, into which they had driven him with their arrows, they compelled those that were with him by thirst to deliver up themselves. So they took a great many spoils out of the country, and Demetrius himself, whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia, but as to those whom they took captives of the people of Antioch, they restored them to the Antiochians without any reward. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthia, had Demetrius in great honour, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness. So Philip, presently after the fight was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.

CHAP. XV.

How Antiochus, who was called Dionysius, and after him Aretas, made Expedition into Judea; as also how Alexander took many Cities, and then returned to Jerusalem, and after a Sickness of Three Years died; and what Counsel he gave to Alexandria.

§ 1. AFTER this, Antiochus, who was called Dionysius,† and was Philip's brother aspired to the dominion, and came to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there he reigned: but as he was making war against the Arabians, his brother Philip heard of it, and came to Damascus, where Milesus, who had been left governor of the citadel, and the Damascens themselves, delivered up the city to him; yet because Philip was become ungrateful to him, and had bestowed upon him nothing of that in hopes whereof he had received him into the city, but had a mind to have it believed that it was rather delivered up out of fear than by the kindness of Milesus, and because he had not rewarded him as he ought to have done, he became suspected by him, and so he was obliged to leave Damascus

* This name *Thracida*, which the Jews gave Alexander, must, by the coherence, denote *as barbarous as a Thracian*, or somewhat like it, but what it properly signifies is not known.

† Spanheim takes notice, that this Antiochus Dionysius [the brother of Philip, and of Demetrius Eucerus, and of two others] was the fifth son of Antiochus Grypus; and that he is styled on the coins, *Antiochus Epiphanes Dionysius*.

again; for Milesus caught him marching out into the Hippodrome, and shut him up in it, and kept Damascus for Antiochus [Eucerus,] who, hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came back out of Arabia. He also came immediately, and made an expedition against Judea, with eight thousand armed footmen, and eight hundred horsemen. So Alexander, out of fear of his coming, dug a deep ditch, beginning at Chabarzaba, which is now called Antipatris, to the sea of Joppa, on which part only his army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, and intermediate redoubts, for one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and there expected the coming of Antiochus; but he soon burnt them all, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king [Aretas,] at first retreated, but afterward appeared on the sudden with ten thousand horsemen. Antiochus gave them the meeting, and fought desperately; and indeed when he had gotten the victory, and was bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress, he was slain. When Antiochus was fallen, his army fled to the village Cana, where the greatest part of them perished by famine.

2. After him Aretas* reigned over Celesyria, being called to the government by those that held Damascus, by reason of the hatred they bare to Ptolemy Meneus. He also made thence an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Adida, yet did he, upon certain conditions agreed on between them, retire out of Judea.

3. But Alexander marched again to the city Dios, and took it; and then made an expedition against Essa, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken the city by fighting, he marched to Golan and Seleucia: and when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took that valley which is called Valley of Antiochus, as also the fortress Gamala. He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out: and after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country, when the Jews joyfully received him upon this his good success.

4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the Syrians, and Idumeans, and Phœnicians: at the seaside, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adora, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gadara; of the country of Gaulonites, Selucia, and Gabala; in the country of Moab, Heshbon and Nedaba, Lemba, and Oronas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Cilices, and Pella; which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants† would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews. The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities of Syria, which had been destroyed.

5. After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a distemper by hard drinking, and had a quartan ague, which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite spent with the labours he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Ragaba, a fortress beyond Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was ready to die, and had no longer any hopes of surviving, she came to him weeping and lamenting, and bewailed herself and her sons, on the desolate condition they should be left in: and said to him, "To

* This Aretas was the first king of the Arabians who took Damascus and reigned there; which name became afterwards common to such Arabian kings, both at Petra and at Damascus, as we learn from Josephus in many places, and from St. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 32. See the note on Antiq. B. xvi. chap. ix. sect. 4.

† We may here, and elsewhere, take notice, that whatever countries or cities the Asmoneans conquered from any of the neighbouring nations, or whatever countries or cities they gained from them, that had not belonged to them before, they, after the days of Hyrcanus, compelled the inhabitants to leave their idolatry, and entirely to receive the law of Moses, as proselytes of justice, or else banished them into other lands. That excellent prince, John Hyrcanus, did it to the Idumeans, as I have noted on chap. ix. sect. 1, already, who lived then in the promised land, and this I suppose justly; but by what right the rest did it, even to countries or cities that were no part of that land, I do not at all know. This looks too like unjust persecution for religion.

whom dost thou thus leave me, and my children, who are destitute of all other supports; and this when thou knowest how much ill-will thy nation bears thee?" But he gave her the following advice: "That she need but follow what he would suggest to her, in order to retain the kingdom securely, with her children; that she should conceal his death from the soldiers till she should have taken that place; after this, she should go in triumph, as upon a victory, to Jerusalem, and put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees, for that they would commend her for the honour she had done them, and would reconcile the nation to her; for he told her, they had great authority among the Jews, both to do hurt to such as they hated, and to bring advantages to those to whom they were friendly disposed, for that they are then believed best of all by the multitude when they speak any severe thing against others, though it be only out of envy at them. And he said, that it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation, whom indeed he had injured. Do thou, therefore, said he, when thou art come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and show them my body, and with great appearance of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they will dishonour the dead body by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered by my means, or whether in their anger they will offer any other injury to that body. Promise them also, that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou dost but say this to them, I shall have the honour of a more glorious funeral from them than thou couldst have made for me: and when it is in their power to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in safety."* So when he had given his wife this advice, he died, after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one.

CHAP. XVI.

How Alexandra, by gaining the Goodwill of the Pharisees, retained the Kingdom Nine Years, and then, having done many glorious Actions, died.

§ 1. So Alexandra, when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and thereby pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them bear good will and friendship to him; who then came among the multitude, and made speeches to them, and laid before them the actions of Alexander, and told them, that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendation they gave him, they brought them to grieve, and to be in heaviness for him, so he had a funeral more splendid than had any of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus and

* It seems by this dying advice of Alexander Janneus to his wife, that he had himself pursued the measures of his father Hyrcanus, and taken part with the Sadducees, who kept close to the written law, against the Pharisees, who had introduced their own traditions, chap. xiv. sect. 2; and that he now saw a political necessity of submitting to the Pharisees and their traditions hereafter, if his widow and family minded to retain their monarchical government or tyranny over the Jewish nation: which sect yet, thus supported, were at last in a great measure the ruin of the religion, government, and nation of the Jews, and brought them into so wicked state that the vengeance of God came upon them to their utter excision. Just thus did Caiaphas politically advise the Jewish Sanhedrim, John xi. 50; *That it was expedient for them that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not;* and this in consequence of their own political supposal, ver. 48, that *if they would let Jesus alone*, with his miracles, *all men would believe on him, and the Romans would come, and take away both their place and nation* Which political crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth brought down the vengeance of God upon them, and occasioned those very Romans, of whom they seemed so much afraid that to prevent it they put him to death, actually to *come and take away both their place and nation*, within 38 years afterwards. I heartily wish the politicians of Christendom would consider these and the like examples, and no longer sacrifice all virtue and religion on their pernicious schemes of government, to the bringing down the judgments of God upon themselves, and the several nations intrusted to their care. But this is a digression: I wish it were an unseasonable one also. Josephus himself several times makes such digressions, and I have venture to follow him. See one of them at the conclusion of the very next chapter

Aristobulus, but committed the kingdom to Alexandra. Now as to these two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus, was an active and a bold man; and for this woman herself, Alexandra, she was loved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offences her husband had been guilty of.

2. So she made Hyrcanus high priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he cared not to meddle with politics, and permitted the Pharisees to do every thing; to whom also she ordered the multitude to be obedient. She also restored again those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated. So she had indeed the name of the Regent, but the Pharisees had the authority: for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and such as were prisoners at liberty, and to say all at once, they differed in nothing from lords. However, the queen also took care of the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary soldiers, and increased her own army to such a degree that she became terrible to the neighbouring tyrants, and took hostages of them: and the country was entirely at peace, excepting the Pharisees; for they disturbed the queen, and desired she would kill those who persuaded Alexander to slay the eight hundred men: after which they cut the throat of one of them, Diogenes: and after him they did the same to several, one after another, till the men that were the most potent came into the palace, and Aristobulus with them, for he seemed to be displeased at what was done, and it appeared openly, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on so. "These put the queen in mind what great dangers they had gone through, and great things they had done, whereby they had demonstrated the firmness of their fidelity to their master, insomuch that they had received the greatest marks of favour from him: and they begged of her, that she would not utterly blast their hopes, as it now happened, that when they had escaped the hazards that arose from their [open] enemies, they were to be cut off at home by their [private] enemies, like brute beasts, without any help whatsoever. They said also, that if their adversaries would be satisfied with those that had been slain already, they would take what had been done patiently, on account of their natural love to their governors; but if they must expect the same for the future also, they implored of her a dismission from her service; for they could not bear to think of attempting any method for their deliverance without her, but would rather die willingly before the palace gate, in case she would not forgive them. And that it was a great shame, both for themselves and for the queen, that when they were neglected by her, they should come under the lash of her husband's enemies; for that Aretas, the Arabian king, and the monarchs, would give any reward, if they could get such men as foreign auxiliaries, to whom their very names, before their voices be heard, may perhaps be terrible, but if they could not obtain this their second request, and if she had determined to prefer the Pharisees before them, they still insisted that she would place them every one in her fortresses; for if some fatal demon had a constant spite against Alexander's house, they would be willing to bear their part, and to live in a private station there."

3. As these men said thus, and called upon Alexander's ghost for commiseration of those already slain, and those in danger of it, all the bystanders broke out into tears: but Aristobulus chiefly made manifest what were his sentiments, and used many reproachful expressions to his mother, [saying] "Nay, indeed the case is this, that they have been themselves the authors of their own calamities, who have permitted a woman who, against reason, was mad with ambition, to reign over them, when there were sons in the flower of their age fitter for it." So Alexandra, not knowing what to do with any decency, committed the fortresses to them, all but Hyrcania and Alexandrium, and Macherus, where her principal treasures were. After a little while also, she sent her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, who was called Menneus, who was such a bad

neighbour to the city; but he did nothing considerable there, and so returned home.

4. About this time news was brought that Tigranes, the king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with five hundred thousand* soldiers, and was coming against Judea. This news, as may well be supposed, terrified the queen and the nation. Accordingly they sent him many and very valuable presents, as also ambassadors, and that as he was besieging Ptolemais; for Selene the queen, the same that was also called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria, who had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes. So the Jewish ambassadors interceded with him, and entreated him that he would determine nothing that was severe about their queen or nation. He commended them for the respects they paid him at so great a distance; and gave them good hopes of his favour. But as soon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes, that Lucullus, in his pursuit of Mithridates, could not light upon him, who was fled into Iberia, but was laying waste Armenia, and besieging its cities. Now, when Tigranes knew this, he returned home.

5. After this, when the queen was fallen into a dangerous distemper, Aristobulus resolved to attempt the seizing of the government; so he stole away secretly by night, with only one of his servants, and went to the fortresses, wherein his friends, that were such from the days of his father, were settled: for as he had been a great while displeased at his mother's conduct, so he was now much more afraid, lest, upon her death, their whole family should be under the power of the Pharisees, for he saw the inability of his brother who was to succeed in the government: nor was any one conscious of what he was doing but only his wife, whom he left at Jerusalem with their children. He first of all came to Agaba, where was Galestes, one of the potent men beforementioned, and was received by him. When it was day, the queen perceived that Aristobulus was fled; and for some time she supposed that his departure was not in order to make any innovation; but when messengers came one after another, with the news that he had secured the first place, the second place, and all the places, for as soon as one had begun, they all submitted to his disposal, then it was that the queen and the nation were in the greatest disorder; for they were aware that it would not be long ere Aristobulus would be able to settle himself firmly in the government. What they were principally afraid of was this, that he would inflict punishment upon them for the mad treatment his house had had from them. So they resolved to take his wife and children into custody, and keep them in the fortress that† was over the temple. Now there was a mighty conflux of the people that came to Aristobulus from all parts, insomuch that he had a kind of royal attendance about him; for in little more than fifteen days, he got twenty-two strong places, which gave him the opportunity of raising an army from Libanus and Trachonitis, and the monarchs; for men are easily led by the greater number, and easily submit to them. And besides this, that by affording them their assistance, when he could not expect it, they, as well as he, should have the advantages that would come by his being king, because they had been the occasion of his gaining the kingdom. Now the elders of the Jews, and Hyrcanus with them, went in unto the queen, and desired, "That she would give them her sentiments about the present posture of affairs, for that Aristobulus was in effect lord of almost all the kingdom, by possessing of so many strong holds, and that it was absurd for them to take any counsel by themselves, how ill soever she were, while she was alive, and that the danger would be upon them in no long time." But she "bid them do

* The number of 500,000, or even 300,000, as one Greek Copy, with the Latin copies, have it, for Tigrane's army, that came out of Armenia into Syria and Judea, seems much too large. We have had already several such extravagant numbers in Josephus's present copies, which are not to be at all ascribed to him. Accordingly I incline to Dr. Hudson's emendation here, which supposes them but 40,000.

† The fortress, castle, citadel, or tower, whither the wife and children of Aristobulus were now sent, and which overlooked the temple, could be no other than what Hyrcanus I. built, Antiq. B. xviii. ch. iv. sect. 3, and Herod the Great rebuilt, and called the *Tower of Antonia*, Antiq. B. xv. ch. xi. sect. 5.

what they thought proper to be done: that they had many circumstances in their favour still remaining, a nation in good heart, an army, and money in their several treasuries, for that she had small concern about public affairs now, when the strength of her body already failed her."

6. Now a little while after she had said this to them she died, when she had reigned nine years, and had in all lived seventy-three. A woman she was who showed no signs of the weakness of her sex, for she was sagacious to the greatest degree in her ambition of governing; and demonstrated by her doings at once, that her mind was fit for action, and that sometimes men themselves show the little understanding they have by the frequent mistakes they make in point of government: for she always preferred the present to futurity, and preferred the power of an imperious dominion above all things, and in comparison of that had no regard to what was good, or what was right. However, she brought the affairs of her house to such an unfortunate condition, that she was the occasion of the taking away that authority from it, and that in no long time afterward, which she had obtained by a vast number of hazards and misfortunes, and this out of a desire of what does not belong to a woman, and all by a compliance in her sentiments with those that bear ill-will to their family, and by leaving the administration destitute of a proper support of great men: And indeed her management during the administration, while she was alive, was such as filled the palace after her death with calamities and disturbance. However, although this had been her way of governing, she preserved the nation in peace. And this is the conclusion of the affairs of Alexandria.

BOOK XIV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA TO THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS.

CHAP. I.

The War between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus about the Kingdom; and how they made an Agreement, that Aristobulus should be King, and Hyrcanus live a private Life; as also how Hyrcanus a little afterward was persuaded by Antipater to fly to Aretas.

§ 1. We have related the affairs of queen Alexandra, and her death in the foregoing book, and will now speak of what followed, and was connected with these histories, declaring before we proceed, that we have nothing so much at heart as this, that we may omit no facts* either through ignorance or laziness; for we are upon the history and explication of such things as the greatest part are unacquainted withal, because of their distance from our times; and we aim to do it with a proper beauty of style, so far as that is derived from proper words harmonically disposed, and from such ornaments of speech also as may contribute to the pleasure of our readers, that they may entertain the knowledge of what we write with some agreeable satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal scope that authors ought to aim at above all the rest, is to speak accurately, and to speak truly, for the satisfaction of those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions, and obliged to believe what these writers inform them of.

2. Hyrcanus then began his high priesthood on the third year of the hundred seventy-seventh olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, who was called Metellus of Crete, were consuls at Rome; when presently Aristobulus began to make war against him, and as it came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Jericho, many of his soldiers deserted him, and went over to his brother: upon which Hyrcanus fled into the citadel, where Aristobulus's wife and children were imprisoned by their mother, as we have said already, and attacked and overcame those his adversaries that fled thither, and lay within the walls of the temple. So when he had sent a message to his brother about agreeing the matters between them, he laid aside his enmity to him on these conditions, that Aristobulus should be king; that he should live without intermeddling with public affairs, and quietly enjoy the estate he had acquired. When they had agreed upon these terms in the temple, and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands, and embracing one another in the sight of the whole multitude, they departed, the one, Aristobulus to the palace, and Hyrcanus as a private man to the former house of Aristobulus.

3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus's an Idumean, called Antipater who was very rich, in his nature an active and a seditious man; who was at enmity with Aristobulus, and had differences with him on account of his good-will

* Reland takes notice here, very justly, how Josephus's declaration, that it was his great concern not only to write *an agreeable, an accurate,* and *a true* history, but also distinctly *not to omit any thing* [of consequence] either through *ignorance* or *laziness*, implies that he could not, consistently with that resolution, omit the mention of [so famous a person as] *Jesus Christ.*

to Hyrcanus. It is true that Nicolaus of Damascus says, that Antipater was of the stock of the principal Jews who came out of Babylon into Judea; but that assertion of his was to gratify Herod, who was his son, and who, by certain revolutions of fortune, came afterward to be king of the Jews, whose history we shall give you in its proper place hereafter. However, this Antipater was at first called Antipas,* and that was his father's name also; of whom they relate this, that king Alexander and his wife made him general of all Idumea, and that he made a league of friendship with those Arabians, and Gazites, and Ascalonites, that were of his own party, and had, by many and large presents, made them his fast friends. But now, this younger Antipater was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus, and was afraid of some mischief he might do him, because of his hatred to him, so he stirred up the most powerful of the Jews, and talked against him to them privately; and said, that "it was unjust to overlook the conduct of Aristobulus, who had gotten the government unrighteously, and had ejected his brother out of it, who was the elder, and ought to retain what belonged to him by prerogative of his birth." And the same speeches he perpetually made to Hyrcanus; and told him, that his own life would be in danger, unless he guarded himself, and got shut of Aristobulus; for he said, that the friends of Aristobulus omitted no opportunity of advising him to kill him, as being then, and not before, sure to retain his principality. Hyrcanus gave no credit to these words of his, as being of a gentle disposition, and one that did not easily admit of calumnies against other men. This temper of his not disposing him to meddle with public affairs, and want of spirit, occasioned him to appear to spectators to be degenerous and unmanly; while Aristobulus was of a contrary temper, an active man, and one of a great and generous soul.

4. Since therefore Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he said, he never ceased, day by day, to charge feigned crimes upon Aristobulus, and to calumniate him before him, as if he had a mind to kill him; and so, by urging him perpetually, he advised him, and persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia; and promised that if he would comply with his advice, he would also himself assist him, [and go with him.] When Hyrcanus heard this, he said that it was for his advantage to fly away to Aretas. Now, Arabia is a country that borders upon Judea. However, Hyrcanus sent Antipater first to the king of Arabia, in order to receive assurances from him, that when he should come in the manner of a supplicant to him, he will not deliver him up to his enemies. So Antipater, having received such assurances, returned to Hyrcanus to Jerusalem. A while afterward he took Hyrcanus, and stole out of the city by night, and went a great journey, and came and brought him to the city called Petra, where the palace of Aretas was; as he was a very familiar friend of that king's, he persuaded him to bring back Hyrcanus into Judea, and this persuasion he continued every day without any remission. He also proposed to make him presents on that account. At length he prevailed with Aretas in his suit. Moreover, Hyrcanus promised him, that when he had been brought thither, and had received his kingdom, he would restore that country, and those twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabians, which were these, Medaba, Naballo, Libias, Tharabasa, Agalla, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lussa, and Oruba.

* That the famous Antipater's or Antipas's father was also *Antipater* or *Antipas*, which two may justly be esteemed one and the same name, the former with a Greek or Gentile, the latter with a Hebrew or Jewish termination, Josephus here assures us, though Eusebius indeed says it was Herod.

CHAP. II.

How Aretas and Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Aristobulus, and besieged Jerusalem; and how Scaurus the Roman General raised the Siege. Concerning the Death of Onias.

§ 1. After these promises had been given to Aretas, he made an expedition against Aristobulus, with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot, and beat him in the battle. And when after that victory many went over to Hyrcanus as deserters, Aristobulus was left desolate, and fled to Jerusalem; upon which the king of Arabia took all his army and made an assault upon the temple, and besieged Aristobulus therein, the people still supporting Hyrcanus, and assisting him in the siege, while none but the priests continued with Aristobulus. So Aretas united the forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together, and pressed on the siege vigorously. As this happened at the season when the feast of unleavened bread was celebrated, which we call the Passover, the principal men among the Jews left the country, and fled into Egypt. Now there was one, whose name was Onias, a righteous man he was, and beloved of God, who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat, and whose prayers God had heard, and had sent them rain. This man had hid himself, because he saw that this sedition would last a great while. However, they brought him to the Jewish camp, and desired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the drought, so he would in like manner make imprecations on Aristobulus and those of his faction. And when, upon his refusal, and the excuses that he made, he was still by the multitude compelled to speak, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, "O God, the king of the whole world! since those that stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are also thy priests, I beseech thee that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these, nor bring to effect what these pray against those." Whereupon such wicked Jews as stood about him, as soon as he had made this prayer, stoned him to death.

2. But God punished them immediately for this their barbarity, and took vengeance of them for the murder of Onias, in the manner following: while the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast called the *Passover* was come, at which it is our custom to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; but those that were with Aristobulus wanted sacrifices, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with such sacrifices, and assured them they should have as much money for them as they should desire; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmæ for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the priests willingly undertook to pay for them accordingly, and those within let down the money over the walls, and gave it them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the sacrifices, but arrived at that height of wickedness as to break the assurances they had given, and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with sacrifices. And when the priests found they had been cheated, and that the agreements they had made were violated, they prayed to God, that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that their punishment, but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was then bought for eleven drachmæ.

3. In the meantime Pompey sent Scaurus into Syria, while he was himself in Armenia, and making war with Tigranes: but when Scaurus was come to Damascus, and found that Lollius and Metellus had newly taken the city, he came himself hastily into Judea. And when he was come thither, ambassadors came to him, both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and both desired he would assist them. And when both of them promised to give him money. Aristobulus four

hundred talents, and Hyrcanus no less, he accepted of Aristobulus's promise, for he was rich and had a great soul, and desired to obtain nothing but what was moderate; whereas the other was poor, and tenacious, and made incredible promises in hopes of greater advantages; for it was not the same thing to take a city, that was exceeding strong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a greater number of Nabateans, who were no very warlike people. He therefore made an agreement with Aristobulus, for the reasons before mentioned, and took his money, and raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans. So Scaurus returned to Damascus again; and Aristobulus, with a great army, made war with Aretas and Hyrcanus, and fought them at a place called *Papyron*, and beat them in the battle, and slew about six thousand of the enemy; with whom fell Phalion also, the brother of Antipater.

CHAP. III.

How Aristobulus and Hyrcanus came to Pompey, in order to argue who ought to have the Kingdom: and how, upon the Flight of Aristobulus to the Fortress of Alexandrium, Pompey led his Army against him, and ordered him to deliver up the Fortresses whereof he was possessed.

§ 1. A LITTLE afterward Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Celesyria; at which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria and Egypt, and out of Judea also, for Aristobolus had sent him a great present, which was a golden vine,* of the value of five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in these words: "There came also an embassage out of Egypt, and a crown of the value of four thousand pieces of gold; and out of Judea there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden: they called the thing TERPULE, *The Delight.* However, we ourselves saw that present reposited at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, *The gift of Alexander the King of the Jews.* It was valued at five hundred talents; and the report is, that Aristobolus, the governor of the Jews, sent it."

2. In a little time afterward came ambassadors again to him, Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Aristobulus; which last also accused such as had taken bribes, first Gabinius, and then Scaurus, the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred; by which procedure he made these two his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had controversies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country of Damascus; and as he went along, he demolished the citadel that was at Apamia, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and took cognizance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus, a wicked man, and not less so than Dionysius of Tripoli, who had been beheaded, who was also his relation by marriage; yet did he buy off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called *Lysias*, of which Silas a Jew was tyrant. And when he had passed over the cities of Heliopolis

* This *golden vine* or *garden*, seen by Strabo at Rome, has its inscription here, as if it were the gift of Alexander, the father of Aristobulus, and not of Aristobulus himself, to whom yet Josephus ascribes it, and in order to prove the truth of that part of his history, introduces this testimony of Strabo's; so that the ordinary copies seem to be here either erroneous or defective, and the original reading seems to have been either *Aristobulus*, instead of *Alexander*, with one Greek copy, or else *Aristobulus, the son of Alexander*, with the Latin copies; which last seems to me the most probable: for as to Archbishop Usher's conjectures, that Alexander made it, and dedicated it to God in the temple, and that thence Aristobulus took it, and sent it to Pompey, they are both very improbable, and no way agreeable to Josephus, who would hardly have avoided the recording both those uncommon points of history, had he known any thing of them; nor would either the Jewish nation, or even Pompey himself, then have relished such a flagrant instance of sacrilege

and Chalcis, and got over the mountain which is on the limit of Celesyria, he came from Pella to Damascus; and there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews, and of their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobolus, who were at difference one with another; as also of the nation against them both, which did not desire to be under kingly government, because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priest of that God whom they worshiped; and [they complained,] that though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form, in order to enslave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he were the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus, and that he hath but a small part of the country under him, Aristobulus having taken away the rest from him by force. He also accused him, that the incursions which had been made into their neighbours' countries, and the piracies that had been at sea, were owing to him; and that the nation would not have revolted, unless Aristobulus had been a man given to violence and disorder; and there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem among them, who confirmed this accusation; which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Aristobulus alleged against him, that it was Hyrcanus's own temper, which was inactive and therefore on that account contemptible, which caused him to be deprived of the government; and that for himself, he was necessitated to take it upon him, for fear lest it should be transferred to others. And that as to his title [of king,] it was no other than what his father had taken [before him.] He also called for witnesses of what he said, some persons who were both young and insolent; whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments were detested [by the court,] and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.

3. When Pompey had heard the causes of these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure, he then spake civilly to them, and sent them away; and told them that when he came again into their country, he would settle all their affairs, after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans. In the mean time, he ordered them to be quiet; and treated Aristobulus civilly, lest he should make the nation revolt, and hinder his return: which yet Aristobulus did; for without expecting any further determination, which Pompey had promised them, he went to the city Delius, and thence marched into Judea.

4. At this behaviour Pompey was angry; and taking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabateans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he made an expedition against Aristobulus; but as he passed by Pella and Scythopolis, he came to Coreæ, which is the first entrance into Judea when one passes over the midland countries; where he came to a most beautiful fortress that was built on the top of a mountain called *Alexandrium*, whither Aristobulus had fled: and thence Pompey sent his commands to him, that he should come to him. Accordingly, at the persuasion of many, that he would not make war with the Romans, he came down: and when he had disputed with his brother about the right to the government, he went up again to the citadel, as Pompey gave him leave to do; and this he did two or three times, as flattering himself with the hopes of having the kingdom granted to him; so that he still pretended he would obey Pompey in whatsoever he commanded, although at the same time he retired to his fortress, that he might not depress himself too low, and that he might be prepared for a war, in case it should prove, as he feared, that Pompey would transfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey enjoined Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses he held, and to send an injunction to their governors, under his own hand, for that purpose, for they had been forbidden to deliver them up upon any other commands, he submitted indeed to do so, but still he retired in displeasure to Jerusalem, and made preparation for war.

A little after this, certain persons came out of Pontus, and informed Pompey, as he was on the way, and conducting his army against Aristobulus, that Mithridates was dead, and was slain by his son Pharnaces.

CHAP. IV.

How Pompey, when the Citizens of Jerusalem shut the Gates against him, besieged the City, and took it by Force; as also what other Things he did in Judea.

§ 1. Now when Pompey had pitched his camp at Jericho (where the palm-tree* grows, and that balsam which is an ointment of all the most precious, which upon any incision made in the wood with a sharp stone, distils out thence like a juice,) he marched in the morning to Jerusalem. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of what he was doing, and came to Pompey, and [promised to] give him money, and received him into Jerusalem, and desired that he would leave off the war and do what he pleased peaceably. So Pompey, upon his entreaty, forgave him, and sent Gabinius, and soldiers with him, to receive the money and the city: yet was no part of this performed, but Gabinius came back, being both excluded out of the city, and receiving none of the money promised, because Aristobulus's soldiers would not permit the agreements to be executed. At this Pompey was very angry, and put Aristobulus into prison, and came himself to the city, which was strong on every side excepting the north, which was not so well fortified; for there was a broad and deep ditch† that encompassed the city, and included within it the temple, which was itself encompassed about with a very strong stone wall.

2. Now there was a sedition of the men that were within the city, who did not agree what was to be done in their present circumstances, while some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey; but Aristobulus's party exhorted them to shut the gates, because he was kept in prison. Now these prevented the others, and seized upon the temple, and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city, and prepared themselves to abide a siege; but the others admitted Pompey's army in, and delivered up both the city and the king's palace to him. So Pompey sent his lieutenant Piso with an army, and placed garrisons both in the city and in the palace, to secure them, and fortified the houses that joined to the temple; and all those which were more distant, and without it. And in the first place, he offered terms of accommodation to those within; but when they would not comply with what was desired, he encompassed all the places thereabout with a wall, wherein Hyrcanus did gladly assist him on all occasions; but Pompey pitched his camp within [the wall,] on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug, and a deep valley begirt it round about, for on the parts towards the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompey had gotten in, was broken down; however, a bank was raised day by day, with a great deal of la

* These express testimonies of Josephus here, and Antiq. B. viii. ch. vi. sect. 6, and B. xv. ch. iv sect. 2, that the only balsam gardens, and the best palm-trees, were, at least in his days, near Jericho and Engaddi, about the north part of the Dead Sea (whereabout also Alexander the Great saw the balsam drop,) show the mistake of those that understand Eusebius and Jerom, as if one of those gardens were at the south part of that sea; at Zoar or Segor; whereas they must either mean another Zoar or Segor, which was between Jericho and Engaddi, agreeably to Josephus, which yet they do not appear to do; or else they directly contradict Josephus, and were therein greatly mistaken; I mean this, unless that balsam, and the best palm-trees, grew much more southward in Judea in the days of Eusebius and Jerom than they did in the days of Josephus.

† The particular depth and breadth of this ditch, whence the stones for the wall about the temple were probably taken, are omitted in our copies of Josephus, but set down by Strabo, B. xvi. p. 763, from whose we learn, that this ditch was 60 feet deep, and 250 feet broad. However, its depth is, in the next section, said by Josephus to be *immense*, which exactly agrees to Strabo's description, and which numbers in Strabo are a strong confirmation of the truth of Josephus's description also.

bour, while the Romans cut down materials for it from the places round about, and when this bank was sufficiently raised, and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth, he brought his mechanical engines and battering rams from Tyre, and placing them on the bank, he battered the temple with the stones that were thrown against it. And had it not been our practice, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh day, this bank could never have been perfected, by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our law gives us leave then to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us, and assault us, yet does it not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do any thing else.

3. Which thing when the Romans understood, on those days which we call Sabbaths, they threw nothing at the Jews, nor came to any pitched battle with them, but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness, that they might do execution the next days. And any one may hence learn how very great piety we exercise towards God, and the observance of his laws, since the priests were not all hindered from their sacred ministrations, by their fear during this siege, but did still twice a day, in the morning, and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar; nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened, by the stones that were thrown among them; for although the city were taken on the third* month, on the day of the feast, upon the hundred and seventy-ninth olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls, and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple, yet could not those that offered the sacrifices be compelled to run away, neither by the fear they were in of their own lives, nor by the number that were already slain, as thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit any thing that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to manifest a degree of our piety that was false, but is the real truth, I appeal to those that have written the acts of Pompey; and among them to Strabo and Nicolaus [of Damascus;] and besides these two, Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman history, who will bear witness to this thing†.

4. But when the battering engine was brought near, the greatest of the two towers was shaken by it, and fell down, and brake down a part of the fortifications; so the enemy poured in apace; and Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, with his soldiers, first of all ascended the wall, and next to him Furius the centurion, with those that followed, on the other part; while Fabius, who was also a centurion, ascended it in the middle, with a great body of men after him. But now all was full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another; nay, some there were who threw themselves down the precipices, or put fire to their houses, and burnt them, as not able to bear the miseries they were under. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few. Absalom, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law to Aristobulus, was taken captive. And no small enormities were committed about the temple itself, which in former ages had been inaccessible, and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also, and saw all that which it was unlawful for any other men to see but only for the high priests. There were in that temple the golden table, the holy candlestick, and the pouring vessels, and a great quantity of spices; and besides these, there

* That is, on the 23d of Sivan, the annual fast for the defection and idolatry of Jeroboam, who made *Israel to sin*; or possibly some other fast might fall into that month, before and in the days of Josephus.

† It deserves here to be noted, that this Pharisaical superstitious notion, that offensive fighting was unlawful to Jews, even under the utmost necessity, on the Sabbath day, of which we hear nothing before the times of the Maccabees, was the proper occasion of Jerusalem's being taken by Pompey, Sosius, and by Titus, as appears from the places already quoted in the note on Antiq. B. xiii. ch. viii. sect. 1; which scrupulous superstition, as to the observation of such a rigorous rest upon the Sabbath day, our Saviour always opposed, when the Pharisaical Jews insisted on it, as is evident in many places in the New Testament, though he still intimated how pernicious that superstition might prove to them in their flight from the Romans, Matt. xxv. 20.

were among the treasures two thousand talents of sacred money: yet did Pompey touch nothing* of all this, on account of his regard to religion; and in this point also he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to God; and restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, both because he had been useful to him in other respects, and because he hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in his war against him. He also cut off those that had been the authors of that war; and bestowed proper rewards on Faustus, and those others that mounted the wall with such alacrity; and he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans; and took away those cities of Celesyria which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued, and put them under the government of the Roman president, and confined the whole nation, which had elevated itself so high before, within its own bounds. Moreover, he rebuilt Gadara,† which had been demolished a little before, to gratify Demetrius Gadara, who was his freedman, and restored the rest of the cities, Hippos, and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Dios, and Samaria, as also Marissa, and Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa, to their own inhabitants; these were in the inland parts; besides those that had been demolished; and also of the maritime cities, Gaza and Joppa, and Dora, and Strato's Tower; which last Herod rebuilt after a glorious manner, and adorned with havens, and temples, and changed its name to Cesarea. All these Pompey left in a state of freedom, and joined them to the province of Syria.

5. Now the occasions of this misery which came upon Jerusalem were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by raising a sedition one against the other; for now we lost our liberty, and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians, and were compelled to restore it to the Syrians. Moreover, the Romans exacted of us, in a little time, above ten thousand talents. And the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly bestowed on those that were high priests by the right of their family, became the property of private men. But of these matters we shall treat in their proper places. Now Pompey committed Celesyria, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus, with two Roman legions, and then went away to Cilicia, and made haste to Rome. He also carried bound along with him Aristobulus and his children; for he had two daughters, and as many sons; the one of which ran away, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.

CHAP. V.

How Scaurus made a League of mutual Assistance with Aretas, and what Gabinius did in Judea, after he had conquered Alexander, the Son of Aristobulus.

§ 1. SCAURUS made now an expedition against Petrea, in Arabia, and set on fire all the places round about it, because of the great difficulty of access to it. And as his army was pinched by famine, Antipater furnished him with corn out of Judea, and with whatever else he wanted, at the command of Hyrcanus. And when he was sent to Aretas, as an ambassador by Scaurus, because he had lived with him formerly, he persuaded Aretas to give Scaurus a sum of money, to prevent the burning of his country; and undertook to be his surety for three hundred talents. So Scaurus, upon these terms, ceased to make war any longer, which was done as much at Scaurus's desire, as at the desire of Aretas.

* This is fully confirmed by the testimony of Cicero, who says, in his oration for Flaccus, that "Cneius Pompeius, when he was conqueror, and had taken Jerusalem, did not touch any thing belonging to that temple."

† Of this destruction of Gadara here presupposed, and its restoration by Pompey, see the note on the War B. i. ch. vii. sect. 7.

2. Some time after this, when Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, made an incursion into Judea, Gabinius came from Rome to Syria, as commander of the Roman forces. He did many considerable actions; and particularly made war with Alexander, since Hyrcanus was not yet able to oppose his power, but was already attempting to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, which Pompey had overthrown, although the Romans, which were there, restrained him from that his design. However, Alexander went over all the country round about, and armed many of the Jews, and suddenly got together ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen, and fortified Alexandrium, a fortress near to Corea and Macherus, near the mountains of Arabia. Gabinus therefore came upon him, having sent Marcus Antonius, with other commanders, before. These armed such Romans as followed them; and, together with them, such Jews as were subject to them, whose leaders were Pitholaus and Malichus, and they took with them also their friends that were with Antipater, and met Alexander, while Gabinius himself followed with his legion. Hereupon Alexander retired to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where they fell upon one another, and it came to a pitched battle, in which the Romans slew of their enemies about three thousand, and took a like number alive.

3. At which time Gabinius came to Alexandrium, and invited those that were in it to deliver it up on certain conditions, and promised that then their former offences should be forgiven: but as a great number of the enemy had pitched their camp before the fortress, whom the Romans attacked, Marcus Antonius fought bravely, and slew a great number, and seemed to come off with the greatest honour. So Gabinius left part of his army there, in order to take the place, and he himself went into other parts of Judea, and gave order to rebuild all the cities that he met with that had been demolished; at which time were rebuilt Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, and Dora; Marissa also, and Gaza, and not a few others besides. And as the men acted according to Gabinius's command, it came to pass, that at this time these cities were securely inhabited, which had been desolate for a long time.

4. When Gabinius had done thus in the country, he returned to Alexandrium; and when he urged on the siege of the place, Alexander sent an embassage to him, desiring that he would pardon his former offences; he also delivered up the fortresses Hyrcania and Macherus, and at last Alexandrium itself, which fortresses Gabinius demolished. But when Alexander's mother, who was of the side of the Romans, as having her husband and other children at Rome, came to him, he granted her whatsoever she asked; and when he had settled matters with her, he brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him. And when he had ordained five councils, he distributed the nation into the same number of parts: so these councils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amathus, the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at Sepphoris, in Galilee. So the Jews were now freed from monarchic authority; and were governed by an aristocracy.*

CHAP. VI.

How Gabinius caught Aristobulus after he had fled from Rome, and sent him back to Rome again: And how the same Gabinius, as he returned out of Egypt, overcame Alexander and the Nabateans in battle.

§ 1. Now Aristobulus ran away from Rome to Judea, and set about the rebuilding of Alexandrium, which had been newly demolished: hereupon Gabinius sent

* Dean Prideaux well observes, that "notwithstanding the clamour against Gabinius at Rome, Josephus gives him a laudable character, as if he had acquitted himself with honour in the charge committed to him" [in Judea.] See at the year 55.

soldiers against him, and for their commanders Sisenna, and Antonius, and Servilius, in order to hinder him from getting possession of the country, and to take him again. And indeed many of the Jews ran to Aristobulus, on account of his former glory, as also because they should be glad of an innovation. Now, there was one Pitholaus, a lieutenant at Jerusalem, who deserted to him with a thousand men, although a great number of those that came to him were unarmed; and when Aristobulus had resolved to go to Macherus, he dismissed those people, because they were unarmed; for they could not be useful to him in what actions he was going about; but he took with him eight thousand that were armed, and marched on: and as the Romans fell upon them severely, the Jews fought valiantly, but were beaten in the battle; and when they had fought with alacrity, but were overborne by the enemy, they were put to flight; of whom were slain about five thousand, and the rest being dispersed tried, as well as they were able, to save themselves. However Aristobulus had with him still above a thousand, and with them he fled to Macherus, and fortified the place, and though he had ill success, he still had good hope of his affairs: but when he had struggled against the siege for two days' time, and had received many wounds, he was brought as a captive to Gabinius, with his son Antigonus, who also fled with him from Rome. And this was the fortune of Aristobulus, who was sent back again to Rome, and was there retained in bonds, having been both king and high priest for three years and six months; and was indeed an eminent person, and one of a great soul. However the senate let his children go, upon Gabinius's writing to them, that he had promised their mother so much when she delivered up the fortresses to him; and accordingly they then returned into Judea.

2. Now when Gabinius was making an expedition against the Parthians, and had already passed over Euphrates, he changed his mind, and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom.* This hath also been related elsewhere. However, Antipater supplied his army, which he sent against Archelaus, with corn, and weapons, and money. He also made those Jews, who were above Pelusium, his friends and confederates, and had been the guardians of the passes that led into Egypt. But when he came back out of Egypt, he found Syria in disorder with seditions and troubles; for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having seized on the government a second time by force, made many of the Jews revolt to him; and so he marched over the country with a great army, and slew all the Romans he could light upon, and proceeded to besiege the mountain called Gerizzim, whither they had retreated.

3. But when Gabinius found Syria in such a state, he sent Antipater, who was a prudent man, to those that were seditious, to try whether he could cure them of their madness, and persuade them to return to a better mind; and when he came to them, he brought many of them to a sound mind, and induced them to do what they ought to do: but he could not restrain Alexander; for he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and met Gabinius, and joining battle with him, was beaten, and lost ten thousand of his men, about Mount Tabor.

4. So Gabinius settled the affairs which belonged to the city Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination, and went against the Nabateans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner Mithridates and Orsanes, who were Parthian deserters, and came to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinius had performed great and glorious actions in his management of the affairs of war, he returned to Rome, and delivered the government to Crassus. Now Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo of Cappadocia, both describe the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews; while neither of them say any thing new which is not in the other.

* This history is best illustrated by Dr. Hudson out of Livy, who says, "That A. Gabinius the proconsul restored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, and ejected Archelaus, whom they had set up for king," &c. See Prid. at the years 64 and 65.

CHAP. VII.

How Crassus came into Judea, and pillaged the Temple; and then marched against the Parthians, and perished with his Army. Also how Cassius obtained Syria, and put a Stop to the Parthians, and then went up to Judea.

§ 1. Now Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Judea, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left, being two thousand talents; and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it, which was eight thousand talents. He also took a beam which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minæ; each of which weighed two pounds and a half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, and whose name was *Eleazar*, that gave him this beam; not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and a righteous man; but being intrusted with the custody of the veils belonging to the temple, which were of admirable beauty, and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, when he saw that Crassus was busy in gathering money, and was in fear for the entire ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold, as a ransom for the whole; but this not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only which he should give him, being worth many ten thousand [shekels.] Now, this beam was contained in a wooden beam that was hollow, but was known to no others, but Eleazar alone knew it. Yet did Crassus take away this beam, upon the condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple; and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.

2. And let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all the Jews throughout the habitable earth, and those that worshiped God, nay, even those of Asia and Europe, sent their contributions to it, and this from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums without its attestation; nor is that greatness owing to our vanity, as raising it without ground to so great a height; but there are many witnesses to it, and particularly Strabo of Cappadocia, who says thus: "Mithridates sent to Coss, and took the money, which queen Cleopatra had deposited there, as also eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews." Now, we have no public money but only what appertains to God; and it is evident that the Asian Jews removed this money out of fear of Mithridates; for it is not probable that those of Judea, who had a strong city and temple, should send their money to Coss; nor is it likely that the Jews, who are inhabitants of Alexandria, should do so neither, since they were in no fear of Mithridates. And Strabo himself bears witness to the same thing in another place; that at the same time that Sylla passed over into Greece, in order to fight against Mithridates, he sent Lucullus to put an end to a sedition that our nation, of whom the habitable earth is full, had raised in Cyrene; where he speaks thus: "There were four classes of men among those of Cyrene, that of citizens, that of husbandmen, the third of strangers, and the fourth of Jews. Now these Jews are already gotten into all cities, and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by it: and it hath come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the same governors, and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living, and maintain great bodies of these Jews in a peculiar manner, and grow up to greater prosperity with them, and make use of the same laws with that nation also. Accordingly the Jews have places assigned them in Egypt, wherein they inhabit, besides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation at Alexandria, which is a large part of that city, where is also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs the nation, and distributes justice to them, and takes care of their contracts, and of the laws to them belonging, as if he were the ruler of a free republic. In Egypt, therefore, this

nation is powerful, because the Jews were originally Egyptians, and because the land wherein they inhabit since they went thence is near to Egypt. They also removed into Cyrene, because that this land adjoined to the government of Egypt, as well as does Judea, or rather was formerly under the same government." And this is what Strabo says.

3. So when Crassus had settled all things as he himself pleased, he marched into Parthia, where both he himself and all his army perished, as hath been related elsewhere. But Cassius, as he fled from Rome to Syria, took possession of it, and was an impediment to the Parthians, who, by reason of their victory over Crassus, made incursions upon it; and as he came back to Tyre, he went up into Judea also, and fell upon Taricheæ, and presently took it, and carried about thirty thousand Jews captives; and slew Pitholaus, who succeeded Aristobulus in his seditious practices; and that by the persuasion of Antipater, who proved to have great interest in him, and was at that time in great repute with the Idumeans also: out of which nation he married a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men, and her name was *Cypros*;* by whom he had four sons, Phasael, and Herod, who was afterwards made king, and Joseph, and Pheroras; and a daughter named *Salome*. This Antipater cultivated also a friendship and mutual kindness with other potentates, but especially with the king of Arabia, to whom he committed his children, while he fought against Aristobulus. So Cassius removed his camp, and marched to Euphrates, to meet those that were coming to attack him; as hath been related by others.

4. But some time afterward, Cæsar, when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate were fled beyond the Ionian sea, freed Aristobulus from his bonds, and resolved to send him into Syria; and delivered two legions to him, that he might set matters right, as being a potent man in that country: but Aristobulus had no enjoyment of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Cæsar: for those of Pompey's party prevented it, and destroyed him by poison, and those of Cæsar's party buried him. His dead body also lay for a good while embalmed in honey, till Antony afterward sent it to Judea, and caused him to be buried in the royal sepulchre. But Scipio, upon Pompey's sending him to slay Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, because the young man was accused of what offences he had been guilty of at first against the Romans, cut off his head; and thus did he die at Antioch. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was the ruler of Chalcis, under Mount Libanus, took his brethren to him, and sent his son Philippion to Askelon to Aristobulus's wife, and desired her to send back with him her son Antigonus, and her daughters; the one of which, whose name was *Alexandra*, Philippion fell in love with, and married; though afterward his father Ptolemy slew him, and married Alexandra, and continued to take care of her brethren.

CHAP. VIII.

The Jews become Confederates with Cæsar when he fought against Egypt. The glorious Actions of Antipater, and his Friendship with Cæsar. The Honours which the Jews received from the Romans and Athenians.

§ 1. Now after Pompey was dead, and after that victory Cæsar had gained over him, Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs, became very useful to Cæsar when he made war against Egypt, and that by the order of Hyrcanus: for when Mithridates of Pergamus was bringing his auxiliaries, and was not able to continue his march through Pelusium, but obliged to stay at Askelon, Antipater came to him, conducting three thousand of the Jews armed men: he had also taken care

* Dr. Hudson observes, that the name of this wife of Antipater's in Josephus was *Cyprus*, as a Hebrew termination, but not *Cypris*, the Greek name for Venus, as some critics were ready to correct it

the principal men of the Arabians should come to his assistance; and on his account it was that all the Syrians assisted him also, as not willing to appear behindhand in their alacrity for Cæsar; viz. Jamblicus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, and Tholomy the son of Sohemus who dwelt at Mount Libanus, and almost all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium; and when its inhabitants would not admit him, he besieged the city. Now Antipater signalized himself here, and was the first who plucked down a part of the wall, and so opened a way to the rest, whereby they might enter the city, and by this means Pelusium was taken; but it happened that the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onion, would not let Antipater and Mithridates, with their soldiers, pass to Cæsar; but Antipater persuaded them to come over to their party, because he was of the same people with them; and that chiefly by showing them the epistles of Hyrcanus the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Cæsar, and to supply his army with money, and all sorts of provisions which they wanted: and accordingly, when they saw Antipater and the high priest of the same sentiments, they did as they were desired. And when the Jews about Memphis heard that these Jews were come over to Cæsar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them; so he came and received them also into his army.

2. And when Mithridates had gone over all Delta, as the place is called, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near the place called the Jewish Camp. Now Mithridates had the right wing, and Antipater the left; and when it came to a fight, that wing where Mithridates was gave way, and was likely to suffer extremely, unless Antipater had come running to him with his own soldiers along the shore, when he had already beaten the enemy that opposed him; so he delivered Mithridates, and put those Egyptians who had been too hard for him to flight. He also took their camp and continued in the pursuit of them. He also recalled Mithridates, who had been worsted, and was retired a great way off; of whose soldiers eight hundred fell, but of Antipater's fifty. So Mithridates sent an account of this battle to Cæsar, and openly declared, that Antipater was the author of this victory, and of his own preservation, insomuch that Cæsar commended Antipater then, and made use of him all the rest of that war in the most hazardous undertakings; he happened also to be wounded in one of those engagements.

3. However, when Cæsar, after some time, had finished that war, and was sailed away for Syria, he honoured Antipater greatly, and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood; and bestowed on Antipater the privilege of a citizen of Rome, and a freedom from taxes every where: and it is reported by many, that Hyrcanus went along with Antipater in this expedition, and came himself into Egypt. And Strabo of Cappadocia bears witness to this, when he says thus, in the name of Asinius: "After Mithridates had invaded Egypt, and with him Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews." Nay, the same Strabo says thus again, in another place, in the name of Hypsicrates, that "Mithridates at first went out alone, but that Antipater, who had the care of the Jewish affairs, was called by him to Askelon, and that he had gotten ready three thousand soldiers to go along with him, and encouraged other governors of the country to go along with him also; and that Hyrcanus the high priest was also present in this expedition." This is what Strabo says.

4. But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Cæsar, and "lamented his father's fate; and complained, that it was by Antipater's means that Aristobulus was taken off by poison, and his brother was beheaded by Scipio: and desired that he would take pity of him who had been ejected out of that principality which was due to him." He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater as governing the nation by violence, and offering injuries to himself. Antipater was present, and made his defence as to the accusations that were laid against him. He demonstrated, that "Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and

were seditious persons. He also put Cæsar in mind what difficult services he had undergone when he assisted him in his wars, and discoursed about what he was a witness of himself. He added, that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one that was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be a friend to them; and that his brother had no more than he deserved from Scipio, as being seized in committing robberies; and that his punishment was not inflicted on him in a way of violence or injustice by him that did it."

5. When Antipater had made this speech, Cæsar appointed Hyrcanus to be high priest; and gave Antipater what principality he himself should choose, leaving the determination to himself: so he made him procurator of Judea. He also gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up the walls of his own city, upon his asking that favour of him, for they had been demolished by Pompey. And this grant he sent to the consuls of Rome, to be engraven in the capitol. The decree of the senate was this that follows: "* Lucius Valerius, the son of Lucius the pretor, referred this to the senate, upon the ides of December, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Coponius, the son of Lucius of the Colline tribe, and Papirius of the Quirine tribe, concerning the affairs which Alexander the son of Jason, and Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander the son of Dositheus, ambassadors of the Jews, good and worthy men, proposed; who came to renew that league of good-will and friendship with the Romans which was in being before. They also brought a shield of gold, as a mark of confederacy, valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold; and desired that letters might be given them, directed both to the free cities and to the kings, that their country and their havens might be at peace, and that no one among them might receive any injury. It therefore pleased [the senate] to make a league of friendship and good-will with them, and to bestow on them whatsoever they stood in need of, and to accept of the shield which was brought by them. This was done in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus." Hyrcanus also received honours from the people of Athens, as having been useful to them on many occasions. And when they wrote to him, they sent him this decree, as it here follows: "Under the prutaneia and priesthood of Dionysius, the son of Esculapius, on the fifth day of the latter part of the month Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders, when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles, the son of Menander of Alimusia, was the scribe. In the month Munychion, on the eleventh day of the prutaneia, a council of the presidents was held in the theatre. Dorotheus the high priest, and the fellow presidents with him, put it to the vote of the people. Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, gave the sentence: Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, continues to bear good-will to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambassadors or on any occasion of their own, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are conducted back in safety, of which we have had several former testimonies; it is now also decreed, at the report of Theodosius, the son of Theodorus, and upon his putting the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his purpose is to do us all the good that is in his power, to honour him with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law, and to erect his statue in brass in the temple of Demus, and of the Graces; and that

* Take Dr. Hudson's note upon this place, which I suppose to be the truth: "Here is some mistake in Josephus; for when he had promised a decree for the restoration of Jerusalem, he brings in a decree of far greater antiquity, and that a league of friendship and union only. One may easily believe that Josephus gave order for one thing, and his amanuensis performed another, by transposing decrees that concerned the Hyrcani, and as deluded by the sameness of their names: for that belongs to the *first* high priest of this name [John Hyrcanus] which Josephus here ascribes to one that lived *later* [Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander Janneus.] However, the decree which he proposes to set down follow a little lower, in the collection of Roman decrees, that concerned the Jews, and is that dated when Cæsar was consul the fifth time. See chap. x. sect. 5.

this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publicly in the theatre, in the Dyonisian shows while the new tragedies are acting; and in the Panathenean and Eleusinian, and Gymnical shows also; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and preserves his good-will to us, to return all possible honour and favour to the man for his affection and generosity; that by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good kindly, and repay them a suitable reward; and he may be induced to proceed in his affection towards us, by the honours we have already paid him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him, and desire him to accept of the honours we do him, and to endeavour always to be doing some good to our city." And this shall suffice us to have spoken as to the honours that were paid by the Romans and the people of Athens to Hyrcanus.

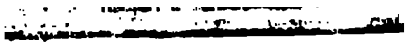
CHAP. IX.

How Antipater committed the care of Galilee to Herod, and that of Jerusalem to Phasaelus: as also how Herod, upon the Jews' Envy at Antipater, was accused before Hyrcanus.

§ 1. Now when Cæsar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away; and as soon as Antipater had conducted Cæsar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then immediately raised up the wall which had been thrown down by Pompey; and, by coming thither, he pacified that tumult which had been in the country, and this by both threatening and advising them to be quiet: for that, "if they would be of Hyrcanus's side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without disturbance, in the enjoyment of their own possessions; but if they were addicted to the hopes of what might come by innovation, and aimed to get wealth thereby, they should have him a severe master instead of a gentle governor, and Hyrcanus a tyrant instead of a king, and the Romans, together with Cæsar, their bitter enemies instead of rulers; for that they would never bear him to be set aside whom they had appointed to govern." And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself settled the affairs of this country.

2. And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and slothful temper, he made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem, and of the places that were about it, but committed Galilee to Herod, his next son, who was then a very young man, for he was but fifteen* years of age: but that youth of his was no impediment to him; but as he was a youth of a great mind, he presently met with an opportunity of signalizing his courage; for finding that there was one Hezekias, a captain of a band of robbers, who overran the neighbouring parts of Syria with a great troop of them, he seized him, and slew him, as well as a great number of the other robbers that were with him; for which action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians; for when they were very desirous to have their country freed from their nest of robbers, he purged it of them: so they sung songs in his commendation, in their villages and cities, as having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions; and on this account it was that he became known to Sextus Cæsar, who was a relation of the great Cæsar's, and was now president of Syria. Now Phasaelus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he had thereby gotten, and became ambitious not to be behindhand with him in deserving it; so he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good will, while he held the city himself, but did

* Those who will carefully observe the several occasional numbers and chronological characters in the life and death of this Herod, and of his children, hereafter noted, will see, that *twenty-five* years, and not *fifteen*, must for certain have been here Josephus's own number for the age of Herod, when he was made governor of Galilee. See ch. xxiii. sect. 5, and ch. xxiv. sect. 7, and particularly Antiq. B. xvi. ch. viii. sect. 1. where about 44 years afterwards Herod dies an old man at about 70.



neither manage its affairs improperly, nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured from the nation to Antipater such respect as is due to kings, and such honours as he might partake of if he were an absolute lord of the country. Yet did not this splendour of his, as frequently happens, in the least diminish in him that kindness and fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

3. But now the principal men among the Jews, when they saw Antipater and his sons grow so much in the good will the nation bear to them, and in the revenues which they received out of Judea, and out of Hyrcanus's own wealth, they became ill disposed to him: for indeed Antipater had contracted a friendship with the Roman emperors: and when he had prevailed with Hyrcanus to send them money, he took it to himself, and purloined the present intended, and sent it, as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus's gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this his management, but took no care about it; nay, he rather was very glad of it: but the chief men of the Jews were therefore in fear, because they saw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very desirous of acting tyrannically; so they came to Hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater openly, and said to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now done? Or dost thou not see that Antipater and his sons have already seized upon the government? and that it is only the name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee; nor do thou think to escape danger, by being so careless of thyself and of thy kingdom; for Antipater and his sons are not now stewards of thine affairs; do not thou deceive thyself with such a notion: they are evidently absolute lords: for Herod, Antipater's son, hath slain Hezekiah and those that were with him; and hath thereby transgressed our law, which hath forbidden to slay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unless he had been first condemned to suffer death by the sanhedrim;* yet hath he been so insolent as to do this, and that without any authority from thee."

4. Upon Hyrcanus's hearing this, he complied with them. The mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod raised his indignation, for these women continued every day in the temple, persuading the king and the people, that Herod might undergo a trial before the sanhedrim for what he had done. Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial, for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came: but his father had persuaded him to come not like a private man, but with a guard, for the security of his person; and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could for his own advantage, he should come to his trial, but still with a body of men sufficient for his security on his journey, yet so that he should not come with so great a force as might look like terrifying Hyrcanus, but still such a one as might not expose him naked and unguarded [to his enemies.] However, Sextus Cæsar, president of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, and desired him to clear Herod, and dismiss him at his trial, and threatened him beforehand, if he did not do it. Which epistle of his was the occasion of Hyrcanus's delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the sanhedrim, for he loved him as his own son. But when Herod stood before the sanhedrim, with his body of men about him, he affrighted them all, and no one of his former accusers durst after that bring any charge against him; but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done. When affairs stood thus, one whose name was *Sameas*,† a righteous man he was, and for that reason above all fear, who rose up and said: "O you that are assessors with me, and O thou that art our king,

* It is here worth our while to remark, that none could be put to death in Judea but by the approbation of the Jewish sanhedrim, there being an excellent provision in the law of Moses, that even in criminal causes, and particularly where life was concerned, an appeal should lie, from the lesser councils of seven in the other cities, to the supreme council of seventy-one at Jerusalem. And this is exactly according to our Saviour's words, when he says, *It could not be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem.* Luke, xiii. 33.

† This account, as Reland observes, is confirmed by the Talmudists, who call this Sameas, *Simeon the son of Shetach.*

I neither have ever myself known such a case, nor do I suppose that any of you can name its parallel, that one who is called to take his trial by us ever stood in such a manner before us; but every one, whosoever he be, that comes to be tried by this sanhedrim, presents himself in a submissive manner, and like one that is in fear of himself, and that endeavours to move us to compassion, with his hair dishevelled, and in a black and mourning garment; but this admirable man Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so heavy an accusation, stands here clothed in purple, and with the hair of his head finely trimmed, and with his armed men about him; that if we shall condemn him by our law, he may slay us, and by overbearing justice may himself escape death. Yet do not I make this complaint against Herod himself; he is to be sure more concerned for himself than for the laws; but my complaint is against yourselves, and your king, who gave him a licence so to do. However, take you notice, that God is great, and that this very man, whom you are going to absolve and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you and your king himself also." Nor did Sameas mistake in any part of this prediction: for when Herod had received the kingdom, he slew all the members of this sanhedrim, and Hyrcanus himself also, excepting Sameas: for he had a great honour for him on account of his righteousness, and because, when the city was afterwards besieged by Herod and Sosius, he persuaded the people to admit Herod into it; and told them, "That for their sins they would not be able to escape his hands." Which things will be related by us in their proper places.

5. But when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the sanhedrim were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial to another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to fly out of the city, for that by this means he might escape. So he retired to Damascus, as though he fled from the king: and when he had been with Sextus Cæsar, and had put his own affairs in a sure posture, he resolved to do thus, that in case he were again summoned before the sanhedrim to take his trial, he would not obey that summons. Hereupon the members of the sanhedrim had great indignation at this posture of affairs, and endeavoured to persuade Hyrcanus, that all these things were against him. Which state of matters he was not ignorant of; but his temper was so unmanly, and so foolish, that he was able to do nothing at all. But when Sextus had made Herod general of the army of Celesyria, for he sold him that post for money, Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod should make war upon him; nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him; for Herod came, and brought an army along with him, to fight with Hyrcanus, as being angry at the trial he had been summoned to undergo before the sanhedrim: but his father Antipater, and his brother [Phasaelus,] met him, and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also pacified his vehement temper, and persuaded him to do no overt action; but only to affright them with threatenings, and to proceed no farther against one who had given him the dignity he had: they also desired him not to be angry that he was summoned and obliged to come to trial, but to remember withal, how he was dismissed without condemnation, and how he ought to give Hyrcanus thanks for the same; and that he was not to regard only what was disagreeable to him, and be unthankful for his deliverance. So they desired him to consider, that since it is God that turns the scales of war, there is great uncertainty in the issue of battles, and that therefore he ought not to expect the victory, when he should fight with his king, and him that had supported him, and bestowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing itself very severe to him; for that his accusation, which was derived from evil counsellors, and not from himself, had rather the suspicion of some severity, than any thing really severe in it. Herod was persuaded by these arguments, and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a show of his strength before the nation, and done no more to it: and in this state were the affairs of Judea at this time

CHAP. X.

The Honours that were paid to the Jews; and the Leagues that were made by the Romans and other Nations with them.

§ 1. Now when Cæsar was come to Rome, he was ready to sail into Africa to fight against Scipio and Cato, when Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to him, and by them desired that he would ratify that league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them. And it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperors paid to our nation, and of the leagues of mutual assistance they have made with it; that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had to us, and that they have been abundantly satisfied of our courage and fidelity; for, whereas many will not believe what hath been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are not every where to be met with, nor do lie in public places, but among us ourselves, and certain other barbarous nations; while there is no contradiction to be made against the decrees of the Romans, for they are laid up in the public places of the cities, and are extant still in the capitol, and engraven upon pillars of brass; nay, besides this, Julius Cæsar made a pillar of brass for the Jews at Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria. Out of these evidences will I demonstrate what I say; and will now set down the decrees made both by the senate, and by Julius Cæsar, which relate to Hyrcanus and to our nation.

2. "Caius Julius Cæsar, imperator and high priest and dictator the second time, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Sidon, sendeth greeting: If you be in health it is well; I also and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of that decree, registered on the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records: and I will that it be openly proposed in a table of brass, both in Greek and in Latin. It is as follows: I Julius Cæsar, imperator the second time, and high priest, have made this decree, with the approbation of the senate: Whereas Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs; and this both now and in former times, both in peace and in war; as many of our generals have borne witness: and came to our assistance in the last* Alexandrian war with fifteen hundred soldiers; and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, showed himself superior in valour to all the rest of that army: for these reasons I will, that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high priesthood of the Jews for ever, according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his sons be our confederates; and that, besides this, every one of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain, that he and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to the office of high priest, or whatsoever favours have been hitherto granted them. And if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter-quarters, or that any money should be required of them."

3. "The decrees of Caius Cæsar, consul, containing what hath been granted and determined, are as follow: That Hyrcanus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed; and that he, as himself the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend those that are injured. And that ambassadors be sent to Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, that may discourse with him about a league of friendship

* That Hyrcanus was himself in Egypt, along with Antipater at this time, to whom accordingly the bold and prudent actions of his deputy Antipater are here ascribed, as this decree of Julius Cæsar supposes, we are farther assured by the testimony of Strabo, already produced by Josephus, ch. viii. sect. 3.

and mutual assistance; and that a table of brass, containing the premises, be openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon, and Tyre, and Askelon, and in the temple, engraven in Roman and Greek letters: that this decree may also be communicated to the questors and pretors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews: and that the ambassadors may have presents made them, and that these decrees be sent every where."

4. "Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator, consul, hath granted, that out of regard to the honour, and virtue, and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate and of the people of Rome, Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, both he and his children, be high priests and priests of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood."

5. "Caius Cæsar, consul the fifth time, hath decreed, that the Jews shall possess Jerusalem, and may encompass that city with walls; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, retain it in the manner he himself pleases; and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute every second year the land is let [in the Sabbatic period] a corus of that tribute: and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the same tribute."

6. "Caius Cæsar, imperator the second time, hath ordained, that all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for the city Jerusalem, excepting the seventh, which they call the Sabbatical year, because thereon they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their land; and that they pay their tribute in Sidon on the second year [of that Sabbatical period,] the fourth part of what was sown; and besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons, which they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, neither president, nor lieutenant, nor ambassador, raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judea, nor my soldiers exact money of them for winter-quarters, or under any other pretence, but that they be free from all sorts of injuries: and that whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain them all. It is also our pleasure, that the city Joppa, which the Jews had originally when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land for the country, and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-five modii every year; the seventh year, which they call the Sabbatic year, excepted, whereon they neither plough, nor receive the product of their trees. It is also the pleasure of the senate, that as to the villages which are in the great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers formerly possessed, Hyrcanus and the Jews have them with the same privileges with which they formerly had them also; and that the same original ordinances remain still in force, which concern the Jews, with regard to their high priests; and that they enjoy the same benefits which they have had formerly by the concession of the people and of the senate: and let them enjoy the like privileges in Lydda. It is the pleasure also of the senate, that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain those places, countries, and villages, which belong to the kings of Syria and Phœnicia, the confederates of the Romans, and which they had bestowed on them as their free gifts. It is also granted to Hyrcanus, and to his sons, and to the ambassadors by them sent to us, that in the fights between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall sit among the senators to see those shows; and that when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the senate by the dictator, or by the general of the horse; and when they have introduced them, their answers shall be returned to them in ten days at the farthest, after the decree of the senate is made about their affairs."

7. "Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator the fourth time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made this speech concerning the rights

and privileges of Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews. Since those imperators* that have been in the provinces before me, have borne witness to Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and to the Jews themselves, and this before the senate and people of Rome, when the people and senate returned their thanks to them, it is good that we also now remember the same, and provide that a requital be made to Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews and to the sons of Hyrcanus, by the senate and people of Rome; and that suitably to what good will they have shown us, and to the benefits they have bestowed upon us."

8. "Julius Caius, pretor [consul] of Rome to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parians, sendeth greeting: The Jews of Delos, and some other Jews that sojourn there, in the presence of your ambassadors, signified to us, that by a decree of yours, you forbid them to make use of the customs of their forefathers, and their way of sacred worship. Now it does not please me, that such decrees should be made against our friends and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own customs, or to bring in contributions for common suppers and holy festivals; while they are not forbidden so to do even at Rome itself; for even Caius Cæsar, our imperator and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Bacchanal rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit these Jews, and these only, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, when I forbid other Bacchanal rioters, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their fore fathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you, that if you have made any decree against these our friends and confoderates, to abrogate the same, by reason of their virtue, and kind disposition towards us."

9. Now after Caius was slain, when Marcus Antonius, and Publius Dolabella, were consuls, they both assembled the senate, and introduced Hyrcanus's ambassadors into it, and discoursed of what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work may have ready by them a demonstration of the truth of what we say. The decree was this:

10. "The decree of the senate, copied out of the treasury, from the public tables belonging to the questors, when Quintus Rutilius and Caius Corneilius were questors, and taken out of the second table of the first class, on the third day before the ides of April, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Calpurnius Piso, of the Menenian tribe; Servius Papinius Potitus, of the Lemonian tribe; Caius Caninius Rebilius, of the Tarentine tribe; Publius Tidetius; Lucius Apulinus, the son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe; Flavius, the son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe; Publius Platius, the son of Publius, of the Papyrian tribe; Marcus Acilius, the son of Marcus, of the Mecian tribe; Lucius Erucius, the son of Lucius, of the Stellatine tribe; Marcus Quintius Plancillus, the son of Marcus, of the Pollian tribe; and Publius Serius Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, made this reference to the senate, that as to those things which by the decree of the senate, Caius Cæsar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that decree been brought into the treasury, it is our will, as it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, our consuls, to have these decrees put into the public tables, and brought to the city questors, that they may take care to have them put upon the double tables. This was done before the fifth of the ides of February, in the temple of Concord. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high priest were these: Lysimachus, the son of Pausanias; Alexander, the son of Theodorus, Patroclus, the son of Chereas; and Jonathan the son of Onias."

* Dr. Hudson justly supposes, that these Roman imperators, or generals of armies, meant both here and sect. 2. who gave testimony to Hyrcanus's and the Jews' faithfulness and good will to the Romans before the senate and people of Rome, were principally Pompey, Scaurus, and Gabinius; of all whom Josephus had already given us the history, so far as the Jews were concerned with them.

11. Hyrcanus sent also one of these ambassadors to Dolabella, who was then the prefect of Asia, and desired him to dismiss the Jews from the military services, and to preserve to them the customs of their forefathers, and to permit them to live according to them. And when Dolabella had received Hyrcanus's letter, without any farther deliberation, he sent an epistle to all the Asiatics, and particularly to the city of Ephesians, the metropolis of Asia, about the Jews: a copy of which epistle here follows:

12. "When Artemon was prytanis, on the first day of the month Leneon, Dolabella, imperator, to the senate, and magistrates, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: Alexander, the son of Theodorus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, appeared before me, to show that his countrymen could not go into their armies, because they are not allowed to bear arms, or to travel, on the Sabbath days, nor there to procure themselves those sorts of food which they have been used to eat from the times of their forefathers; I do therefore grant them a freedom from going into the army, as the former prefects have done, and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices; and my will is, that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction."

13. And these were the concessions that Dolabella made to our nation, when Hyrcanus sent an embassage to him. But Lucius the consul's decree ran thus: "I have at my tribunal set these Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under. This was done before the twelfth of the calends of October, when Lucius Lentulus, and Caius Marcellus, were consuls, in the presence of Titus Appius Balgus, the son of Titus, and lieutenant of the Horatian tribe; of Titus Tongius, the son of Titus, of the Crustamine tribe, of Quintus Resius, the son of Quintus; of Titus Pompeius Longinus, the son of Titus; of Caius Servilius, the son of Caius of the Tarentine tribe; of Bracchus the military tribune; of Publius Lucius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe; of Caius Sentius, the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe; of Titus Artilius Bulbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant and vice-pretor; to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: Lucius Lentulus, the consul, freed the Jews that are in Asia from going into the armies, at my intercession for them. And when I had made the same petition some time afterward to Phanius, the imperator, and to Lucius Antonius, the vice-questor, I obtained that privilege of them also; and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any disturbance,"

14. The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the pretors, when Beotus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargeleon: While Marcus Piso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed over the choice of the soldiers, he called us, and many others of the citizens, and gave order, that if there be here any Jews, who are Roman citizens, no one is to give them any disturbance about going into the army, because Cornelius Lentulus, the consul, freed the Jews from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under; you are therefore obliged to submit to the pretor." And the like decree was made by the Sardians about us also.

15. "Caius Phanius, the son of Caius, imperator and consul, to the magistrates of Cos, sendeth greeting: I would have you know that the ambassadors of the Jews have been with me, and desired they might have those decrees which the senate had made about them; which decrees are here subjoined. My will is, that you have a regard to, and take care of these men, according to the senate's decree, that they may be safely conveyed home through your country."

16. The declaration of Lucius Lentulus, the consul: "I have dismissed those Jews who are Roman citizens, and who appear to me to have their religious rites, and to observe the laws of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition

they are under. This act was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

17. "Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, vice-questor, and vice-pretor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Sardonians, sendeth greeting: Those Jews that are our fellow citizens of Rome, came to me, and demonstrated that they had an assembly of their own, according to the laws of their forefathers; and this from the beginning: as also a place of their own, wherein they determined their suits and controversies with one another: upon their petition therefore to me, that these might be lawful for them, I give order that these their privileges be preserved, and they be permitted to do accordingly."

18. The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son of Spurius, and of Marcus, the son of Marcus, and of Lucius, the son of Publius: "We went to the proconsul, and informed him of what Dositheus, the son of Cleopatrida of Alexandria desired, that, if he thought good, he would dismiss those Jews who were Roman citizens, and were wont to observe the rites of the Jewish religion, on account of the superstition they were under. Accordingly he did dismiss them. This was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

19. "In the month Quintilis, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus were consuls; and there were present Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant of the Horatian tribe; Titus Tongius, of the Crustamine tribe; Quintus Resius, the son of Quintus; Titus Pompeius, the son of Titus; Cornelius Longinus; Caius Servilius Bracchus, the son of Caius, a military tribune, of the Tarentine tribe; Publius Clusius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe; Caius Teutius, the son of Caius, a military tribune of the Emilian tribe; Sextus Atilius Serranus, the son of Sextus, of the Esquiline tribe; Caius Pompeius, the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe; Titus Appius Menander, the son of Titus; Publius Servilius Strabo, the son of Publius; Lucius Paccius Capito, the son of Lucius of the Colline tribe; Aulus Furius Teritus, the son of Aulus; and Appius Menas. In the presence of these it was that Lentulus pronounced this decree: I have before the tribunal dismissed those Jews that are Roman citizens, and are accustomed to observe the sacred rites of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under."

20. "The magistrates of the Laodiceans to Caius Rubilius, the son of Caius the consul, sendeth greeting: Sopater, the ambassador of Hyrcanus the high priest, hath delivered us an epistle from thee, whereby he lets us know, that certain ambassadors were come from Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and brought an epistle written concerning their nation; wherein they desire that the Jews may be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and other sacred rites, according to the laws of their forefathers; and that they may be under no command; because they are our friends and confederates, and that nobody may injure them in our provinces. Now although the Trallians there present contradicted them, and were not pleased with these decrees, yet didst thou give order that they should be observed, and informedst us that thou hadst been desired to write this to us about them. We therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we have received from thee, have received the epistle which thou sentest us, and have laid it up by itself among our public records. And as to the other things about which thou didst send to us, we will take care that no complaint be made against us."

21. "Publius Servilius, the son of Publius, of the Galban tribe, the proconsul to the magistrate, senate, and people of the Milesians, sendeth greeting: Prytanes, the son of Hermes, a citizen of yours, came to me when I was at Tralles, and held a court there, and informed me that you used the Jews in a way different from my opinion, and forbade them to celebrate their Sabbaths, and to perform the sacred rites received from their forefathers, and to manage the fruits of the land according to their ancient custom, and that he had himself been the promulger of your decree, according as your laws require: I would therefore

have you know, that upon hearing the pleadings on both sides, I give sentence that the Jews should not be prohibited to make use of their own customs."

22. The decree of those of Pergamus. When Cratippus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Desius, the decree of the pretors was this: "Since the Romans, following the conduct of their ancestors, undertake dangers for the common safety of all mankind, and are ambitious to settle their confederates and friends in happiness, and in firm peace; and since the nation of the Jews, and their high priest Hyrcanus, sent as ambassadors to them Strato, the son of Theodatus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Eneas, the son of Antipater, and Aristobulus, the son of Amyntas, and Sosipater, the son of Philip, worthy and good men, who gave a particular account of their affairs; the senate thereupon made a decree about what they had desired of them, that Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus, should do no injury to the Jews, the confederates of the Romans; and that the fortresses, and the havens, and the country, and what soever else he had taken from them, should be restored to them; and that it may be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens; and that no king nor people may have leave to export any goods, either out of the country of Judea, or out of their havens, without paying customs, but only Ptolemy the king of Alexandria, because he is our confederate and friend; and that, according to their desire, the garrison that is in Joppa may be ejected. Now Lucius Petius, one of our senators, a worthy and good man, gave order that we should take care that these things should be done according to the senate's decree; and that we should take care also that their ambassadors might return home in safety. Accordingly we admitted Theodorus into our senate and assembly, and took the epistle out of his hands, as well as the decree of the senate: and as he discoursed with great zeal about the Jews, and described Hyrcanus's virtue and generosity, and how he was a benefactor to all men in common, and particularly to every body that comes to him, we laid up the epistle in our public records; and made a decree ourselves, that since we also are in confederacy with the Romans, we would do every thing we could for the Jews, according to the senate's decree. Theodorus also, who brought the epistle, desired of our pretors, that they would send Hyrcanus a copy of that decree, as also ambassadors to signify to him the affection of our people to him, and to exhort them to preserve and augment their friendship for us, and be ready to bestow other benefits upon us, as justly expecting to receive proper requitals from us; and desiring them to remember that our ancestors* were friendly to the Jews even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all the Hebrews, as we have [also] found it set down in our public records."

23. The decree of those of Halicarnassus. When Memnon, the son of Orestidas by descent, but by adoption of Eunonymus, was priest, on the *** day of the month Aristerion, the deeree of the people, upon the representation of Marcus Alexander, was this: "Since we have ever a great regard to piety towards God, and to holiness; and since we aim to follow the people of the Romans, who are the benefactors of all men, and what they have written to us about a league of friendship and mutual assistance between the Jews and our city, and that their sacred offices, and accustomed festivals and assemblies may be observed by them; we have decreed, that as many men and women of the Jews as are willing so to do may celebrate their Sabbaths, and perform their holy offices, according to the

* We have here a most remarkable and authentic attestation of the citizens of Pergamus, that Abraham was the father of all the Hebrews; that their own ancestors were, in the oldest times, the friends of those Hebrews; and that the public acts of their city, then extant, confirmed the same; which evidence is too strong to be evaded by our present ignorance of the particular occasion of such ancient friendship and alliance between those people. See the like full evidence of the kindred of the Lacedemonians and the Jews; and that because they were both the posterity of Abraham, by a public epistle of those people to the Jews, preserved in the first book of the Maccabees, xii. 19—23, and thence by Josephus, Ant. B. xii. ch. iv. sect. 10; both which authentic records are highly valuable. It is also well worthy of observation, what Moses Chorenensis, the principal Armenian historian, informs us of, p. 83, that Arsaces, who raised the Parthian Empire, was of the seed of Abraham by Keturah; and that thereby was accomplished that prediction which said, *kings of nations shall proceed from thee*, Gen. xvii. 6.

Jewish laws; and may make their proseuchæ at the seaside, according to the customs of their forefathers; and if any one, whether he be a magistrate or private person, hindereth them from so doing, he shall be liable to a fine, to be applied to the uses of the city."

24. The decree of the Sardians. This decree was made by the senate and people, upon the representation of the pretors: "Whereas those Jews who are our fellow-citizens and live with us in this city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon them by the people, and have come now into the senate, and desired of the people, that upon the restitution of their law, and their liberty, by the senate and people of Rome, they may assemble together according to their ancient legal custom; and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and that a place may be given them where they may have their congregations, with their wives and children, and may offer, as did their forefathers, their prayers and sacrifices to God: now the senate and people have decreed to permit them to assemble together on the days formerly appointed, and to act according to their own laws; and that such a place be set apart for them by the pretors for the building and inhabiting the same, as they shall esteem fit for that purpose; and that those that take care of the provisions for the city shall take care that such sorts of food as they esteem fit for their eating, may be imported into the city."

25. The decree of the Ephesians. When Menophilus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Artemisius, this decree was made by the people: "Nicanor, the son of Euphemus, pronounced it, upon the representation of the pretors. Since the Jews that dwell in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius, the son of Brutus, the proconsul, that they may be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, without impediment from any body, the pretor hath granted their petition. Accordingly it was decreed, by the senate and people, that in this affair that concerned the Romans, no one of them should be hindered from keeping the Sabbath day, nor be fined for so doing, but that they be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."

26. Now there are many such decrees* of the senate and imperators of the Romans, and those different from those before us, which have been made in favour of Hyrcanus, and of our nation; as also, there have been more decrees of the cities, and rescripts of the pretors, to such epistles as concerned our rights and privileges: and certainly such as are not ill disposed to what we write, may believe that they are all to this purpose, and that by the specimens which we have inserted; for since we have produced evident marks, that may still be seen, of the friendship we have had with the Romans, and demonstrated that those marks are engraven upon columns and tables of brass in the capitol, that are still in being, and preserved to this day, we have omitted to set them all down, as needless and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose any one so perverse as not to believe the friendship we have had with the Romans, while they have demonstrated the same by such a great number of their decrees relating to us; nor will they doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of those decrees, since we have showed the same in those we have produced. And thus have we sufficiently explained that friendship and confederacy we at those times had with the Romans.

* If we compare Josephus's promise in sect. 1, to produce *all* the public decrees of the Romans in favour of the Jews with his excuse here for omitting *many* of them, we may observe, that when he came to transcribe all those decrees he had collected, he found them so numerous that he thought he should too much tire his readers if he had attempted it, which he thought a sufficient apology for his omitting the rest of them: yet do those by him produced afford such a strong confirmation to his history, and give such great light to even the Roman antiquities themselves, that I believe the curious are not a little sorry for such his omissions.

CHAP. XI.

How Marcus succeeded Sextus when he had been slain by Bassus's Treachery and how, after the Death of Cæsar, Cassius came into Syria, and distressed Judea; as also, how Malichus slew Antipater, and was himself slain by Herod.*

§ 1. Now it so fell out, that about this very time the affairs of Syria were in great disorder, and this on the occasion following: Cecilius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, laid a treacherous design against Sextus Cæsar, and slew him, and then took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his own hand; so there arose a great war about Apamia, while Cæsar's generals came against him with an army of horsemen and footmen: to these Antipater also sent succours, and his sons with them, as calling to mind the kindnesses they had received from Cæsar, and on that account he thought it but just to require punishment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus came from Rome to take Sextus's government upon him, but Cæsar was slain by Cassius and Brutus in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months. This fact, however, is related elsewhere.

2. As the war that arose upon the death of Cæsar was now begun, and the principal men were all gone, some one way and some another, to raise armies, Cassius came from Rome into Syria, in order to receive the [army that lay in the] camp at Apamia: and having raised the siege, he brought over both Bassus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and got together weapons and soldiers, and laid great taxes upon those cities; and he chiefly oppressed Judea and exacted of it seven hundred talents: but Antipater, when he saw the state to be in so great consternation and disorder, he divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his two sons to gather it, and so that part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill-disposed to him, and part by others. And because Herod did exact what was required of him from Galilee before others, he was in the greatest favour with Cassius: for he thought it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their good-will at the expense of others; whereas the curators of the other cities, with their citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities into a state of slavery, the two most potent of which were Gophna and Emmaus; and, besides these, Lydda and Thamna. Nay, Cassius was so very angry at Malichus that he had killed him (for he assaulted him,) had not Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, sent him a hundred talents of his own, and thereby pacified his anger against him.

3. But after Cassius was gone out of Judea, Malichus laid snares for Antipater as thinking that his death would be the preservation of Hyrcanus's government: but his design was not unknown to Antipater, which, when he perceived, he retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However Malichus, being one of great cunning, denied that he had laid any snares for him, and made his defence with an oath, both to himself and his sons; and said, that while Phasaelus had a garrison in Jerusalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in custody, he could never have a thought of any such thing. So Antipater, perceiving the distress that Malichus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him: this was when Marcus was president of Syria; who yet perceiving that this Malichus was making a disturbance in Judea, proceeded so far that he had almost killed him, but still, at the intercession of Antipater, he saved him.

* For Marcus, the president of Syria, sent as successor to Sextus Cæsar, the Roman historians require us to read *Murcus* in Josephus, and this perpetually, both in these Antiquities, and in the history of the War, as the learned generally agree.

4. However, Antipater little thought that by saving Malichus he had saved his own murderer; for now Cassius and Marcus had got together an army, and intrusted the entire care of it with Herod, and made him general of the forces of Celesyria, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horsemen and footmen: and promised him, that after the war was over, they would make him king of Judea, for a war was already begun between Antony and the younger Cæsar; but as Malichus was most afraid of Antipater, he took him out of the way; and, by the offer of money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus, with whom they were both to feast, to kill him by poison. This being done, and he having armed men with him, settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasaelus, were acquainted with this conspiracy against their father, and had indignation at it, Malichus denied all, and utterly renounced any knowledge of the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man that had distinguished himself for piety and justice, and love to his country. And whereas one of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately to revenge their father's death, and was coming upon Malichus with an army for that purpose, the elder of his sons, Phasaelus, thought it best rather to get this man into their hands by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country; so he accepted of Malichus's defence for himself, and pretended to believe him that he had had no hand in the violent death of Antipater his father, but erected a fine monument for him. Herod also went to Samaria; and when he found them in great distress, he revived their spirits, and composed their differences.

5. However, a little after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival, came with his soldiers into the city, whereupon Malichus was affrighted, and persuaded Hyrcanus not to permit him to come into the city. Hyrcanus complied; and, for a pretence of excluding him, alleged that a rout of strangers ought not to be admitted, while the multitude were purifying themselves. But Herod had little regard to the messengers that were sent to him, and entered the city in the night time. and affrighted Malichus; yet did he remit nothing of his former dissimulation, but wept for Antipater, and bewailed him as a friend of his with a loud voice: but Herod and his friends thought it proper, not openly to contradict Malichus's hypocrisy, but to give him tokens of mutual friendship, in order to prevent his suspicion of them.

6. However, Herod sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father; who, knowing what sort of man Malichus was as to his morals, sent him back word that he should revenge his father's death; and also sent privately to the commanders of his army at Tyre, with orders to assist Herod in the execution of a very just design of his. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea, they all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money: and Herod thought that Malichus might be punished while he was there; but he was somewhat apprehensive of the thing, and designed to make some great attempt; and because his son was then an hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and resolved to steal him away privately, and to march thence into Judea: and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himself. But Providence opposed his counsels; and Herod being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, he sent thither beforehand a servant; in appearance indeed to get a supper ready, for he had said before, that he would feast them all there; but in reality to the commanders of the army, whom he persuaded to go out against Malichus with their daggers. So they went out and met the man near the city, upon the seashore, and stabbed him. Whereupon Hyrcanus was so astonished at what had happened, that his speech failed him: and when, after some difficulty, he had recovered himself, he asked Herod what the matter could be, and who it was that slew Malichus; and when he said that it was done by the command of Cassius, he commended the action: for that Malichus was a very wicked man, and one that conspired against

his own country. And this was the punishment that was inflicted on Melichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

7. But when Cassius was marched out of Syria, disturbances arose in Judea. for Felix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sudden attempt against Phasaleus, and the people themselves rose in arms; but Herod went to Fabius, the prefect of Damascus, and was desirous to run to his brother's assistance, but was hindered by a distemper that seized upon him, till Phasaelus by himself had been too hard for Felix, and had shut him up in the tower, and there, on certain conditions, dismissed him. Phasaelus also complained of Hyrcanus, that although he had received a great many benefits from them, yet did he support their enemies: for Malichus's brother had made many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them, and particularly Massado, the strongest fortress of them all. In the mean time, Herod was recoverd of his disease, and came and took from Felix all the places he had gotten; and, upon certain conditions, dismissed him also.

CHAP. XII.

Herod ejects Antigonus, the Son of Aristobulus, out of Judea, and gains the Friendship of Antony, who was now come into Syria, by sending him much Money: on which Account he would not admit of those that would have accused Herod: and what it was that Antony wrote to the Tyrians in Behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. Now* Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, brought back into Judea Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who had already raised an army, and had, by money, made Fabius to be his friend, and this because he was of kin to him. Marion also gave him assistance. He had been left by Cassius to tyrannize over Tyre: for this Cassius was a man that seized on Syria, and then kept it under, in the way of a tyrant. Marion also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighbourhood, and took three of its fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when Herod came, he took all from him: but the Tyrian garrison he dismissed in a very civil manner; nay, to some of the soldiers he made presents, out of the good-will he bare to that city. When he had dispatched these affairs, and was gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with him, and beat him, and drove him out of Judea presently, when he was just come into its borders. But when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands about his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as being to marry the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus; by which wife he became the father of three male and two female children. He had also married before this another wife, out of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doris; by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

2. Now Antonius and Cæsar had beaten Cassius near Philippi, as others have related; but after the victory, Cæsar went into Gaul [Italy,] and Antony marched for Asia, who when he was arrived at Bithynia, he had ambassadors that met him from all parts. The principal men also of the Jews came thither, to accuse Phasaelus and Herod, and they said that Hyrcanus had indeed the appearance of reigning, but that these men had all the power; but Antony paid great respect

* In this and the following chapters, the reader will easily remark how truly Gronovius observes, in his notes on the Roman decrees in favour of the Jews, that their rights and privileges were commonly purchased of the Romans with money. Many examples of this sort, both as to the Romans and others in authority, will occur in our Josephus, both now and hereafter, and need not to be taken particular notice of on the several occasions in these notes. Accordingly the chief captain confesses to St. Paul, that *with a great sum he had obtained his freedom*, Acts, xxii. 28, as had St. Paul's ancestors, very probably, purchased the like freedom for their family by money, as the same author justly conceives also

to Herod, who was come to him to make his defence against his accusers, on which account his adversaries could not so much as obtain a hearing; which favour Herod had gained of Antony by money. But still, when Antony was come to Ephesus, Hyrcanus the high priest, and our nation, sent an embassage to him, which carried a crown of gold with them, and desired that he would write to the governors of the provinces, to set those Jews free who had been carried captive by Cassius, and this without their having fought against him; and to restore them to that country which, in the days of Cassius, had been taken from them. Antony thought the Jews' desires were just, and wrote immediately to Hyrcanus, and to the Jews. He also sent, at the same time, a decree to the Tyrians; the contents of which were to the same purpose.

3. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, sendeth greeting: If you be in health, it is well; I am also in health, with the army. Lysimachus, the son of Pausanius, and Josephus, the son of Mennæus, and Alexandor, the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, met me at Ephesus, and have renewed that embassage which they had formerly been upon at Rome; and have diligently acquitted themselves of the present embassage, which thou and thy nation have intrusted to them; and have fully declared the good will thou hast for us. I am therefore satisfied, both by your actions and your words, that you are well disposed to us: and I understand that your conduct of life is constant and religious; so I reckon upon you as our own; but when those that were adversaries to you, and to the Roman people, and abstained neither from cities nor temples, and did not observe the agreement they had confirmed by oath, it was not only on account of our contest with them, but on account of all mankind in common, that we have taken vengeance on those who have been the authors of great injustice towards men, and of great wickedness towards the gods; for the sake of which we suppose it was that the sun turned away its light from us,* as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Cæsar. We have also overcome their conspiracies, which threatened the gods themselves; which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and insolent attempts; and we have overcome that confused rout of men, half mad with spite against us, which they got together at Philippi, in Macedonia, when they seized on the places that were proper for their purpose, and, as it were, walled them round with the mountains to the very sea, and where the passage was open only through a single gate. This victory we gained, because the gods had condemned these men for their wicked enterprises. Now Brutus, when he had fled as far as Philippi, was shut up by us, and became a partaker of the same perdition with Cassius; and now these have received their punishment, we suppose that we may enjoy peace for the time to come, and that Asia may be at rest from war. We therefore make that peace which God hath given us common to our confederates also; insomuch that the body of Asia is now recovered out of that distemper it was under by the means of our victory. I therefore, bearing in mind both thee and your nation, shall take care of what may be for your advantage. I have also sent epistles in writing to the several cities, that if any persons, whether freemen or bondmen, have been sold under the spear by Caius Cassius, or his subordinate officers, they may be set free. And I will that you kindly make use of the favours which I and Dolabella have granted you. I also forbid the Tyrians to use any violence with you; and for what places of the Jews they now possess, I order them to restore them. I have withal accepted of the crown which thou sentest me."

4. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting: The Ambassadors of Hyrcanus, the high priest and

* This clause plainly alludes to that well known but unusual and very long darkness of the sun, which happened upon the murder of Julius Cæsar by Brutus and Cassius; which is taken great notice of by Virgil, Pliny, and other Roman authors. See Virgil's Georgics, Book i. just before the end; and Pliny's Nat. Hist. B. ii ch. xxx

ethnarch [of the Jews,] appeared before me at Ephesus, and told me, that you are in possession of part of their country, which you entered upon under the government of our adversaries. Since, therefore, we have undertaken a war for the obtaining the government, and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice, and have brought to punishment those that had neither any remembrance of the kindnesses they had received, nor have kept their oaths, I will that you be at peace with those that are our confederates; as also, that what you have taken by the means of our adversaries shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them, for none of them took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate; but they seized them by force, and bestowed them by violence upon such as became useful to them in their unjust proceedings. Since, therefore, those men have received the punishment due to them, we desire that our confederates may retain whatsoever it was that they formerly possessed without disturbance; and that you restore all the places which belonged to Hyrcanus the ethnarch of the Jews, which you have had, though it were but one day before Caius Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us, and entered into our province; nor do you use any force against him, in order to weaken him, that he may not be able to dispose of that which is his own; but if you have any contest with him about your respective rights, it shall be lawful for you to plead your cause when we come upon the places concerned; for we shall alike preserve the rights, and hear all the causes of our confederates."

5. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting: I have sent you my decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraven on the public tables, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand engraven in the most illustrious places, that it may be read by all." Marcus Antonius, imperator, one of the triumvirate over the public affairs, made this declaration: "Since Caius Cassius, in this revolt he hath made, hath pillaged that province which belonged not to him, and was held by garrisons there encamped, while they were our confederates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Roman people, as in war; and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determinations what he hath laid waste, that those things may be restored to our confederates. And as for what hath been sold of the Jewish possessions, whether they be bodies or possessions, let them be released; the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will, that he who shall not comply with this decree of mine shall be punished for his disobedience; and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offender suffer condign punishment."

6. The same thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Aradians. We have produced these decrees, therefore, as marks for futurity of the truth of what we have said, that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

CHAP. XIII.

How Antony made Herod and Phasaelus Tetrarchs, after they had been accused to no Purpose: and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judea, took Hyrcanus and Phasaelus Captives. Herod's Flight; and what Afflictions Hyrcanus and Phasaelus endured.

§ 1. When after this Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also a hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men; and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was

Herod's father-in-law already.* When Antony had heard both sides at Dadhne, he asked Hyrcanus who they were that governed the nation best? He replied, Herod and his friends. Hereupon Antony, by reason of the old hospitable friendship he had made with his father [Antipater,] at that time when he was with Gabinius, he made both Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also bound fifteen of their adversaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

2. Yet did not these men continue quiet when they were come back, but a thousand of the Jews came to Tyre to meet him there, whither the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him; and so he gave orders to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors, who were for making innovations, and to settle the government upon Herod: but Herod went out hastily to them, and Hyrcanus was with him (for they stood upon the shore before the city;) and he charged them to go their ways, because great mischief would befall them if they went on with their accusation. But they did not acquiesce: whereupon the Romans ran upon them with their daggers, and slew some, and wounded more of them; and the rest fled away, and went home, and lay still in great consternation: and when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it that he slew the prisoners.

3. Now, in the second year, Pacorus, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzapharnes, a commander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, was also now dead, and Lysanius his son took his government, and made a league of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus; and in order to obtain it, made use of that commander, who had great interest in him. Now Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon condition they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and withal killed Herod. And although he did not give them what he had promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Pacorus went along the maritime parts, but the commander Barzapharnes through the midland. Now the Tyrans excluded Pacorus, but the Sidonians and those of Ptolemais received him. However, Pacorus sent a troop of horsemen into Judea, to take a view of the state of the country, and to assist Antigonus; and sent also the king's butler, of the same name with himself. So when the Jews that dwelt about Mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judea, Antigonus hoped to get some part of the country by their assistance. The place is called Drymi; and when some others came and met them, the men privately fell upon Jerusalem; and when some more were come to them, they got together in great numbers, and came against the king's palace, and besieged it. But as Phasaelus's and Herod's party came to the other's assistance, and a battle happened between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and pursued them into the temple, and sent some armed men into the adjoining houses, to keep them in; who yet being destitute of such as should support them, were burnt, and the houses with them, by the people who rose up against them. But Herod was revenged on these seditious adversaries of his a little afterward for this injury they had offered him, when he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

4. But while there were daily skirmishes, the enemy waited for the coming of the multitude out of the country to Pentecost, a feast of ours so called: and when that day was come, many ten thousands of the people were gathered together

* We may here take notice, that *espousals* alone were of old esteemed a sufficient foundation for affinity, Hyrcanus being here called *father-in-law* to Herod, because his grand-daughter Mariamne was betrothed to him, although the marriage were not completed till four years afterward. See Matt. i. 16

about the temple, some in armour, and some without. Now those that came guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers; and Phasaelas had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, sallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs, and fought courageously, and put many ten thousands to flight; some flying into the city, and some into the temple, and some into the outer fortifications; for some such fortifications that were in that place. Phasaelus came also to his assistance; yet was Pacorus, the general of the Parthians, at the desire of Antigonus, admitted into the city, with a few of his horsemen, under pretence indeed as if he would still the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaelus met him, and received him kindly, Pacorus persuaded him to go himself as ambassador to Barzapharnes, which was done fraudulently. Accordingly Phasaelus, suspecting no harm, complied with his proposal; while Herod did not give his consent to what was done, because of the perfidiousness of these barbarians, but desired Phasaelus rather to fight those that were come into the city.

5. So both Hyrcanus and Phasaelus went on the embassage; but Pacorus left with Herod two hundred horsemen, and ten men, who were called *the Freemen*, and conducted the others on their journey; and when they were in Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them in their arms. Barzapharnes also received them at the first with cheerfulness, and made them presents, though he afterwards conspired against them; and Phasaelus, with his horsemen, were conducted to the seaside: but when they heard that Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to assist him against them, they soon had a suspicion of the barbarians. Moreover, there was one who informed him that snares were laid for them by night, while a guard came about them secretly, and they had then been seized upon, had not they waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians that were about Jerusalem, lest, upon the slaughter of Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he should have an intimation of it, and escape out of their hands. And these were the circumstances they were now in; and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed would have persuaded Phasaelus to fly away immediately on horseback, and not stay any longer; and there was one Ophellius who, above all the rest, was earnest with him to do so; for he had heard of this treachery from Samarilla, the richest of all the Syrians at that time, who also promised to provide him ships to carry him off; for the sea was just by them: but he had no mind to desert Hyrcanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Barzapharnes, and told him he did not act justly when he made such a contrivance against them, for that if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and besides, that it was a horrible thing to slay those that came to him upon the security of their oaths, and that when they had done them no injury. But the barbarians swore to him, that there was no truth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false supposals, and then went away to Pacorus.

6. But as soon as he was gone away, some men came and bound Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, while Phasaelus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury. However, that butler who was sent against Herod, had it in command to get him without the walls of the city, and seize upon him; but messengers had been sent by Phasaelus to inform Herod of the perfidiousness of the Parthians: and when he knew that the enemy had seized upon them, he went to Pacorus, and to the most potent of the Parthians, as to the lords of the rest, who, although they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way; and said, "That he ought to go out with them before the walls, and meet those which were bringing him his letters: for that they were not taken by his adversaries, but were coming to give him an account of the good success Phasaelus had had." Herod did not give credit to what they said; for he had heard that his brother was seized upon

by others also: and the daughter of Hyrcanus, whose daughter he had espoused, was his monitor also [not to credit them,] which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians; for although other people did not give heed to her, yet did he believe her as a woman of very great wisdom.

7. Now while the Parthians were in consultation what was fit to be done, for they did not think it proper to make an open attempt upon a person of his character; and while they put off the determination to the next day, Herod was under great disturbance of mind, and rather inclining to believe the reports he heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined, that when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay, as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wives upon the beasts, as also his mother and sister, and her whom he was about to marry [Mariamne,] the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, with her mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him; and without the enemy's privity pursued his way to Idumea; nor could any enemy of his who then saw him in this case, be so hard hearted, but would have commiserated his fortune; while the women drew along their infant children, and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with tears in their eyes, and sad lamentations, and in expectation of nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

8. But for Herod himself, he raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes; and, as he passed along, he bid them every one to be of good cheer, and not to give themselves up to sorrow, because that would hinder them in their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had. Accordingly they tried to bear with patience the calamity they were under, as he exhorted them to do; yet was he once almost going to kill himself, upon the overthrow of a wagon, and the danger his mother was then in of being killed; and this on two accounts, because of his great concern for her, and because he was afraid lest, by this delay, the enemy should overtake him in the pursuit; but as he was drawing his sword, and going to kill himself therewith, those that were present restrained him; and being so many in number, were too hard for him, and told him, that he ought not to desert them, and leave them a prey to their enemies, for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself from the distresses he was in, and to overlook his friends that were in the same distresses also. So he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone, partly out of shame at what they said to him, and partly out of regard to the great number of those that would not permit him to do what he intended. So he encouraged his mother, and took all the care of her the time would allow, and proceeded on the way he proposed to go with the utmost haste; and that was to the fortress of Massada. And as he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him, and pursued him, he was conqueror in them all.

9. Nor indeed was he free from the Jews all along as he was in his flight. for by the time he was gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him; whom he also put to flight, and overcame, not like one that was in distress and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And in this very place where he now overcame the Jews it was that he some time afterward built a most excellent palace, and a city round about it, and called it *Herodium*. And when he was come to Idumea, at a place called *Thressa*, his brother Joseph met him; and he then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was fit to be done in his circumstances; since he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the place Massada, whither he proposed to fly, was too small to contain so great a multitude: so he sent away the greater part of his company, being above nine thousand

and bid them go, some one way, and some another, and to save themselves in Idumea; and gave them what would buy them provisions in their journey; but he took with him those that were least encumbered, and were most intimate with him, and came to the fortress, and placed there his wives and his followers, being eight hundred in number, there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn and water, and other necessaries, and went directly for Petra in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace, and abstained from nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was three hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money escaped, and principally all that the man had been so provident as to send into Idumea beforehand: nor indeed did what was in the city suffice the Parthians; but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demolished the city Marissa.

10. And thus was Antigonus brought back into Judea, by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phassaelus for his prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as having promised they should have them, with the money, for their reward: but being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was under the guard of the Parthians, might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and thereby took care that the high priesthood should never come to him any more, because he was maimed; while the law* required that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire. But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phasaelus, who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not think death any terrible thing at all; but to die thus by the means of his enemy, this he thought a most pitiable and dishonourable thing; and therefore since he had not his hands at liberty, but the bonds he was in prevented him from killing himself thereby, he dashed his head against a great stone, and thereby took away his own life, which he thought to be the best thing he could do in such a distress as he was in, and thereby put it out of the power of the enemy to bring him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent physicians to him, in order to cure it, and by ordering them to infuse poison into the wound killed him. However Phasaelus hearing, before he was quite dead, by a certain woman, that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, underwent his death cheerfully, since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and who was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

CHAP. XIV.

How Herod got away from the King of Arabia, and made haste to go into Egypt, and thence went in haste also to Rome; and how, by promising a great deal of Money to Antony, he obtained of the Senate, and of Cæsar, to be made King of the Jews.

§ 1. As for Herod, the great miseries he was in did not discourage him, but made him sharp in discovering surprising undertakings; for he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would let him have some money, either by way of loan, or as his free gift, on account of the many benefits he had received from him; for not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hand of his enemies, as willing to give three hundred talents for the price of his redemption. He also took with him the son of Phasaelus, who was a child of but seven years of age, for this very reason, that he might be an hostage for

* This law of Moses, that the priests were to be *without blemish*, as to all the parts of their bodies, is in Lev. xxi. 17—24.

the repayment of the money: but there came messengers from Malchus to meet him, by whom he was desired to be gone, for that the Parthians had laid a charge upon him not to entertain Herod. This was only a pretence, which he made use of that he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him; and this he was farther induced to by the principal men among the Arabians, that they might cheat him of what sums they had received from [his father] Antipater, and which he had committed to their fidelity. He made answer, that he did not intend to be troublesome to them by his coming thither, but that he desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were to him of the greatest importance.

2. Hereupon he resolved to go away, and did go very prudently the road to Egypt; and then it was that he lodged in a certain temple, for he had left a great many of his followers there. On the next day he came to Rhidocolura; and there it was that he heard what was befallen his brother. Though Malchus soon repented of what he had done, and came running after Herod, but with no manner of success, for he was gotten a very great way off, and made haste into the road to Pelusium; and when the stationary ships that lay there hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to their captains; by whose assistance, and that out of much reverence of, and great regard to him, he was conducted into the city [Alexandria,] and was retained there by Cleopatra; yet was she not able to prevail with him to stay there, because he was making haste to Rome, even though the weather was stormy, and he was informed that the affairs of Italy were very tumultuous, and in great disorder.

3. So he set sail from thence for Pamphylia, and falling into a violent storm, he had much ado to escape to Rhodes, with the loss of the ship's burden; and there it was that two of his friends, Sappinas and Ptolemeus, met with him: and as he found that city very much damaged in the war against Cassius, though he were in necessity himself, he neglected not to do it a kindness, but did what he could to recover it to its former state. He also built there a three-decked ship, and set sail thence, with his friends, for Italy, and came to the port of Brundusium: and when he was come from thence to Rome, he first related to Antony what had befallen him in Judea, and how Phasaelus his brother was seized on by the Parthians, and put to death by them, and how Hyrcanus was detained captive by them, and how they had made Antigonus king, who had promised them a sum of money, no less than a thousand talents, with five hundred women, who were to be of the principal families, and of the Jewish stock, and that he had carried off the women by night, and that, by undergoing a great many hardships, he had escaped the hands of his enemies; as also, that his own relations were in danger of being besieged and taken, and that he had sailed through a storm, and contemned all these terrible dangers of it, in order to come, as soon as possible, to him, who was his hope and only succour at this time.

4. This account made Antony commiserate the change that had happened in Herod's condition;* and reasoning with himself that this was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they are liable to the mutations that come from fortune, he was very ready to give him the assistance he desired; and this because he called to mind the friendship he had had with Antipater, because Herod offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly given it him to make him tetrarch, and chiefly because of his hatred to Antigonus; for he took him to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the Romans. Cæsar was also the forwarder to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him his assistance in what he desired, on account of the toils of war which he had himself undergone with Antipater his father in Egypt, and of the hospitality he had treated

* Concerning the chronology of Herod, and the time when he was first made king at Rome, and concerning the time when he began his second reign, without a rival, upon the conquest and slaughter of Antigonus, both principally derived from this and the two next chapters in Josephus, see the note on sect. 5 and chap. xv. sect. 10.

him withal, and the kindness he had always showed him, as also to gratify Antony, who was very zealous for Herod. So a senate was convocated; and Messala, first, and then Atratinus, introduced Herod into it; and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from his father, and put them in mind of the good will he had borne the Romans. At the same time they accused Antigonus, and declared him an enemy, not only because of his former opposition to them, but that he had now overlooked the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the senate was irritated; and Antony informed them farther, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war, that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators; and so they made a decree accordingly.

5. And this was the principal instance of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect (for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom for himself, which he did not suppose the Romans would grant him, who used to bestow it on some of the royal family, but intended to desire it for his wife's brother, who was grandson by his father to Aristobulus, and to Hyrcanus by his mother,) but that he procured it for him so suddenly that he obtained what he did not expect, and departed out of Italy in so few a days as seven in all. This young man [the grandson] Herod afterward took care to have slain, as we shall show in its proper place. But when the senate was dissolved, Antony and Cæsar went out of the senate-house, with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and lay up their decrees in the capitol. Antony also feasted Herod the first day of his reign. And thus did this man receive the kingdom, having obtained it on the hundred and eighty-fourth olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [the first time.]

6. All this while Antigonus besieged those that were in Massada, who had plenty of all other necessaries, but were only in want of water,* insomuch that on this occasion Josephus, Herod's brother, was contriving to run away from it, with two hundred of his dependants, to the Arabians; for he had heard that Malchus repented of the offences he had been guilty of with regard to Herod; but God, by sending rain in the night time, prevented his going away, for their cisterns were thereby filled, and he was under no necessity of running away on that account; but they were now of good courage, and the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had been in want of seemed a mark of divine providence; so they made a sally, and fought hand to hand with Antigonus's soldiers with some openly, with some privately, and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time, Ventidius, the general of the Romans, was sent out of Syria, to drive the Parthians out of it, and marched after them into Judea, in pretence indeed to succour Joseph, but in reality, the whole affair was no more than a stratagem in order to get money of Antigonus; so they pitched their camp very near to Jerusalem, and wiped Antigonus of a great deal of money, and then he retired himself with the greater part of the army; but that the wickedness he had been guilty of might not be found out, he left Silo there with a certain part of his soldiers; with whom also Antigonus cultivated an acquaintance, that he might cause him no disturbance; and was still in hopes that the Parthians would come again and defend him.

CHAP. XV.

How Herod sailed out of Italy to Judea, and fought with Antigonus; and what other Things happened in Judea about that Time.

§ 1. By this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten to

* This grievous want of water at Massada, till the place had like to have been taken by the Parthians mentioned both here, and Of the War, B. i. ch. xv. sect. 1, is an indication that it was now summer-time.

gether no small army, both of strangers and of his own countrymen; and marched through Galilee against Antigonus. Silo also, and Ventidius, came and assisted him, being persuaded by Dellius, who was sent by Antony to assist in bringing back Herod. Now for Ventidius, he was employed in composing the disturbances that had been made in the cities by the means of the Parthians; and for Silo, he was in Judea indeed, but corrupted by Antigonus. However, as Herod went along, his army increased every day, and all Galilee, with some small exception, joined him: but as he was marching to those that were in Massada, for he was obliged to endeavour to save those that were in that fortress, now they were besieged, because they were his relations, Joppa was a hinderance to him; for it was necessary for him to take that place first, it being a city at variance with him, that no strong hold might be left in his enemies' hands behind him when he should go to Jerusalem: and when Silo made this a pretence for rising up from Jerusalem, and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, and both put the Jews to flight and saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself; but when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to set free those of his family that were in Massada. Now of the people of the country, some joined him because of the friendship they had with his father, and some because of the splendid appearance he made, and others by way of requital for the benefits they had received from both of them; but the greatest number came to him in hopes of getting somewhat from him afterward, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom.

2. Herod had now a strong army; and as he marched on, Antigonus laid snares and ambushes in the passes and places most proper for them; but in truth, he thereby did little or no damage to the enemy; so Herod received those of his family out of Massada, and the fortress Ressa, and then went on for Jerusalem. The soldiery also that was with Silo accompanied him all along, as did many of the citizens, being afraid of his power; and as soon as he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the soldiers that were set to guard that part shot their arrows and threw their darts at him; and when some sallied out in a crowd, and came to fight hand to hand with the first ranks of Herod's army, he gave orders that they should, in the first place, make proclamation about the wall, that "he came for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, and not to bear any old grudge at even his most open enemies, but ready to forget the offences which his greatest adversaries had done him." But Antigonus, by way of reply to what Herod had caused to be proclaimed, and this before the Romans, and before Silo also, said, that "they would not do justly, if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was no more than a private man, and an Idumean, i. e. a half Jew;* whereas they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their custom was; for, that in case they at present bear an ill will to him, and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as having received it from the Parthians, yet were there many others of his family that might by their law take it, and these such as had no way offended the Romans, and being of the sacerdotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them by." Now, while they said thus one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus permitted his own men that were upon the wall to defend themselves; who using their bows, and showing great alacrity against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

3. And now it was that Silo discovered that he had taken bribes: for he set a good number of his soldiers to complain aloud of the want of provisions they were

* This affirmation of Antigonus, spoken in the days of Herod, and in a manner to his face, that he was an *Idumean*, i. e. a *half* Jew, seems to me of much greater authority than that pretence of his favourite and flatterer Nicolaus of Damascus, that he derived his pedigree from Jews as far backward as the Babylonish captivity, chap. i. sect. 3. Accordingly Josephus always esteems him an Idumean, though he says his father Antipater was of the same people with the Jews, ch. viii. sect. 1, and by birth a Jew, Antiq. B. xx. ch. viii. sect. 7: as indeed all such proselytes of justice as the Idumeans were in time esteemed the very same people with the Jews.

in, and to require money to buy them food, and that it was fit to let them go into places proper for winter quarters, since the places near the city were a desert, by reason that Antigonus's soldiers had carried all away: so he set the army upon removing, and endeavoured to march away: but Herod pressed Silo not to depart; and exhorted Silo's captains and soldiers not to desert him, when Cæsar and Antony, and the senate had sent him thither; for that he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted, and easily procure them a great abundance of what they required; after which entreaty he immediately went out into the country, and left not the least pretence to Silo for his departure; for he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions, and sent to those friends of his who inhabited about Samaria, to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and all other provisions to Jericho, that there might be no want of a supply for the soldiers for the time to come. Antigonus was sensible of this, and sent presently over the country such as might restrain and lie in ambush for those that went out for provisions. So these men obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of armed men about Jericho, and sat upon the mountains, and watched those that brought the provisions. However, Herod was not idle in the mean time: for he took ten bands of soldiers, of whom five were of the Romans and five of the Jews, with some mercenaries among them, and with some few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and as they found the city deserted, but that five hundred of them had settled themselves on the tops of the hills, with their wives and children, these he took and sent away; but the Romans fell upon the city and plundered it, and found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back again; and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be quartered at Lydda, in order to please Antony. So the Romans laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.

4. But Herod was not pleased with lying still, but sent out his brother Joseph against Idumea with two thousand armed footmen and four hundred horsemen: while he himself came to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there, for they were already gone out of Massada; and went into Galilee to take certain places which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus; and he passed on to Sepphoris, as God sent a snow, while Antigonus's garrisons withdrew themselves, and had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence, and resolved to destroy those robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country; so he sent a troop of horsemen, and three companies of armed footmen against them. They were very near to a village called Arbela; and on the fortieth day after, he came himself with his whole army: and as the enemy sallied out boldly upon him, the left wing of his army gave way; but he appearing with a body of men put those to flight who were already conquerors, and recalled his men that ran away. He also pressed upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they ran away by different roads. So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmæ a piece, and much more to their captains, and sent them into winter quarters: at which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month; nay, he had sent to all the country about, and ordered them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine; but Herod committed the care of that matter to Pheroras, his youngest brother: and ordered him to repair Alexandrium also. Accordingly he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandrium, which had been before desolate.

5. About this time it was that Antony continued some time at Athens, and that Ventidius, who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to assist Herod in the first place to finish the present war, and then to send for their confederates for the war they were themselves engaged in; but as for Herod, he went in haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Ventidius, while he marched against them. These caves were in mountains that were exceeding abrupt, and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves, and those caves were encompassed with sharp rocks, and in these did the robbers lie concealed, with all their families about them; but the king caused certain chests to be made in order to destroy them, and to be hung down, bound about with iron chains, by an engine from the top of the mountain, it being not possible to get up to them by reason of the sharp ascent of the mountains, nor to creep down to them from above. Now these chests were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they might pull out such as resisted them, and then tumble them down, and killed them by so doing; but the letting the chests down proved to be a matter of great danger because of the vast depth they were to be let down, although they had their provisions in the chests themselves: but when the chests were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst come near them, but lay still out of fear, some of the armed men girt on their armour, and by both their hands took hold of the chain by which the chests were let down and went into the mouths of the caves, because they fretted that such delay was made by the robbers not daring to come out of the caves; and when they were at any of those mouths, they first killed many of those that were in the mouths with their darts, and afterwards pulled those to them that resisted them with their hooks, and tumbled them down the precipices, and afterwards went into the caves and killed many more, and then went into their chests again, and lay still there; but upon this terror seized the rest, when they heard the lamentations that were made, and they despaired of escaping: however, when the night came on, that put an end to the whole work; and as the king proclaimed pardon by a herald to such as delivered themselves up to him, many accepted of the offer. The same method of assault was made use of the next day; and they went farther, and got out in baskets to fight them, and fought them at their doors, and sent fire among them and set their caves on fire, for there was a great deal of combustible matter within them. Now there was one old man who was caught within one of these caves, with seven children and a wife; these prayed him to give them leave to go out, and yield themselves up to the enemy; but he stood at the cave's mouth, and always slew that child of his who went out, till he had destroyed them every one; and after that he slew his wife, and cast their dead bodies down the precipice, and himself after them; and so underwent death rather than slavery: but before he did this, he greatly reproached Herod with the meanness of his family, although he was then king. Herod also saw what he was doing, and stretched out his hand and offered him all manner of security for his life. By which means all these caves were at length subdued entirely.

6. And when the king had set Ptolemy over these parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria with six hundred horsemen and three thousand armed footmen, as intending to fight Antigonus. But still this command of the army did not succeed well with Ptolemy; but those that had been troublesome to Galilee before attacked him, and slew him; and when they had done this, they fled among the lakes and places almost inaccessible, laying waste and plundering whatsoever they could come at in those places. But Herod soon returned, and punished them for what they had done; for some of these rebels he slew, and others of them, who had fled to the strong holds, he besieged, and both slew them, and demolished their strong holds: and when he had thus put an end to their rebellion, he laid a fine upon the cities of a hundred talents.

7. In the mean time Pacorus was fallen in a battle, and the Parthians were defeated, when Ventidius sent Macherus to the assistance of Herod, with two

legions, and a thousand horsemen, while Antony encouraged him to make haste. But Macherus, at the instigation of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, as being corrupted by money, went about to take a view of his affairs: but Antigonus, suspecting this intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but kept him at a distance with slinging stones at him, and plainly showed what he himself meant. But when Macherus was sensible that Herod had given him good advice, and that he had made a mistake himself in not hearkening to that advice, he retired to the city Emmaus; and what Jews he met with he slew them, whether they were enemies or friends, out of the rage he was in at the hardships he had undergone. The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samaria, and resolved to go to Antony about these affairs, and to inform him that he stood in no need of such helpers, who did him more mischief than they did his enemies, and that he was able of himself to beat Antigonus; but Macherus followed him, and desired that he would not go to Antony, or, if he was resolved to go, that he would join his brother Joseph with him, and let them fight against Antigonus: So he was reconciled to Macherus, upon his earnest entreaties. Accordingly he left Joseph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macherus.

8. But for his own part, he made haste to Antony (who was then at the siege of Samosata, a place upon Euphrates,) with his troops, both horsemen and footmen, to be auxiliaries to him: and when he came to Antioch, and met there a great number of men gotten together that were very desirous to go to Antony, but durst not venture to go out for fear, because the barbarians fell upon men on the road, and slew many, so he encouraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within two days' march of Samosata, the barbarians had laid an ambush there to disturb those that came to Antony; and where the woods made the passes narrow, as they led to the plains, there they laid not a few of their horsemen, who were to lie still until those passengers were gone by into the wide place. Now as soon as the first ranks were gone by (for Herod brought on the rear,) those that lay in ambush, who were about five hundred, fell upon them on the sudden; and when they had put the foremost to flight, the king came riding hard, with the forces that were about him, and immediately drove back the enemy; by which means he made the minds of his own men courageous, and emboldened them to go on, insomuch that those who ran away before now returned back, and the barbarians were slain on all sides The king also went on killing them, and recovered all the baggage, among which were a great number of beasts for burden, and of slaves, and proceeded on in his march; and whereas there were a great number of those in the woods that attacked them, and were near the passage that led into the plain, he made a sally upon these also with a strong body of men; and put them to flight, and slew many of them, and thereby rendered the way safe for those that came after, and these called Herod their saviour and protector.

9. And when he was near to Samosata, Antony sent out his army in all their proper habiliments to meet him, in order to pay Herod this respect, and because of the assistance he had given him; for he had heard what attacks the barbarians had made upon him [in Judea.] He also was very glad to see him there, as having been made acquainted with the great actions he had performed upon the road: so he entertained him very kindly, and could not but admire his courage. Antony also embraced him as soon as he saw him, and saluted him after a most affectionate manner, and gave him the upper hand, as having himself lately made him a king; and in a little time Antiochus delivered up the fortress, and on that account this war was at an end; then Antony committed the rest to Sosius, and gave him orders to assist Herod, and went himself to Egypt. Accordingly Sosius sent two legions before into Judea to the assistance of Herod, and he followed himself with the body of the army.

10. Now Joseph was already slain in Judea, in the manner following: he for-

got what charge his brother Herod had given him when he went to Antony; and when he had pitched his camp among the mountains, for Macherus had lent him five regiments, with these he went hastily to Jericho, in order to reap the corn thereto belonging; and as the Roman regiments were but newly raised, and were unskilful in war, for they were in great part collected out of Syria, he was attacked by the enemy, and caught in those places of difficulty, and was himself slain, as he was fighting bravely, and the whole army was lost; for there were six regiments slain. So when Antigonus had got possession of the dead bodies, he cut off Joseph's head, although Pheroras his brother would have redeemed it at the price of fifty talents. After which defeat, the Galileans revolted from their commanders, and took those of Herod's party, and drowned them in the lake, and a great part of Judea was become seditious; but Macherus fortified the place Gitta [in Samaria.]

11. At this time messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had been done; and when he was come to Daphne by Antioch, they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother; which yet he expected, from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams, which clearly foreshowed his brother's death. So he hastened his march; and when he came to Mount Libanus, he received about eight hundred of the men of that place, having already with him also one Roman legion; and with these he came to Ptolemais. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded along Galilee. Here it was that the enemy met him and fought him, and were beaten, and shut up in the same place of strength whence they had sallied out the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning; but, by reason of a great storm that was then very violent, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighbouring villages; yet as soon as the other legion that Antony sent him was come to his assistance, those that were in garrison in the place were afraid, and deserted it in the night time. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to avenge himself on the enemy for the slaughter of his brother; and when he had pitched his tents, he made a feast for the principal commanders; and after this collation was over, and he had dismissed his guests, he retired to his own chamber. And here may one see what kindness God had for the king; for the upper part of the house fell down when nobody was in it, and so killed none, insomuch that all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, since he had escaped such a great and surprising danger.

12. But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight the Romans, which greatly terrified them; and the soldiers that were in light armour came near and pelted the king's guards that were come out with darts and stones, and one of them hit him on the side with a dart. Antigonus also sent a commander against Samaria, whose name was Pappus, with some forces, being desirous to show the enemy how potent he was, and that he had men to spare in his war with them: he sat down to oppose Macherus; but Herod, when he had taken five cities, took such as were left in them, being about two thousand, and slew them, and burnt the cities themselves, and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Isanas: and there ran in to him many out of Jericho and Judea, near to which places he was; and the enemy fell upon his men, so stout were they at this time, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the fight; and in order to be revenged on them for the slaughter of his brother, he pursued them sharply, and killed them as they ran away: and as the houses were full of armed men, and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houses,* he got them under his power, and pulled down the

* It may be worth our observation here, that these soldiers of Herod's could not have gotten upon the tops of these houses which were full of enemies, in order to pull up the upper floors, and destroy them beneath, but by ladders from the outside; which illustrates some texts in the New Testament, by which it appears that men used to ascend thither by ladders on the outside. See Mat. xxiv. 17; Mark, xiii. 15 uke, v. 19, xvii. 31.

roofs of the houses; and saw the lower rooms full of soldiers that were caught and lay all on a heap; so they threw stones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and thereby killed them: nor was there a more frightful spectacle in all the war than this, where beyond the walls an immense multitude of dead men lay heaped one upon another. This action it was which chiefly brake the spirits of the enemy, who expected now what would come; for there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far distant, that were now about the village, but then ran away; and had it not been for the depth of winter, which then restrained them, the king's army had presently gone to Jerusalem, as being very courageous at this good success, and the whole work had been done immediately, for Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly away, and leave the city.

13. At this time the king gave order that the soldiers should go to supper, for it was late at night, while he went into a chamber to use the bath, for he was very weary; and here it was that he was in the greatest danger, which yet, by God's providence, he escaped; for as he was naked, and had but one servant that followed him, to be with him while he was bathing in an inner room, certain of the enemy, who were in their armour, and had fled thither out of fear, were then in the place: and as he was bathing, the first of them came out with his naked sword drawn, and went out at the doors, and after him a second, and a third, armed in like manner, and were under such a consternation that they did no hurt to the king, and thought themselves to have come off very well in suffering no harm themselves, in their getting out of the house. However, on the next day, he cut off the head of Pappus, for he was already slain, and sent it to Pherorus, as a punishment of what their brother had suffered by his means; for he was the man that slew him with his own hand.

14. When the rigour of winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by the city. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; and as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted, he pitched that camp before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the same manner as did Pompey: so he encompassed the place with three bulwarks, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands about the work, and cut down the trees that were round about the city; and when he had appointed proper persons to oversee the works, even while the army lay before the city, he himself went to Samaria, to complete his marriage, and to take to wife the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; for he had betrothed her already, as I have before related.

CHAP. XVI.

How Herod, when he had married Mariamne, took Jerusalem, with the Assistance of Sosius, by Force; and how the Government of the Asamoneans was put an End to.

§ 1. After the wedding was over, came Sosius through Phœnicia, having sent out his army before him over the midland parts. He also, who was their commander, came himself, with a great number of horsemen and footmen. The king also came himself from Samaria, and brought with him no small army, besides that which was there before, for they were about thirty thousand; and they all met together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped at the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions, armed men on foot, and six thousand horsemen, with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The generals were two; Sosius, sent by Antony to assist Herod; and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus, who was declared an enemy at Rome, and that he might himself be king, according to the decree of the senate.

2. Now the Jews that were enclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great alacrity and zeal (for the whole nation was gathered together;) they also gave out many prophecies about the temple, and many things agreeable to the people, as if God would deliver them out of the dangers they were in; they had also carried off what was out of the city, that they might not leave any thing to afford sustenance either for men or for beasts; and by private robberies, they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod understood this, he opposed ambushes in the fittest places against their private robberies, and he sent legions of armed men to bring in provisions, and that from remote places, so that in a little time they had great plenty of provisions. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were continually at work upon it; for it was summer time; and there was nothing to hinder them in raising their works, neither from the air nor from the workmen: so they brought their engines to bear, and shook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get in; yet did not those within discover any fear, but they also contrived not a few engines to oppose their engines withal. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfected, but those that were; and when they came hand to hand, their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new works when the former were ruined: and making mines underground, they met each other, and fought there; and making use of brutish courage rather than of prudent valour, they persisted in this war to the very last: and this they did while a mighty army lay round about them, and while they were distressed by famine and the want of necessaries, for this happened to be a Sabbatic year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty chosen men, the next were Soisus's centurions; for the first wall was taken in forty days, the second in fifteen more; when some of the cloisters that were about the temple were burnt; which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple, and the lower city were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the upper city; but now, fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassage, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices; which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield: but when he saw that they did nothing of what he supposed, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault upon the city and took it by storm; and now all parts were full of those that were slain, by the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive; so they were murdered continually in the narrow streets, and in the houses by crowds, and as they were flying to the temple for shelter; and there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged, nor did they spare so much as the weaker sex; nay, although the king sent about, and besought them to spare the people, yet nobody restrained their hand from slaughter, but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages, without distinction; and then Antigonus, without regard to either his past or present circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sosius; who took no pity of him in the change of his fortune, but insulted him beyond measure, and called him *Antigone* [*i. e.* a woman, and not a man,] yet did he not treat him as if he were a woman, by letting him go at liberty; but put him into bonds, and kept him in close custody.

3. And now Herod, having overcome his enemies, his care was to govern those foreigners who had been his assistants; for the crowd of strangers rushed to see the temple, and the sacred things in the temple; but the king, thinking a victory to be a more severe affliction than a defeat, if any of those things which it was not lawful to see should be seen by them, used entreaties and threatenings, and even sometimes force itself to restrain them He also prohibited the ravage

that was made in the city, and many times asked Sosius, whether the Romans would empty the city both of money and men, and leave him king of a desert? and told him, that he esteemed the dominion over the whole habitable earth as by no means an equivalent satisfaction for such a murder of his citizens: and when he said that this plunder was justly to be permitted the soldiers, for the siege they had undergone, he replied, that he would give every one their reward out of his own money: and by this means he redeemed what remained of the city from destruction; and he performed what he had promised him, for he gave a noble present to every soldier, and a proportionable present to their commanders, but a most royal present to Sosius himself, till they all went away full of money.

4. This destruction* befell the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome, on the hundred and eighty and fifth olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast; as if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned, since that which befell the Jews under Pompey; for the Jews were taken by him on the same day; and this was after twenty-seven years' time. So when Sosius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from Jerusalem, and carried Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony: but Herod was afraid lest Antigonus should be kept in prison [only] by Antony, and that when he was carried to Rome by him, he might get his cause to be heard by the senate, and might demonstrate, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that therefore it belonged to his sons, however, to have the kingdom, on account of the family they were of, in case he had himself offended the Romans by what he had done. Out of Herod's fear of this it was, that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money, endeavoured to persuade him to have Antigonus slain, which if it were once done, he should be free from that fear. And thus did the government of the Asamoneans cease, a hundred twenty and six years after it was first set up. This family was a splendid and an illustrious one, both on account of the nobility of their stock, and of the dignity of the high priesthood, as also for the glorious actions their ancestors had performed for our nation: but these men lost the government by their dissensions one with another; and it came to Herod the son of Antipater, who was of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other kings: and this is what history tells us was the end of the Asamonean family.

* Note here, that Josephus fully and frequently assures us that there passed above three years between Herod's first obtaining the kingdom at Rome, and his second obtaining it upon the taking of Jerusalem, and death of Antigonus. The present history of this interval twice mentions the army's going into winter quarters, which perhaps belonged to two several winters, ch. xv. sect. 3, 4; and though Josephus says nothing how long they lay in those quarters, yet does he give such an account of the long and studied delays of Ventidius, Silo, and Macherus, who were to see Herod settled in his new kingdom (but seem not to have had sufficient forces for that purpose, and were for certain all corrupted by Antigonus to make the longest delays possible,) and gives us such particular accounts of the many great actions of Herod during the same interval, as fairly imply that interval, before Herod went to Samosata, to have been very considerable. However, what is wanting in Josephus is fully supplied by Moses Chorenensis, the Armenian historian, in his history of the same interval, B. ii. ch. xviii. where he directly assures us, that Tigranes, then king of Armenia, and the principal manager of this Parthian war, reigned two years after Herod was made king at Rome: and yet Antony did not hear of his death, in that very neighbourhood, at Samosata, till he was come thither to besiege it; after which Herod brought him an army, which was 340 miles march, and through a difficult country, full of enemies also, and joined with him in the siege of Samosata, till that city was taken; then Herod and Sosius march back with their large armies the same number of 340 miles, and when in a little time they sat down to besiege Jerusalem, they were not able to take it, but by a siege of five months. All which put together fully supplies what is wanting in Josephus, and secures the entire chronology of these times beyond contradiction.

BOOK XV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTEEN YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS TO THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Pollio and Sameas. Herod slays the principal of Antigonus's Friends, and spoils the City of its Wealth. Antony beheads Antigonus.

§ 1. How Sosius and Herod took Jerusalem by force; and besides that, how they took Antigonus captive, has been related by us in the foregoing book. We will now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men in the city as had been of his party, but never left off avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies. But Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, a disciple of his, were honoured by him above all the rest; for when Jerusalem was besieged, they advised the citizens to receive Herod, for which advice they were well requited; but this Pollio, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold, in way of reproach, to Hyrcanus and the other judges, how this Herod, whom they suffered now to escape, would afterward inflict punishment on them all; which had its completion in time, while God fulfilled the words he had spoken.

2. At this time Herod, now he had got Jerusalem under his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and spoiled the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when, by these means, he had heaped together a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony, and his friends that were about him. He also slew forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus's party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out together with their dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatsoever was found, either of silver or gold, or other treasure, it was carried to the king; nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them; and this distress was in part occasioned by the covetousness of the prince regent, who was still in want of more, and in part, by the Sabbatic year, which was still going on, and forced the country to lie still uncultivated since we are forbidden to sow our land in that year. Now when Antony had received Antigonus as his captive, he determined to keep him against his triumph; but when he heard that the nation grew seditious, and that, out of their hatred to Herod, they continued to bear good will to Antigonus, he resolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwise the Jews could no way be brought to be quiet. And Strabo of Cappadocia attests to what I have said, when he thus speaks: "Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there to be beheaded; and this Antony seems to me to have been the very first man who beheaded a king, as supposing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews, so as to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead; for by no torments could they be forced to call him king, so great a fondness they had for their former king; so he thought that this dishonourable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus's memory, and at the same time would diminish their hatred they bare to Herod." Thus far Strabo.

CHAP. II

How Hyrcanus was set at Liberty by the Parthians, and returned to Herod; and what Alexandra did when she heard that Ananelus was made High Priest.

§ 1. Now after Herod was in possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high priest, who was then a captive among the Parthians, came to him again, and was set free from his captivity in the manner following: Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyrcanus, who was first made high priest and afterward king, and Herod's brother, Phasaelus, captives, and were carrying them away into Parthia. Phasaelus indeed could not bear the reproach of being in bonds: and, thinking, that death with glory was better than any life whatsoever, he became his own executioner, as I have formerly related.

2. But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia, the king Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner, as having already learned of what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and gave him an habitation at Babylon,* where there were Jews in great numbers. These Jews honoured Hyrcanus as their high priest and king; as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates; which respect was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new hopes came upon him, as having been himself still of a kind disposition towards him, and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favour he had received from him, and when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger that a capital sentence would be pronounced against him, he delivered him from that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jews that came often to him with great affection; but they endeavoured to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honours they did him; and that those honours they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay either to their high priests or their kings: and what was a greater motive to determine him, they said, was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judea,] because of that maim in his body which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus: and that kings do not use to requite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons; the height of their fortune making usually no small changes in them.

3. Now, although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus still desire to depart. Herod also wrote to him, and persuaded him to desire of Phraates, and the Jews that were there, that they should not grudge him the royal authority, which he should have jointly with himself; for that now was the proper time for himself to make him amends for the favours he had received from him, as having been brought up by him, and saved by him also, as well as for Hyrcanus to receive it. And as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so did he send also Saramallas, his ambassador to Phraates, and many presents with him; and desired him, in the most obliging way, that he would be no hinderance to his gratitude towards his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod's did not flow from that principle: but because he had been made governor of that country without having any just claim to it, he was afraid, and that upon reasons good enough, of a change in his condition, and so made what haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way: which last thing he compassed afterward.

4. Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of assurance, by the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the expense of the Jews, who supplied him with

* The city here called *Babylon* by Josephus seems to be one which was built by some of the Seleucidæ upon the Tigris, which, long after the utter desolation of Old Babylon, was commonly so called; and, I suppose, not far from Seleucia: just as the later adjoining city Bagdat has been, and is often called of the same old name of Babylon till this very day.

money, Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feasts, and thereby deceived him. He called him his father; and endeavoured, by all the ways possible, that he might have no suspicion of any treacherous design against him. He also did other things, in order to secure his government, which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family; for, being cautious how he made any illustrious person the high priest of God, he sent for an obscure priest out of Babylon, whose name was Ananelus, and bestowed the high priesthood upon him.*

5. However, Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus and wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus the king, who had also brought Alexander [two] children, could not bear this indignity. Now this son was one of the greatest comeliness, and was called Aristobulus; and the daughter, Mariamne, was married to Herod, and eminent for her beauty also. This Alexandra was much disturbed, and took this indignity offered to her son exceeding ill, that while he was alive, any one else should be sent for to have the dignity of the high priesthood conferred upon him. Accordingly she wrote to Cleopatra (a musician assisting her in taking care to have her letters carried,) to desire her intercession with Antony, in order to gain the high priesthood for her son.

6. But as Antony was slow in granting this request, his friend Dellius† came into Judea upon some affairs, and when he saw Aristobulus, he stood in admiration at the tallness and handsomeness of the child, and no less at Mariamne, the king's wife, and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of most beautiful children; and when she came to discourse with him, he persuaded her to get pictures drawn of them both, and to send them to Antony, for that when he saw them, he would deny her nothing that she would ask. Accordingly Alexandra was elevated with these words of his, and sent the pictures to Antony. Dellius also talked extravagantly, and said, that "these children seemed not derived from men, but from some god or other." His design in doing so was to entice Antony into lewd pleasures with them, who was ashamed to send for the damsel, as being the wife of Herod, and avoided it, because of the reproaches he should have from Cleopatra on that account: but he sent, in the most decent manner he could, for the young man, but added this withal, "unless he thought it hard upon him so to do." When this letter was brought to Herod, he did not think it safe for him to send one so handsome as was Aristobulus, in the prime of his life, for he was sixteen years of age, and of so noble a family, and particularly not to Antony, the principal man among the Romans, and one that would abuse him in his amours; and besides, one that openly indulged himself in such pleasures, as his power allowed him, without control. He therefore wrote back to him, that "if this boy should only go out of the country, all would be in a state of war and uproar; because the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government, and to have another king over them."

7. When Herod had thus excused himself to Antony, he resolved that he would not entirely permit the child or Alexandra to be treated dishonourably: but his wife Mariamne lay vehemently at him to restore the high priesthood to her brother, and he judged it was for his advantage so to do; because, if he once had that dignity, he could not go out of the country. So he called his friends together, and told them, that "Alexandra privately conspired against his royal authority, and endeavoured, by the means of Cleopatra, so to bring it about, that he might

* Here we have an eminent example of Herod's wordly and profane politics: when, by the abuse of his unlawful and usurped power, to make whom he pleased high priest, in the person of Ananelus, he occasioned such disturbances in his kingdom, and in his own family, as suffered him to enjoy no lasting peace or tranquillity ever afterward: and such is frequently the effect of profane court politics about matters of religion in other ages and nations. The Old Testament is full of the miseries of the people of the Jews derived from such court politics, especially in and after the days of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, *who made Israel to sin*; who gave the most pernicious example of it; who brought on the grossest corruption of religion by it; and the punishment of whose family for it was most remarkable. The case is too well known to stand in need of particular citations.

† Of this wicked Dellius, see the note on the War, B. I ch. xv. sect. 3.

be deprived of the government, and that by Antony's means this youth might have the management of public affairs in his stead; and that this procedure of hers was unjust, since she would at the same time deprive her daughter of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbances upon the kingdom; for which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards: that yet, while he well remembered her wicked practices, he would not leave off doing what was right himself, but would even now give the youth the high priesthood; and that he formerly set up Ananelus, because Aristobulus was then so very young a child." Now when he had said this, not at random, but as he thought with the best discretion he had, in order to deceive the women, and those friends whom he had taken to consult withal, Alexandra, out of the great joy she had at this unexpected promise, and out of fear from the suspicions she lay under, fell a weeping; and made the following apology for herself, and said, that "as to the [high] priesthood, she was very much concerned for the disgrace her son was under; and so did her utmost endeavours to procure it for him: but that as to the kingdom she had made no attempts, and that if it were offered her [for her son,] she would not accept it; and that she would now be satisfied with her son's dignity, while he himself held the civil government, and she had thereby the security that arose from his peculiar ability in governing, to all the remainder of her family; that she was now overcome by his benefits; and thankfully accepted of this honour showed by him to her son, and that she would hereafter be entirely obedient: and she desired him to excuse her, if the nobility of her family, and that freedom of acting which she thought that allowed her, had made her act too precipitately and imprudently in this matter. So, when they had spoken thus to one another, they came to an agreement, and all suspicions, so far as appeared, were vanished away.

CHAP. III.

How Herod, upon his making Aristobulus High Priest, took Care that he should be murdered in a little Time; and what Apology he made to Antony about Aristobulus: as also concerning Joseph and Mariamne.

§ 1. So king Herod immediately took the high priesthood away from Ananelus, who, as we said before, was not of this country, but one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates: for there were not a few ten thousands of this people that had been carried captives, and dwelt about Babylonia, whence Ananelus came. He was one* of the stock of the high priests, and had been of old a particular friend of Herod's; and when he was first made king, he conferred that dignity upon him, and now put him out of it again, in order to quiet the troubles in his family; though what he did was plainly unlawful, for at no other time [of old] was any one that had once been in that dignity deprived of it. It was Antiochus Epiphanes who first brake that law, and deprived Jesus, and made his brother Onias high priest in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so, and took that dignity from his brother [Hyrcanus:] and this Herod was the third who took that high office away [from Ananelus,] and gave it to this young man, Aristobulus, in his stead.

* When Josephus says here, that this Ananelus, the new high priest, was *of the stock of the high priests*, and since he had been just telling us that he was a priest of an *obscure* family or character, ch. ii. sect. 4, it is not at all probable that he could so soon say that he was *of the stock of the high priests*. However, Josephus here makes a remarkable observation, that this Ananelus was the *third* that was ever unjustly and wickedly turned out of the high priesthood by the civil power; no king or governor having ventured to do so that Josephus knew of, but that heathen tyrant and persecutor Antiochus Epiphanes; that barbarous parricide Aristobulus, the first that took royal authority among the Maccabees; and this tyrant king Herod the Great; although afterward that infamous practice became frequent, till the very destruction of Jerusalem, when the office of high priesthood was at an end.

2. And now Herod seemed to have healed the divisions in his family; yet was he not without suspicion, as is frequently the case of people seeming to be reconciled to one another, but thought that, as Alexandra had already made attempts tending to innovations, so did he fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing: so he gave a command, that she should dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs: her guards also were so careful that nothing she did in private life every day was concealed. All these hardships put her out of patience, by little and little, and she began to hate Herod; for as she had the pride of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this suspicious guard that was about her, as desirous rather to undergo any thing that could befall her than to be deprived of her liberty of speech; and, under the notion of an honorary guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror: she therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra hereupon advised her to take her son with her, and come away immediately to her into Egypt. This advice pleased her, and she had this contrivance for getting away: she got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies, and put herself into one, and her son into the other, and gave orders to such of her servants as knew of her intentions, to carry them away in the night-time. Now their road was to be thence to the seaside, and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Æsop, one of her servants, happened to fall upon Sabbion, one of her friends, and spake of this matter to him, as thinking he had known of it before. When Sabbion knew this (who had formerly been an enemy of Herod's and been esteemed one of those that laid snares for, and gave the poison to [his father] Antipater,) he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness; so he told the king of this private stratagem of Alexandra's: whereupon he suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in the very fact: but still he passed by her offence; and though he had a great mind to do it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her; for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused, on account of her hatred to him: but made a show as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, and his great moderation that made him forgive them. However, he fully proposed to himself to put this young man out of the way by one means or other; but he thought he might in probability be better concealed in doing it, if he did it not presently, nor immediately after what had lately happened.

3. And now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, which is a festival very much observed among us, he let those days pass over, and both he and the rest of the people were therein very merry; yet did the envy, which at this time arose in him, cause him to make haste to do what he was about, and provoke him to it; for when this youth Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, according to the law, to offer the sacrifices, and this with the ornaments of his high priesthood,* and when he performed the sacred offices, he seemed to be exceeding comely, and taller than men usually were at that age, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of that high family he was sprung from, and a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared among the people, and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Aristobulus was fresh in their minds; and their affections got so far the mastery of them that they could not forbear to show their inclinations to him. They at once rejoiced, and were confounded, and mingled with good wishes their joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good will of the multitude was made too evident, and they more rashly proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family than was fit under a monarchy to have done. Upon all this, Herod resolved to complete what he had intended against the young man. When therefore the festival was

* This entirely confutes the Talmudists, who pretend that no one under *twenty* years of age could officiate as high priest among the Jews.

over, and he was feasting at Jericho* with Alexandra, who entertained him there, he was then very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place, and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner Now the nature of that place was hotter than ordinary; so they went out in a body, and of a sudden, and in a vein of madness, and as they stood by the fish ponds, of which there were large ones about the house, they went to cool themselves [by bathing,] because it was in the midst of a hot day. At first they were only spectators of Herod's servants and acquaintance as they were swimming; but after a while, the young man, at the instigation of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintance, as he had appointed to do it, dipped him, as he was swimming, and plunged him under water, in the dark of the evening, as if it had been done in sport only, nor did they desist till he was entirely suffocated; and thus was Aristobulus murdered, having lived no more than †eighteen years, and kept the high priesthood one year only: which high priesthood Ananelus now recovered again.

4. When this sad accident was told the women, their joy was soon changed to lamentation, at the sight of the dead body that lay before them, and their sorrow was immoderate. The city also [of Jerusalem,] upon the spreading of this news, were in very great grief, every family looking on this calamity as if it had not belonged to another, but that one of themselves was slain: but Alexandra was more deeply affected, upon her knowledge that he had been destroyed [on purpose.] Her sorrow was greater than that of others, by her knowing how the murder was committed; but she was under a necessity of bearing up under it, out of her prospect of a greater mischief that might otherwise follow: and she oftentimes came to an inclination to kill herself with her own hand, but still she restrained herself, in hopes she might live long enough to revenge the unjust murder thus privately committed; nay, she further resolved to endeavour to live longer, and to give no occasion to think she suspected that her son was slain on purpose; and supposed that she might thereby be in a capacity of revenging it at a proper opportunity. Thus did she restrain herself, that she might not be noted for entertaining any such suspicion. However, Herod endeavoured that none abroad should believe that the child's death was caused by any design of his: and for this purpose he did not only use the ordinary signs of sorrow, but fell into tears also, and exhibited a real confusion of soul, and perhaps his affections were overcome on this occasion, when he saw the child's countenance so young and so beautiful, although his death were supposed to tend to his own security; so far at least this grief served as to make some apology for him: and as for his funeral, that he took care should be very magnificent, by making great preparations of a sepulchre to lay his body in, and providing a great quantity of spices, and burying many ornaments together with him; till the very women, who were in such deep sorrow, were astonished at it, and received in this way some consolation.

5. However, no such things could overcome Alexandra's grief, but the remembrance of this miserable case made her sorrow both deep and obstinate. Accordingly she wrote an account of this treacherous scene to Cleopatra, and how her son was murdered; but Cleopatra, as she had formerly been desirous to give her what satisfaction she could, and commiserating Alexandra's misfortunes, made the case her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but excited him to punish the child's murder; for that it was an unworthy thing that Herod, who had been by him made king of a kingdom that no way belonged to him, should be guilty of such horrid crimes against those that were of the royal blood in reality. Antony was persuaded by these arguments; and when he came to Laodicea, he sent and

* A Hebrew chronicle, cited by Reland, says, this drowning was at *Jordan*, not at *Jericho*, and thus even when he quotes Josephus. I suspect the transcriber of the Hebrew chronicle mistook the name, and wrote *Jordan* for *Jericho*.

† The reading of one of Josephus's Greek MSS. seems here to be right, that Aristobulus was not quite *seven years old*, when he was drowned; for he was not *seventeen* when he was made high priest, ch. ii. sect. 6. ch. iii. sect. 3; and he continued in that office but one year, as in the place before us

commanded Herod to come and make his defence, as to what he had done to Aristobulus; for that such a treacherous design was not well done, if he had any hand in it. Herod was now in fear, both of the accusation, and of Cleopatra's ill will to him; which was such, that she was ever endeavouring to make Antony hate him. He therefore determined to obey his summons, for he had no possible way to avoid it: so he left his uncle Joseph procurator for his government, and the public affairs; and gave him a private charge, that if Antony should kill him, he also should kill Mariamne immediately: for that he had a tender affection for this his wife, and was afraid of the injury that should be offered him, if, after his death, she, for her beauty, should be engaged to some other man: but this intimation was nothing but this at the bottom, that Antony had fallen in love with her, when he had formerly heard somewhat of her beauty. So when Herod had given Joseph this charge, and had indeed no sure hopes of escaping with his life, he went away to Antony.

6. But as Joseph was administering the public affairs of the kingdom, and for that reason was very frequently with Mariamne; both because his business required it, and because of the respects he ought to pay to the queen, he frequently let himself into discourses about Herod's kindness, and great affection towards her; and when the women especially Alexandra, used to turn his discourses into feminine raillery, Joseph was so over desirous to demonstrate the king's inclinations that he proceeded so far as to mention the charge he had received; and thence drew his demonstration, that Herod was not able to live without her; and that if he should come to any ill end, he could not endure a separation from her, even after he was dead. Thus spake Joseph. But the women, as was natural, did not take this to be an instance of Herod's strong affection for them, but of his severe usage of them, that they could not escape destruction, nor a tyrannical death, even when he was dead himself: and this saying [of Joseph's] was a foundation for the women's severe suspicions about him afterwards.

7. At this time a report went about the city Jerusalem, among Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod, and put him to death. This report, as is natural, disturbed those that were about the palace, but chiefly the women: upon which Alexandra endeavoured to persuade Joseph to go out of the palace, and fly away with them to the ensigns of the Roman legion, which then lay encamped about the city, as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for that by this means, if any disturbance should happen about the palace, they should be in greater security, as having the Romans favourable to them; and that, besides, they hoped to obtain the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Mariamne, by whose means they should recover the kingdom, and want nothing which was reasonable for them to hope for, because of their royal extraction.

8. But as they were in the midst of these deliberations, letters were brought from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and of what they before expected; for when he was come to Antony, he soon recovered his interest with him, by the presents he made him, which he had brought with him from Jerusalem, and he soon induced him, upon discoursing with him, to leave off his indignation at him; so that Cleopatra's persuasions had less force than the arguments and presents he brought, to regain his friendship: for Antony said, that "it was not good to require an account of a king, as to the affairs of his government; for at this rate he could be no king at all, but that those who had given him that authority ought to permit him to make use of it." He also said the same things to Cleopatra, that it would be best for her not busily to meddle with the acts of the king's government. Herod wrote an account of these things; and "enlarged upon the other honours which he had received from Antony: how he sat by him at his hearing causes, and took his diet with him every day, and that he enjoyed those favours from him, notwithstanding the reproaches that Cleopatra so severely laid against him, who, having a great desire of his

country, and earnestly entreating Antony that the kingdom might be given to her, laboured with her utmost diligence to have him out of the way; but that he still found Antony just to him, and had no longer any apprehensions of hard treatment from him; and that he was soon upon his return, with a firmer additional assurance of his favour to him, in his reigning and managing public affairs; and that there was no longer any hopes for Cleopatra's covetous temper, since Antony had given her Celesyria instead of what she desired; by which means he had at once pacified her, and got clear of the entreaties which she made him, to have Judea bestowed upon her.

9. When these letters were brought, the women left off their attempt for flying to the Romans, which they thought of while Herod was supposed to be dead; yet was not that purpose of theirs a secret: but when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Parthians, he returned to Judea, when both his sister Salome and his mother informed him of Alexandra's intentions. Salome also added somewhat farther against Joseph, though it were no more than a calumny, that he had often had criminal conversation with Mariamne. The reason of her saying so was this, that she for a long time bare her ill will; for when they had differences with one another, Mariamne took great freedoms, and reproached the rest for the meanness of their birth. But Herod, whose affection to Mariamne was always very warm, was presently disturbed at this, and could not bear the torments of jealousy; but was still restrained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her: yet did his vehement affection and jealousy together make him ask Mariamne by herself about this matter of Joseph; but she denied it upon her oath, and said all that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defence; so that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop the suspicion, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard about her, and returned her a great many acknowledgments of her modest behaviour and professed the extraordinary affection and kindness he had for her, till at last, as is usual between lovers, they both fell into tears, and embraced one another with a most tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief of her fidelity, and endeavoured to draw her to a like confidence in him, Mariamne said, "Yet was not that command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with thee, a sign of thy love to me." When these words were fallen from her, the king was shocked at them, and presently let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his own hands, and said that now he had an evident demonstration that Joseph had had criminal conversation with his wife; for that he would never have uttered what he had told him alone by himself, unless there had been such a great familiarity and firm confidence between them." And while he was in this passion he had like to have killed his wife; but, being still overborne by his love to her, he restrained this his passion, though not without a lasting grief, and disquietness of mind. However, he gave order to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight: and as for Alexandra, he bound her, and kept her in custody as the cause of all this mischief.

CHAP. IV.

How Cleopatra, when she had gotten from Antony some Parts of Judea and Arabia, came into Judea; and how Herod gave her many Presents, and conducted her on her Way back to Egypt.

§ 1. Now at this time the affairs of Syria were in confusion by Cleopatra's constant persuasions to Antony to make an attempt upon every body's dominions; for

she persuaded him to take those dominions away from their several princes, and bestow them upon her; and she had a mighty influence upon him, by reason of his being enslaved to her by his affections. She was also by nature very covetous, and stuck at no wickedness. She had already poisoned her brother, because she knew that he was to be king of Egypt, and this when he was but fifteen years old: and she got her sister Arsinoe to be slain by the means of Antony, when she was a suppliant at Diana's temple at Ephesus; for if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchres. Nor was there any holy place, that was esteemed the most inviolable, from which she would not fetch the ornaments it had in it; nor any place so profane, but was to suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her, if it could but contribute somewhat to the covetous humour of this wicked creature: yet did not all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a slave to her lusts, but she still imagined that she wanted every thing she could think of, and did her utmost to gain it; for which reason she hurried Antony on perpetually to deprive others of their dominions, and give them to her. And as she went over Syria with him, she contrived to get it into her possession; so he slew Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. She also petitioned Antony to give her Judea and Arabia; and, in order thereto, desired him to take these countries away from their present governors. As for Antony, he was so entirely overcome by this woman that one would not think her conversation only could do it, but that he was some way or other bewitched to do whatsoever she would have him; yet did the grossest parts of her injustice make him so ashamed that he would not always hearken to her, to do those flagrant enormities she would have persuaded him to. That therefore he might not totally deny her, nor, by doing every thing that she enjoined him, appear openly to be an ill man, he took some parts of each of those countries away from their former governors, and gave them to her. Thus he gave her the cities that were within the river Eleutherus, as far as Egypt, excepting Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors, although she pressed him very often to bestow those on her also.

2. When Cleopatra had obtained thus much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia, as far as Euphrates, she returned back, and came to Apamia and Damascus, and passed on to Judea, where Herod met her, and farmed of her her parts of Arabia, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balsam which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone. The place bears also palm trees, both many in number, and those excellent in their kind. When she was there, and was very often with Herod, she endeavoured to have criminal conversation with the king: nor did she affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of pleasures; and perhaps she had in some measure a passion of love to him, or rather, what is most probable, she laid a treacherous snare for him, by aiming to obtain such adulterous conversation from him: however, upon the whole, she seemed overcome with love to him. Now Herod had a great while borne no good will to Cleopatra, as knowing that she was a woman irksome to all; and at that time he thought her particularly worthy of his hatred, if this attempt proceeded out of lust: he had also thought of preventing her intrigues, by putting her to death, if such were her endeavours. However, he refused to comply with her proposals, and called a council of his friends to consult with them, "Whether he should not kill her, now he had her in his power? for that he should thereby deliver all those from a multitude of evils to whom she was already become irksome, and was expected to be still so for the time to come; and that this very thing would be much for the advantage of Antony himself, since she would certainly not be faithful to him, in case any such season or necessity should come upon him as that he should stand in need of her fidelity." But when he thought to follow this advice, his friends would not let him; and told him, "in the first place, it was not right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself thereby into the utmost danger: and they laid hard at him, and

begged of him to undertake nothing rashly; for that Antony would never bear it, no not though any one should evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own advantage; and that the appearance of depriving him of her conversation by this violent and treacherous method, would probably set his affections more on a flame than before. Nor did it appear that he could offer any thing of tolerable weight in his defence, this attempt being against such a woman as was of the highest dignity of any of her sex at that time in the world: and as to any advantage to be expected from such an undertaking, if any such could be supposed in this case, it would appear to deserve condemnation, on account of the insolence he must take upon him in doing it. Which considerations made it very plain that in so doing he would find his government filled with mischiefs, both great and lasting, both to himself and his posterity: whereas it was still in his power to reject that wickedness she would persuade him to, and to come off honourably at the same time." So by thus affrighting Herod, and representing to him, the hazard he must, in all probability, run by this undertaking, they restrained him from it. So he treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

3. But Antony subdued Armenia, and sent Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, in bonds, with his children and procurators, to Egypt, and made a present of them, and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom to Cleopatra. And Artaxias, the eldest of his sons, who had escaped at that time, took the kingdom of Armenia; who yet was ejected by Archelaus and Nero Cæsar, when they restored Tigranes, his younger brother, to that kingdom: but this happened a good while afterward.

4. But then, as to the tributes which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for that country which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, as deeming it not safe for him to afford any cause for Cleopatra to hate him. As for the king of Arabia, whose tribute Herod had undertaken to pay her; for some time indeed he paid him as much as came to two hundred talents; but he afterward became very niggardly, and slow in his payments, and could hardly be brought to pay some parts of it, and was not willing to pay even then without some deductions.

CHAP. V.

How Herod made War with the King of Arabia, and, after they had fought many Battles, at length conquered him, and was chosen by the Arabs to be Governor of that Nation: as also concerning a great Earthquake.

§ 1. Hereupon Herod held himself ready to go against the king of Arabia, because of his ingratitude to him, and because, after all, he would do nothing that was just to him, although Herod made the Roman war an occasion of delaying his own; for the battle at Actium was now expected, which fell into the hundred eighty and seventh olympiad, where Cæsar and Antony were to fight for the supreme power of the world; but Herod, having enjoyed a country that was very fruitful, and that now for a long time, and having received great taxes, and raised great armies therewith, got together a body of men, and carefully furnished them with all necessaries, and designed them as auxiliaries for Antony: but Antony said he had no want of his assistance; but he commanded him to punish the king of Arabia; for he had heard, both from him and from Cleopatra, how perfidious he was; for this was what Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own advantage that these two kings should do one another as great mischief as possible. Upon this message from Antony, Herod returned back: but kept his army with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. So when his army of horsemen and footmen was ready, he marched to Diospolis, whither the Arabians came also to

meet them, for they were not unapprized of this war that was coming upon them: and, after a great battle had been fought, the Jews had the victory: but afterward there were gotten together another numerous army of the Arabians, at Cana, which are places of Celesyria. Herod was informed of this beforehand; so he came marching against them with the greatest part of the forces he had; and when he was come near to Cana, he resolved to encamp himself, and he cast up a bulwark, that he might take a proper season for attacking the enemy; but as he was giving those orders, the multitude of the Jews cried out that he should make no delay, but lead them against the Arabians. They went with great spirit, as believing they were in very good order, and those especially were so that had been in the former battle, and had been conquerors, and had not permitted their enemies so much as to come to a close fight with them. And when they were so tumultuous, and showed such great alacrity, the king resolved to make use of that zeal the multitude then exhibited; and when he had assured them he would not be behindhand with them in courage, he led them on, and stood before them all in his armour, all the regiments following him in their several ranks: whereupon a consternation fell upon the Arabians; for when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquered, and were full of spirit, the greater part of them ran away, and avoided fighting; and they had been quite destroyed, had not Athenio fallen upon the Jews, and distressed them; for this man was Cleopatra's general over the soldiers she had there, and was at enmity with Herod, and very wistfully looked on to see what the event of the battle would be: he had also resolved, that in case the Arabians did any thing that was brave and successful, he would lie still; but in case they were beaten, as it really happened, he would attack the Jews with those forces he had of his own, and with those that the country had gotten together for him: so he fell upon the Jews unexpectedly, when they were fatigued, and thought they had already vanquished the enemy, and made a great slaughter of them: for as the Jews had spent their courage upon their known enemies, and were about to enjoy themselves in quietness after their victory, they were easily beaten by these that attacked them afresh: and in particular received a great loss in places where the horses could not be of service, and which were very stony, and where those that attacked them were better acquainted with the places than themselves. And when the Jews had suffered this loss, the Arabians raised their spirits after their defeat, and, returning back again, slew those that were already put to flight; and indeed all sorts of slaughter were now frequent, and of those that escaped a few only returned into the camp. So king Herod, when he despaired of the battle, rode up to them to bring them assistance; yet did he not come time enough to do them any service, though he laboured hard to do it; but the Jewish camp was taken, so that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained that victory which of themselves they were no way likely to have gained, and slaying a great part of the enemy's army: whence afterward Herod could only act like a private robber, and make excursions upon many parts of Arabia, and distress them by sudden incursions, while he encamped among the mountains, and avoided by any means to come to a pitched battle; yet did he greatly harass the enemy by his assiduity, and the hard labour he took in this matter. He also took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state.

2. At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Cæsar and Antony, in the seventh* year of the reign of Herod; and then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judea, such a one as had not happened at any other time, and which earthquake brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses:

* The reader is here to take notice, that this *seventh* year of the reign of Herod, and all the other year of his reign, in Josephus, are dated from the death of Antigonus, or at the soonest from the conquest o Antigonus, and the taking of Jerusalem a few months before, and never from his first obtaining the king dom at Rome above three years before, as some have very weakly and injudiciously done.

but the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident When the Arabians were informed of this, and when those that hated the Jews, and pleased themselves with aggravating the reports, told them of it, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they took the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them after all this had happened, to make peace with them, and slew them, and came with great alacrity against their army; but the Jews durst not withstand them, and were so cast down by the calamities they were under, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to despair; for they had no hope that they should be upon a level with them again in battles, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere, while their affairs at home were in such great distress also. When matters were in this condition, the king persuaded the commanders by his words, and tried to raise their spirits, which were quite sunk; and first he endeavoured to encou rage and embolden some of the better sort beforehand, and then ventured to make a speech to the multitude, which he had before avoided to do, lest he should find them uneasy thereat, because of the misfortunes which had happened; so he made a consolatory speech to the multitude, in the manner following:

3. "You are not unacquainted, my fellow-soldiers, that we have had not long since many accidents that have put a stop to what we are about; and it is probable, that even those that are most distinguished above others for their courage can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances: but since we cannot avoid fighting, and nothing that hath happened is of such a nature but it may by yourselves be recovered into a good state, and this by one brave action only well performed, I have proposed to myself both to give you some encouragement, and at the same time, some information, both which parts of my design will tend to this point, that you may still continue in your own proper fortitude. I will then, in the first place, demonstrate to you, that this war is a just one on our side, and that on this account it is a war of necessity, and occasioned by the injustice of our adversaries; for if you be once satisfied of this, it will be a real cause of alacrity to you: after which I will farther demonstrate that the misfortunes we are under are of no great consequence, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses to what I shall say. You are not ignorant certainly of the wickedness of the Arabians, which is to that degree as to appear incredible to all other men, and to include somewhat that shows the grossest barbarity and ignorance of God. Their chief things wherein they have affronted us have arisen from covetousness and envy, and they have attacked us in an insidious manner, and on the sudden. And what occasion is there for me to mention many instances of such their procedure? When they were in danger of losing their own government of themselves, and of being slaves to Cleopatra, what others were they that freed them from that fear? For it was the friendship I had with Antony, and the kind disposition he was in towards us, that hath been the occasion that even these Arabians have not been utterly undone; Antony being unwilling to undertake any thing which might be suspected by us of unkindness: but when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him presents of my own, I might obtain security to both nations, while I undertook myself to answer for the money, and gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for those two hundred more, which were imposed upon the land that was subject to this tribute: and this they have defrauded us of, although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxable; but although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute for these Arabians, whom we have ourselves preserved; nor is it fit that they who have professed, and that with great integrity and sense of our kindness, that it is by our means that they keep their principality, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due; and this

while we have been still not their enemies but their friends. And whereas observation of covenants takes place among the bitterest enemies, but among friends is absolutely necessary, this is not observed among these men, who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any means whatsoever; and that injustice is no harm, if they may but get money by it. Is it therefore a question with you, Whether the unjust are to be punished or not? when God himself hath declared his mind that so it ought to be, and hath commanded that we ever should hate injuries and injustice; which is not only just but necessary in wars between several nations: for these Arabians have done what both the Greeks and barbarians own to be an instance of the grossest wickedness, with regard to our ambassadors, which they have beheaded, while the Greeks declare that such ambassadors* are sacred and inviolable. And for ourselves, we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law by angels, or ambassadors; for this name brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is sufficient to reconcile enemies one to another. What wickedness then can be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to treat about doing what is right? And when such have been their actions, how is it possible they can either live securely in common life, or be successful in war? In my opinion this is impossible. But perhaps some will say, that what is holy and what is righteous is indeed on our side, but that the Arabians are either more courageous or more numerous than we are. Now, as to this, in the first place, it is not fit for us to say so; for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himself; now, where God is, there is both multitude and courage. But to examine our own circumstances a little: we were conquerors in the first battle; and when we fought again, they were not able to oppose us, but ran away, and could not endure our attacks or our courage; but when we had conquered them, then came Athenion, and made war against us without declaring it; and pray, is this an instance of their manhood? or is it not a second instance of their wickedness and treachery? Why are we therefore of less courage, on account of that which ought to inspire us with stronger hopes; and why are we terrified at these, who, when they fight upon the level, are continually beaten; and when they seem to be conquerors, they gain it by wickedness? And if we suppose that any one should deem them to be men of real courage, will not he be excited by that very consideration to do his utmost against them? for true valour is not shown by fighting against weak persons, but in being able to overcome the most hardy. But then, if the distresses we are ourselves under, and the miseries that have come by the earthquake, have affrighted any one, let him consider in the first place that this very thing will deceive the Arabians, by their supposal that what hath befallen us is greater than it really is. Moreover it is not right that the same thing that emboldens them should discourage us; for these men, you see, do not derive their alacrity from any advantageous virtue of their own, but from their hope as to us, that we are quite cast down by our misfortunes: but when we boldly march against them, we shall soon pull down their insolent conceit of themselves, and shall gain this by attacking them, that they will not be so insolent when we come to the battle; for our distresses are not so great, nor is what hath happened an indication of the anger of God against us, as some imagine; for such things are accidental, and adversities that come in the usual course of things: and if we allow that this was done by the will of God, we must allow that it is now over by his will also; and that he is satisfied with what hath already happened; for had he been willing to afflict us still more thereby, he had not changed his mind so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he hath himself demonstrated, that he is willing it should go on, and that he knows it to be a just war; for while some of the people in the country have perished, all you who were in arms have suffered

* Herod says here, that as *ambassadors* were sacred when they carried messages to others, so did the laws of the Jews derive a sacred authority by being delivered from God by *angels* [or *divine ambassadors*,] which is St. Paul's expression about the same laws, Gal. iii. 19; Heb. ii. 2.

nothing, but are all preserved alive; whereby God makes it plain to us, that if you had universally, with your children and wives, been in the army, it had come to pass, that you had not undergone any thing that would have much hurt you. Consider these things, and what is more than all the rest, that you have God at all times for your protector; and prosecute these men with a just bravery, who, in point of friendship are unjust, in their battles perfidious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you in valour."

4. When the Jews heard this speech they were much raised in their minds, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had offered the sacrifices* appointed by the law, made haste, and took them, and led them against the Arabians; and in order to that passed over Jordan, and pitched his camp near to that of the enemy. He also thought fit to seize upon a certain castle that lay in the midst of them, as hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner produce a battle; and that if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified. And as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it: at first they were but skirmishes, after which there came more soldiers, and it proved a sort of fight, and some fell on both sides, till those of the Arabian side were beaten, and retreated. This was no small encouragement to the Jews immediately; and when Herod observed that the enemy's army were disposed to any thing rather than to come to an engagement, he ventured boldly to attempt the bulwark itself, and to pull it to pieces, and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them; for when they were forced out of their trenches, they went out in disorder, and had not the least alacrity, or hope of victory: yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a disposition of war that they were under a necessity of coming on boldly; so they came to a terrible battle, while not a few fell on each side. However, at length the Arabians fled; and so great a slaughter was made upon their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude, and the great current of people in disorder, and were destroyed by their own armour; so five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude soon ran within the bulwark [for safety,] but had no firm hope of safety, by reason of their want of necessaries, and especially of water. The Jews pursued them; but could not get in with them, but sat round about the bulwark, and watched any assistance that would get into them, and prevented any there, that had a mind to it, from running away.

5. When the Arabians were in these circumstances, they sent ambassadors to Herod, in the first place to propose terms of accommodation; and after that to offer him, so pressing was their thirst upon them, to undergo whatsoever he pleased, if he would free them from their present distress; but he would admit of no ambassadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other moderate terms whatever, being very desirous to revenge those unjust actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were necessitated by other motives, and particularly by their thirst, to come out, and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives; and in five days' time, the number of four thousand were taken prisoners, while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them; choosing rather, if so it must be, to die therein, than to perish gradually and ingloriously. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, but could no way sustain the fight, being too

* This piece of religion, the supplicating God with sacrifices by Herod, before he went to this fight with the Arabians, taken notice of also in the first book Of the War, ch. xix. sect. 5. is worth remarking, because it is the only example of this nature, so far as I remember, that Josephus ever mentions in all his large and particular accounts of this Herod: and it was when he had been in mighty distress, and discouraged by a great defeat of his former army, and by a very great earthquake in Judea; such times of affliction making men most religious: nor was he disappointed of his hopes here, but immediately gained a most signal victory over the Arabians; while they who just before had been so great victors, and so much elevated upon the earthquake in Judea as to venture to slay the Jewish ambassadors, were now under a strange consternation, and hardly able to fight at all.

much disabled, both in mind and body, and having not room to exert themselves, and thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive: so at the first onset there fell about seven thousand of them; after which stroke they let all the courage they had put on before fall, and stood amazed at Herod's warlike spirit under his own calamities; so for the future they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he was greatly elevated at so seasonable a success, and returned home, taking great authority upon him, on account of so bold and glorious an expedition as he had made.

CHAP. VI.

How Herod slew Hyrcanus, and then hasted away to Cæsar, and obtained the Kingdom from him also: and how, a little while afterward, he entertained Cæsar in a most honourable Manner.

§ 1. Herod's other affairs were now very prosperous: and he was not to be easily assaulted on any side. Yet did there come upon him a danger that would hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by Cæsar [Octavian;] for at that time both Herod's enemies and friends despaired of his affairs; for it was not probable that he would remain without punishment, who had showed so much friendship for Antony. So it happened that his friends despaired, and had no hopes of his escape; but for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared to be troubled at his case, but were privately very glad of it, as hoping to obtain a change for the better. As for Herod himself, he saw that there was no one of royal dignity left but Hyrcanus, and therefore he thought it would be for his advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in his way any longer; for that in case he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of such a man to make any attempt against him, at such junctures of affairs, as was more worthy of the kingdom than himself: and in case he should be slain by Cæsar, his envy prompted him to desire to slay him that would otherwise be king after him.

2. While Herod had these things in his mind, there was a certain occasion afforded him; for Hyrcanus was of so mild a temper, both then and at other times, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what that afforded him: but Alexandra [his daughter] was a lover of strife, and was exceeding desirous of a change of the government, and spake to her father not to bear for ever Herod's injurious treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might; and desired him to write about those matters to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, to receive them, and to secure them [from Herod;] for that if they went away, and Herod's affairs proved to be as it was likely they would be, by reason of Cæsar's enmity to him, they should then be the only persons that could take the government; and this, both on account of the royal family they were of, and on account of the good disposition of the multitude to them. While she used these persuasions, Hyrcanus put off her suit; but as she showed that she was a woman, and a contentious woman too, and would not desist either night or day, but would always be speaking to him about these matters, and about Herod's treacherous designs, she at last prevailed with him to intrust Dositheus, one of his friends, with a letter, wherein his resolution was declared; and he desired the Arabian governor to send to him some horsemen, who should receive him and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites, which is from the bounds of Jerusalem three hundred furlongs; and he did therefore trust Dositheus with this letter, because he was a careful attendant on him and on Alexandra, and had no small occasions to bear ill will to Herod: for he was a kinsman of one Joseph whom he

had slain, and a brother of those who were formerly slain at Tyre by Antony, yet could not these motives induce Dositheus to serve Hyrcanus in this affair; for, preferring the hopes he had from the present king to those he had from him, he gave Herod the letter. So he took his kindness in good part, and bid him besides do what he had already done; that is, go on in serving him, by rolling up the epistle and sealing it again, and delivering it to Malchus; and then to bring back his letter in answer to it; for it would be much better if he could know Malchus's intentions also. And when Dositheus was very ready to serve him in this point also, the Arabian governor returned back for answer, that he would receive Hyrcanus, and all that should come with him, and even all the Jews that were of his party: that he would moreover send forces sufficient to secure them in their journey, and that he should be in no want of any thing he should desire. Now as soon as Herod had received this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the league he had made with Malchus: and when he denied it, he showed his letter to the sanhedrim, and put the man to death immediately.

3. And this account we give the reader, as it is contained in the commentaries of king Herod: but other historians do not agree with them; for they suppose that Herod did not find, but rather make, this an occasion for thus putting him to death, and that by treacherously laying a snare for him; for thus do they write: that Herod and he were once at a treat, and that Herod had given no occasion to suspect [that he was displeased at him,] but put this question to Hyrcanus, whether he had received any letters from Malchus? And when he answered, that he had received letters, but those of salutation only: and when he asked farther, whether he had not received any presents from him? and when he had replied, that he had received no more than four horses to ride on, which Malchus had sent him. And they pretend that Herod charged these things upon him as the crimes of bribery and treason, and gave order that he should be led away and slain. And in order to demonstrate that he had been guilty of no offence, when he was thus brought to his end, they alleged how mild his temper had been, and that even in his youth he had never given any demonstration of boldness or rashness; and that the case was the same when he came to be king, but that he even then committed the management of the greatest part of public affairs to Antipater; and that he was now above four-score years old, and knew that Herod's government was in a secure state. He also came over Euphrates, and left those who greatly honoured him beyond that river, though he were to be entirely under Herod's government, and that it was a most incredible thing that he should enterprise any thing by way of innovation, and not at all agreeable to his temper; but that this was a plot of Herod's own contrivance.

4. And this was the fate of Hyrcanus; and thus did he end his life, after he had endured various and manifold turns of his fortune in his lifetime: for he was made high priest of the Jewish nation in the beginning of his mother Alexandra's reign, who held the government nine years: and when, after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three months, he lost it by the means of his brother Aristobulus. He was then restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of honour from him, and enjoyed them forty years; but when he was again deprived by Antigonus, and was maimed in his body, he was made a captive by the Parthians, and thence returned home again after some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had given him; none of which came to pass according to his expectation; but he still conflicted with many misfortunes through the whole course of his life; and what was the heaviest calamity of all, as we have related already, he came to an end which was undeserved by him. His character appeared to be that of a man of a mild and moderate disposition, and suffered the administration of affairs to be generally done by others under him. He was averse to much meddling with the public, nor had shrewdness enough to govern a kingdom: and both Antipater and Herod came to their greatness by reason of his mildness; and

at last he met with such an end from them as was not agreeable either to justice or piety.

5. Now Herod, as soon as he had put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Cæsar; and because he could not have any hopes of kindness from him, on account of the friendship he had for Antony, he had a suspicion of Alexandra, lest she should take this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt, and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom; so he committed the care of every thing to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother Cypros, and his sister [Salome,] and the whole family, at Massada; and gave him a charge, that if he should hear any sad news about him, he should take care of the government: but as to Mariamne his wife, because of the misunderstanding between her and his sister, and his sister's mother, which made it impossible for them to live together, he placed her at Alexandrium, with Alexandra her mother, and left his treasurer Joseph, and Sohemus of Iturea, to take care of that fortress. These two had been very faithful to him from the beginning, and were now left as a guard to the women. They also had it in charge, that if they should hear any mischief had befallen him, they should kill them both, and, as far as they were able, to preserve the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother Pheroras.

6. When he had given them this charge, he made haste to Rhodes, to meet Cæsar; and when he had sailed to that city, he took off his diadem, but remitted nothing else of his usual dignity: and when, upon his meeting him, he desired that he would let him speak to him, he therein exhibited a much more noble specimen of a great soul; for he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor offered him any petition, as if he were an offender, but after an undaunted manner, gave an account of what he had done; for he spake thus to Cæsar, that "he had the greatest friendship for Antony, and did every thing he could that he might attain the government: that he was not indeed in the army with him, because the Arabians had diverted him, but that he had sent him both money and corn, which was but too little in comparison of what he ought to have done for him; for, if a man owns himself to be another's friend, and knows him to be a benefactor, he is obliged to hazard every thing, to use every faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the wealth he hath, for him; in which I confess I have been too deficient. However, I am conscious to myself, that so far I have done right, that I have not deserted him upon his defeat at Actium: nor upon the evident change of his fortune have I transferred my hopes from him to another, but have preserved myself, though not as a valuable fellow-soldier, yet certainly as a faithful counsellor to Antony, when I demonstrated to him that the only way that he had to save himself, and not to lose all his authority, was to slay Cleopatra; for when she was once dead, there would be room for him to retain his authority, and rather to bring thee to make a composition with him, than to continue at enmity any longer. None of which advices would he attend to, but preferred his own rash resolutions before them; which have happened unprofitably for him, but profitably for thee. Now, therefore, in case thou determinest about me, and my alacrity in serving Antony, according to thy anger at him, I own there is no room for me to deny what I have done, nor will I be ashamed to own, and that publicly too, that I had a great kindness for him; but if thou wilt put him out of the case, and only examine how I behave myself to my benefactors in general, and what sort of friend I am, thou wilt find by experience that we shall do and be the same to thyself; for it is but changing the names; and the firmness of friendship that we shall bear to thee will not be disapproved by thee."

7. By this speech, and by his behaviour, which showed Cæsar the frankness of his mind, he greatly gained upon him, who was himself of a generous and magnificent temper, insomuch that those very actions which were the foundation of the accusation against him, procured him Cæsar's good will. Accordingly he restored him his diadem again; and encouraged him to exhibit himself as great a

friend to himself as he had been to Antony; and then had him in great esteem. Moreover, he added this, that Quintus Didius had written to him, that Herod had very readily assisted him in the affair of the gladiators. So when he had obtained such a kind reception, and had, beyond all his hopes, procured his crown to be more entirely and firmly settled upon him than ever, by Cæsar's donation, as well as by that decree of the Romans, which Cæsar took care to procure for his greater security, he conducted Cæsar on his way to Egypt, and made presents, even beyond his ability, to both him and his friend, and in general behaved himself with great magnanimity. He also desired that Cæsar would not put to death one Alexander, who had been a companion of Antony's; but Cæsar had sworn to put him to death, and so he could not obtain that his petition. And now he returned to Judea again with greater honour and assurance than ever, and affrighted those that had expectations to the contrary, as still acquiring from his very dangers greater splendour than before, by the favour of God to him. So he prepared for the reception of Cæsar, as he was going out of Syria to invade Egypt; and when he came, he entertained him at Ptolemais with all royal magnificence. He also bestowed presents on the army, and brought them provisions in abundance. He also proved to be one of Cæsar's most cordial friends, and put the army in array, and rode along with Cæsar, and had a hundred and fifty men, well appointed in all respects, after a rich and sumptuous manner, for the better reception of him and his friends. He also provided them with what they should want, as they passed over the dry desert, insomuch that they lacked neither wine nor water, which last the soldiers stood in the greatest need of; and besides, he presented Cæsar with eight hundred talents, and procured to himself the good will of them all, because he was assisting them in a much greater and more splendid degree than the kingdom he had obtained could afford; by which means he more and more demonstrated to Cæsar the firmness of his friendship, and his readiness to assist him; and what was of the greatest advantage to him was this, that his liberality came at a seasonable time also. And when they returned again out of Egypt, his assistances were no way inferior to the good offices he had formerly done them.

CHAP. VII.

How Herod slew Sohemus and Mariamne, and afterward Alexandra and Costobarus, and his most intimate Friends, and at last the Sons of Baba also.

§ 1. However, when he came into his kingdom again, he found his house all in disorder, and his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra very uneasy; for, as they supposed, what was easy to be supposed, that they were not put into that fortress [Alexandrium] for the security of their persons, but as into a garrison for their imprisonment, and that they had no power over any thing either of others or of their own affairs, they were very uneasy: and Mariamne, supposing that the king's love to her was but hypocritical, and rather pretended, as advantageous to himself, than real, she looked upon it as fallacious. She also was grieved that he would not allow her any hopes of surviving him, if he should come to any harm himself. She also recollected what commands he had formerly given to Joseph, insomuch that she endeavoured to please her keepers, and especially Sohemus, as well apprized how all was in his power. And at the first Sohemus was faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had given him in charge; but when the women, by kind words and liberal presents, had gained his affections over to them, he was by degrees overcome, and at length discovered to them all the king's injunctions; and this on that account principally, that he did not so much as hope he would come back with the same authority he had before; so that he thought he should both escape any danger

from him, and supposed that he did hereby much gratify the women, who were likely not to be overlooked in the settling of the government; nay, that they would be able to make him abundant recompense, since they must either reign themselves, or be very near to him that should reign. He had a farther ground of hope also, that though Herod should have all the success he could wish for, and should return again, he could not contradict his wife in what she desired, for he knew that the king's fondness for his wife was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Sohemus to discover what injunctions had been given him. So Mariamne was greatly displeased to hear that there was no end to the dangers she was under from Herod, and was greatly uneasy at it, and wished that he might obtain no favours [from Cæsar,] and esteemed it almost an insupportable task to live with him any longer; and this she afterwards openly declared, without concealing her resentment.

2. And now Herod sailed home with joy, at the unexpected good success he had had; and went first of all, as was proper, to this his wife, and told her, and her only, the good news, as preferring her before the rest, on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy there had been between them, and saluted her; but so it happened, that as he told her of the good success he had had, she was so far from rejoicing at it, that she rather was sorry for it; nor was she able to conceal her resentments; but, depending on her dignity, and the nobility of her birth, in return for his salutations she gave a groan, and declared evidently that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success; and this till Herod was disturbed at her, as affording him not only marks of her suspicion, but evident signs of her dissatisfaction. This much troubled him, to see that this surprising hatred of his wife to him was not concealed, but open; and he took this so ill: and yet was so unable to bear it, on account of the fondness he had for her, that he could not continue long in any one mind; but sometimes was angry at her, and sometimes reconciled himself to her: but by always changing one passion for another, he was still in great uncertainty. And thus was he entangled between hatred and love, and was frequently disposed to inflict punishment on her for her insolence towards him: but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he was not able to get quit of this woman. In short, as he would gladly have her punished, so was he afraid lest, ere he was aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring a heavier punishment upon himself at the same time.

3. When Herod's sister and mother perceived that he was in this temper with regard to Mariamne, they thought they had now got an excellent opportunity to exercise their hatred against her, and provoked Herod to wrath by telling him such long stories and calumnies about her, as might at once excite his hatred and his jealousy. Now, though he willingly enough heard their words, yet had not he the courage enough to do any thing to her, as if he believed them; but still he became worse and worse disposed to her; and these ill passions were more and more inflamed on both sides, while she did not hide her disposition towards him, and he turned his love to her into wrath against her. But when he was just going to put this matter past all remedy, he heard the news that Cæsar was the victor in the war, and that Antony and Cleopatra were both dead, and that he had conquered Egypt; whereupon he made haste to go and meet Cæsar, and left the affairs of his family in their present state. However, Mariamne recommended Sohemus to him, as he was setting out on his journey, and professed that she owed him thanks for the care he had taken of her, and asked of the king for him a place in the government; upon which an honourable employment was bestowed upon him accordingly. Now, when Herod was come into Egypt, he was introduced to Cæsar with great freedom, as already a friend of his, and received very great favours from him; for he made him a present of those four hundred Galatians who had been Cleopatra's guards, and restored that country to him again, which by her means had been taken away from him. He also ad-

ded to his kingdom, Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria; and besides those, the maritime cities, Gaza, and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower.

4. Upon these new acquisitions he grew more magnificent, and conducted Cæsar as far as Antioch; but upon his return, as much as his prosperity was augmented by the foreign additions that had been made him, so much the greater were the distresses that came upon him in his own family, and chiefly in the affair of his wife, wherein he formerly appeared to have been most of all fortunate; for the affection he had for Mariamne was no way inferior to the affections of such as are on that account celebrated in history, and this very justly As for her, she was in other respects a chaste woman, and faithful to him; yet had she somewhat of a woman rough by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough, because she saw he was so fond of her as to be enslaved to her. She did not also consider seasonably with herself, that she lived under a monarchy, and that she was at another's disposal, and accordingly would behave herself after a saucy manner to him, which yet he usually put off in a jesting way, and bore with moderation and good temper. She would expose his mother and his sister openly, on account of the meanness of their birth; and would speak unkindly of them, insomuch that there was before this a disagreement and unpardonable hatred among the women; and it was now come to greater reproaches of one another than formerly, which suspicions increased, and lasted a whole year after Herod returned from Cæsar. However, these misfortunes, which had been kept under some decency for a great while, burst out all at once upon such an occasion as now offered; for as the king was one day about noon lain down on his bed to rest him, he called for Mariamne, out of the great affection he had always for her. She came in accordingly, but would not lie down by him: and when he was very desirous of her company, she showed her contempt of him, and added, by way of reproach, that he had caused her father and her brother* to be slain. And when he took this injury very unkindly, and was ready to use violence to her in a precipitate manner, the king's sister Salome observing that he was more than ordinarily disturbed, sent into the king his cupbearer, who had been prepared long beforehand for such a design, and bid him tell the king how Mariamne had persuaded him, to give his assistance in preparing a love potion for him. And if he appear to be greatly concerned, and to ask what that love potion was, to tell him that she had the potion, and that he was desired only to give it him. But that in case he did not appear to be much concerned at this potion, to let the thing drop; and that if he did so, no harm should thereby come to him. When she had given him these instructions, she sent him in at this time to make such a speech. So he went in after a composed manner, to gain credit to what he should say, and yet somewhat hastily, and said, that "Mariamne had given him presents, and persuaded him to give him a love potion." And when this moved the king, he said, that "this love potion was a composition that she had given him whose effects he did not know; which was the reason of his resolving to give him this information, as the safest course he could take, both for himself and for the king." When Herod heard what he said, and was in an ill disposition before, his indignation grew more violent; and he ordered that eunuch of Mariamne's who was most faithful to her, to be brought to torture about this potion, as well knowing it was not possible that any thing small or great could be done without him. And when the man was under the utmost agonies, he could say nothing concerning the thing he was tortured about; but so far he knew, that Mariamne's hatred against him was occasioned by somewhat that Sohemus had said to her. Now as he was saying this, Herod cried out aloud, and

* Whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the murder of her father [Alexander,] as well as her brother [Aristobulus,] while it was her grandfather Hyrcanus, and not her father Alexander whom he caused to be slain, (as Josephus himself informs us, ch. vi. sect. 2.) we must either take Zenora's reading, which is here *grandfather* rightly, or else we must, as before, ch i. sect. 1, allow a slip of Josephus's pen or memory in the place before us.

said, that "Sohemus, who had been at all other times most faithful to him and to his government, would not have betrayed what injunctions he had given him, unless he had had a nearer conversation than ordinary with Mariamne." So he gave order that Sohemus should be seized on and slain immediately; but he allowed his wife to take her trial; and got together those that were most faithful to him, and laid an elaborate accusation against her for this love potion and composition, which had been charged upon her by way of calumny only. However, he kept no temper in what he said, and was in too great a passion for judging well about this matter. Accordingly, when the court was at length satisfied that he was so resolved, they passed the sentence of death upon her; but when the sentence was passed upon her, this temper was suggested by himself, and by some others of the court, that she should not be thus hastily put to death, but be laid in prison in one of the fortresses belonging to the kingdom: but Salome and her party laboured hard to have the woman put to death; and they prevailed with the king to do so; and advised this out of caution, lest the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live; and thus was Mariamne led to execution.

5. When Alexandra observed how things went, and that there were small hopes that she herself should escape the like treatment from Herod, she changed her behaviour to quite the reverse of what might have been expected from her former boldness, and this after a very indecent manner: for out of her desire to show how entirely ignorant she was of the crimes laid against Mariamne, she leaped out of her place, and reproached her daughter in the hearing of all the people, and cried out, that "she had been an ill woman, and ungrateful to her husband, and that her punishment came justly upon her, for such her insolent behaviour; for that she had not made proper returns to him who had been their common benefactor." And when she had for some time acted after this hypocritical manner, and had been so outrageous as to tear her hair, this indecent and dissembling behaviour, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the rest of the spectators, as it was principally by the poor woman who was to suffer; for at the first she gave her not a word, nor was discomposed at her peevishness, and only looked at her; yet did she, out of a greatness of soul, discover her concern for her mother's offence, and especially for her exposing herself in a manner so unbecoming her; but as for herself, she went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing the colour of her face, and thereby evidently discovered the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last moments of her life.

6. And thus died Mariamne; a woman of an excellent character, both for chastity and greatness of soul; but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contention in her nature; yet had she all that can be said in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation: and thence arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him as she might otherwise have done; for while she was most indulgently used by the king, out of his fondness for her, and did not expect that he could do any hard thing to her, she took too unbounded a liberty. Moreover, that which most afflicted her was, what he had done to her relations: and she ventured to speak of all they had suffered by him, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother and sister, till they became enemies to her; and even he himself also did the same, on whom alone she depended for her expectations of escaping the last of punishments.

7. But when she was once dead, the king's affections for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before, whose old passion for her we have already described; for his love to her was not of a calm nature, nor such as we usually meet with among other husbands; for at its commencement it was of an enthusiastic kind, nor was it by their long cohabitation and free conversation together, brought under his power to manage; but at this time his love to Mariamne seemed to seize him in such a peculiar manner as looked like divine ven-

gea ıce upon him for the taking away her life, for he would frequently call for her, and frequently lament for her, in a most indecent manner. Moreover he bethought him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts and assemblies for that purpose, but nothing would suffice; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so far conquered by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Mariamne, as if she were still alive, and could still hear them. And when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential disease, and carried off the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that this distemper was brought upon them by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Mariamne. This circumstance affected the king still more, till at length he forced himself to go into desert places, and there, under pretence of going a hunting, bitterly afflicted himself; yet had he not borne his grief there many days before he fell into a most dangerous distemper himself: he had an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness: and for the remedies that were used, they did him no good at all, but proved contrary to his case, and so at length brought him to despair. All the physicians also that were about him, partly because the medicines they brought for his recovery could not at all conquer the disease, and partly because his diet could be no other than what his disease inclined him to, desired him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of that diet, and committed him to fortune. And thus did his distemper go on while he was at Samaria, now called *Sebaste*.

8. Now Alexandra abode at this time at Jerusalem, and being informed of what condition Herod was in, she endeavoured to get possession of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple; and those that could get them into their hands had the whole nation under their power; for without the command of them it was not possible to offer their sacrifices; and to think of leaving off those sacrifices is to every Jew plainly impossible, who are still more ready to lose their lives than to leave off that divine worship which they have been wont to pay unto God. Alexandra, therefore, discoursed with those that had the keeping of these strong holds, that it was proper for them to deliver the same to her, and to Herod's sons, lest, upon his death, any other person should seize upon the government; and that upon his recovery, none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family. These words were not by them at all taken in good part; and as they had been in former times faithful [to Herod,] they resolved to continue so more than ever, both because they hated Alexandra, and because they thought it a sort of impiety to despair of Herod's recovery while he was yet alive, for they had been his old friends; and one of them, whose name was *Achiabus*, was his cousin-german. They sent messengers therefore to acquaint him with Alexandra's design; so he made no longer delay, but gave orders to have her slain; yet was it still with difficulty, and after he had endured great pain, that he got clear of his distemper. He was still sorely afflicted both in mind and body, and made very uneasy, and readier than ever upon all occasions to inflict punishment upon those that fell under his hand. He also slew the most intimate of his friends, Costobarus, Lysimachus, and Gadias, who was called *Antipater;* as also Dositheus, and that upon the following occasion:—

9. Costobarus was an Idumean by birth, and one of principal dignity among them, and one whose ancestors had been priest to the Koze, whom the Idumeans had [formerly] esteemed as a god; but after Hyrcanus had made a change in their political government, and made them receive the Jewish customs and law, Herod made Costobarus governor of Idumea and Gaza, and gave him his sister Salome to wife; and this was upon the slaughter of [his uncle] Joseph, who had that government before, as we have related already. When Costobarus had gotten to be so highly advanced, it pleased him, and was more than he hoped for

and he was more and more puffed up by his good success, and in a little while he exceeded all bounds, and did not think fit to obey what Herod, as their ruler, commanded him; or that the Idumeans should make use of the Jewish customs, or be subject to them. He therefore sent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumeans had been always under her progenitors, and that for the same reason it was but just that she should desire that country from him of Antony, for that he was ready to transfer his friendship to her; and this he did, not because he was better pleased to be under Cleopatra's government, but because he thought that, upon the diminution of Herod's power, it would not be difficult for him to obtain himself the entire government over the Idumeans, and somewhat more also; for he raised his hopes still higher, as having no small pretences, both by his birth and by these riches which he had gotten by his constant attention to filthy lucre; and accordingly it was not a small matter that he aimed at. So Cleopatra desired this country of Antony, but failed of her purpose. An account of this was brought to Herod, who was thereupon ready to kill Costobarus, yet, upon the entreaties of his sister and mother, he forgave him, and vouchsafed to pardon him entirely, though he still had a suspicion of him afterward for this his attempt.

10. But some time afterward, when Salome happened to quarrel with Costobarus, she* sent him a bill of divorce, and dissolved her marriage with him, though this was not according to the Jewish laws; for with us it is lawful for a husband to do so, but a wife, if she departs from her husband, cannot of herself be married to another, unless her former husband put her away. However, Salome chose to follow not the law of her country, but the law of her authority, and so renounced her wedlock; and told her brother Herod, that she left her husband out of her good will to him, because she perceived that he, with Antipater, and Lysimachus, and Dositheus, were raising a sedition against him; as an evidence whereof, she alleged the case of the sons of Babas, that they had been by him preserved alive already for the interval of twelve years; which proved to be true. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of it, he was greatly surprised at it, and was the more surprised, because the relation appeared incredible to him. As for the fact relating to the sons of Babas, Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring them to punishment, as being enemies to his government, but they were now forgotten by him on account of the length of time [since he had ordered them to be slain.] Now, the cause of his ill will and hatred to them arose hence: that while Antigonus was king, Herod, with his army, besieged the city of Jerusalem, where the distress and miseries which the besieged endured were so pressing, that the greater number of them invited Herod into the city, and already placed their hopes on him. Now, the sons of Babas were of great dignity, and had power among the multitude, and were faithful to Antigonus, and were always raising calumnies against Herod, and encouraged the people to preserve the government to that royal family which held it by inheritance. So these men acted thus politically, and, as they thought, for their own advantage; but when the city was taken, and Herod had gotten the government into his hands, and Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from

* Here is a plain example of a Jewish lady giving a bill of divorce to her husband, though in the days of Josephus it was not by the Jews esteemed lawful for a woman to do. See the like among the Parthians, Antiq. B. xviii. chap. ix. sect. 6. However, the Christian law, when it allowed divorce for adultery, Mat. v. 32, allowed the innocent wife to divorce her guilty husband, as well as the innocent husband to divorce his guilty wife, as we learn from the shepherd of Hermas, Mand. B. iv. and from the second apology of Justin Martyr, where a persecution was brought upon the Christians upon such a divorce; and I think the Roman laws permitted it at that time, as well as the laws of Christianity. Now this Babas, who was one of the race of the Asamoneans or Maccabees, as the latter end of this section informs us, is related by the Jews, as Dr. Hudson here remarks, to have been so eminently religious in the Jewish way, that, except the day following the tenth of Tisri, the great day of atonement, when he seems to have supposed all his sins entirely forgiven, he used every day of the whole year to offer a sacrifice for his sins of ignorance, or such as he supposed he had been guilty of, but did not distinctly remember. See somewhat like it of Agrippa the Great, Antiq. B. xix. ch. iii. sect. 3; and Job, i. 4, 5.

passing out at the gates, and to guard the city that those citizens that were guilty, and were of the party opposite to the king might not get out of it; Costobarus being sensible that the sons of Babas were had in respect and honour by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in the changes of government afterward, he set them by themselves, and concealed them in his own farms, and when the thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath, that he really knew nothing of that matter, and so overcame the suspicions that lay upon him; nay, after that, when the king had publicly proposed a reward for the discovery, and had put in practice all sorts of methods for searching out this matter, he would not confess it; but being persuaded that when he had at first denied it, if the men were found, he should not escape unpunished, he was forced to keep them secret, not only out of his good will to them, but out of a necessary regard to his own preservation also. But when the king knew the thing, by his sister's information, he sent men to the places where he had the intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them, and those that were accused as guilty with them, to be slain: insomuch that there were now none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's own power; and there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

CHAP. VIII.

How Ten Men of the Citizens of [Jerusalem] made a Conspiracy against Herod, for the foreign Practices he had introduced, which was a Transgression of the Laws of their Country. Concerning the Building of Sebaste and Cesarea, and other Edifices of Herod.

§ 1. On this account it was that Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient constitution by the introduction of foreign practices which constitution yet ought to have been preserved inviolable; by which means we became guilty of great wickedness afterward; while those religious observances, which used to lead the multitude to piety, were now neglected; for, in the first place, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Cæsar, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheatre in the plain. Both of them were indeed costly works, but opposite to the Jewish customs; for we have had no such shows delivered down to us as fit to be used and exhibited by us; yet did he celebrate these games every five years, in the most solemn and splendid manner. He also made proclamation to the neighbouring countries, and called men together out of every nation. The wrestlers also, and the rest of those that strove for the prizes in such games, were invited out of every land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, and by the glory of victory to be there gained. So the principal persons that were the most eminent in these sorts of exercises were gotten together; for there were very great rewards for victory proposed, not only to those that performed their exercises naked, but to those that played as musicians also, and were called *Thymelici*; and he spared no pains to induce all persons, the most famous for such exercises, to come to this contest for victory. He also proposed no small rewards to those who ran for the prizes in chariot races, when they were drawn by two, or three, or four pair of horses. He also imitated every thing, though never so costly or magnificent, in other nations, out of an ambition that he might give most public demonstration of his grandeur. Inscriptions also of the great actions of Cæsar, and trophies of those nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the purest gold and silver, encompassed the theatre itself. Nor was there any thing that could be subservient to his design, whether it were precious garments,

or precious stones set in order, which was not also exposed to sight in these games. He had also made a great preparation of wild beasts, and of lions themselves in great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were rarely seen. These were prepared either to fight with one another, or that men who were condemned to death were to fight with them. And truly foreigners were greatly surprised and delighted at the vastness of the expenses here exhibited, and at the great dangers that were here seen; but to natural Jews* this was no better than a dissolution of those customs for which they had so great a veneration. It appeared also no better than an instance of barefaced impiety, to throw men to wild beasts, for the affording delight to the spectators; and it appeared an instance of no less impiety, to change their own laws for such foreign exercises: but, above all the rest, the trophies gave most distaste to the Jews; for as they imagined them to be images, included within the armour that hung round about them, they were sorely displeased at them, because it was not the custom of their country to pay honours to such images.

2. Nor was Herod unacquainted with the disturbance they were under; and as he thought it unseasonable to use violence with them, so he spake to some of them by way of consolation, and in order to free them from that superstitious fear they were under; yet could not he satisfy them, but they cried out, with one accord, out of their great uneasiness at the offences they thought he had been guilty of, that although they should think of bearing all the rest, yet would they never bear images of men in their city, meaning the trophies; because this was disagreeable to the laws of their country. Now when Herod saw them in such a disorder, and that they would not easily change their resolution unless they received satisfaction in this point, he called to him the most eminent men among them, and brought them upon the theatre, and showed them the trophies, and asked them, what sort of things they took these trophies to be? and when they cried out, that they were the images of men, he gave order that they should be stripped of these outward ornaments which were about them, and showed them the naked pieces of wood; which pieces of wood, now without any ornament, became matter of great sport and laughter to them because they had before always had the ornaments of images themselves in derision.

3. When therefore Herod had thus got clear of the multitude, and had dissipated the vehemency of passion under which they had been, the greatest part of the people were disposed to change their conduct, and not to be displeased at him any longer; but still some of them continued in their displeasure against him, for his introduction of new customs; and esteemed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin of very great mischiefs to them, so that they deemed it an instance of piety rather to hazard themselves [to be put to death,] than to seem as if they took no notice of Herod; who, upon the change he had made in their government, introduced such customs, and that in a violent manner, which they had never been used to before: as indeed in pretence a king, but in reality one that showed himself an enemy to their whole nation; on which account ten men that were citizens [of Jerusalem] conspired together against him, and sware to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt; and took daggers with them under their garments [for the purpose of killing Herod.] Now there was a certain blind man among those conspirators who had thus sworn to one another, on account of the indignation he had against what he heard to have been done; he was not indeed able to afford the rest any assistance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, if so be they should come to

* These grand plays, and shows, and *Thymelici* or music meetings, and chariot races, when the chariots were drawn by two, three, or four pair of horses, &c. instituted by Herod in his theatres, were still, as we see here, looked on by the sober Jews as heathenish sports, and tending to corrupt the manners of the Jewish nation, and to bring them into love with Paganish idolatry, and Paganish conduct of life, but to the dissolution of the law of Moses; and accordingly were greatly and justly condemned by them, as appears here and every where else in Josephus. Nor is the case of our modern masquerades, plays, operas, and the like pomps and vanities of this wicked world, of any better tendency under Christianity.

any harm; insomuch, that he became a very great encourager of the rest of the undertakers.

4. When they had taken this resolution, and that by common consent, they went into the theatre, hoping that, in the first place, Herod himself could not escape them, as they should fall upon him so unexpectedly; and supposing, however, that if they missed him, they should kill a great many of those that were about him; and this resolution they took though they should die for it, in order to suggest to the king what injuries he had done to the multitude. These conspirators, therefore, standing thus prepared beforehand, went about their design with great alacrity; but there was one of those spies of Herod's that were appointed for such purposes, to fish out and inform him of any conspiracies that should be made against him; who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to go into the theatre. So when he reflected on the hatred which he knew the greatest part of the people bore him, and on the disturbances that arose upon every occasion, he thought this plot against him not to be improbable. Accordingly he retired into his palace, and called those that were accused of this conspiracy before him by their several names; and as upon the guards falling upon them, they were caught in the very fact, and knew they could not escape, they prepared themselves for their ends with all the decency they could, and so as not at all to recede from their resolute behaviour; for they showed no shame for what they were about, nor denied it; but when they were seized, they showed their daggers, and professed, that "the conspiracy they had sworn to was a holy and pious action; that what they intended to do was not for gain, or out of any indulgence to their passions, but principally for those common customs of their country which all the Jews were obliged to observe, or to die for them." This was what these men said, out of their undaunted courage in this conspiracy. So they were led away to execution by the king's guards that stood about them, and patiently underwent all the torments inflicted on them till they died. Nor was it long before that spy who had discovered them was seized on by some of the people, out of the hatred they bore to him, and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces limb from limb, and given to the dogs. This execution was seen by many of the citizens; yet would not one of them discover the doers of it; till upon Herod's making a strict scrutiny after them, by bitter and severe tortures, certain women that were tortured confessed what they had seen done; the authors of which fact were so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed, for this their rash attempt; yet did not the obstinacy of the people, and that undaunted constancy they showed in the defence of their laws, make Herod any easier to them; but he still strengthened himself after a more secure manner, and resolved to encompass the multitude every way, lest such innovations should end in an open rebellion.

5. Since, therefore, he had now the city fortified by the palace in which he lived, and by the temple, which had a strong fortress by it, called Antonia, and was rebuilt by himself; he contrived to make Samaria a fortress for himself also against all the people, and called it Sebaste; supposing that this place would be a strong hold against the country, not inferior to the former. So he fortified that place, which was a day's journey distant from Jerusalem, and which would be useful to him in common, to keep both the country and the city in awe. He also built another fortress for the whole nation; it was of old called Strato's Tower, but was by him named Cesarea. Moreover, he chose out some select horsemen, and placed them in the great plain; and built [for them] a place in Galilee called Gaba, with Hesebonitis, in Perea. And these were the places which he particularly built, while he always was inventing somewhat farther for his own security, and encompassing the whole nation with guards, that they might by no means get from under his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did continually upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions he might know of it, while some of his spies might be upon them from the neighbourhood, and might

both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he went about building the wall of Samaria, he contrived to bring thither many of those that had been assisting to him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighbourhood also, whom he made fellow-citizens with the rest. This he did out of an ambitious desire of building a temple, and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before, but principally because he contrived that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a happy condition, upon their first coming to inhabit. Besides all which he encompassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the acclivity of the place for making its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities; for it was twenty furlongs in circumference. Now within, and about the middle of it, he built a sacred place, of a furlong and a half [in circuit,] and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also; and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the greatest part a citadel; and as to the elegance of the buildings, it was taken care of also, that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence to future ages.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Famine that happened in Judea and Syria; and how Herod, after he had married another Wife, rebuilt Cesarea, and other Grecian Cities.

§ 1. Now on this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country; whether they were derived from the anger of God, or whether this misery return again naturally in certain periods of time:* for, in the first place, there were perpetual droughts, and for that reason the ground was barren, and did not bring forth the same quantity of fruits that it used to produce; and after this barrenness of the soil, the change of food which the want of corn occasioned produced distempers in the bodies of men, and a pestilential disease prevailed, one misery following upon the back of another; and these circumstances, that they were destitute both of methods of cure and of food, made the pestilential distemper, which began after a violent manner, the more lasting. The destruction of men also after such a manner deprived those that survived of all their courage, because they had no way to provide remedies sufficient for the distresses they were in. When, therefore, the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatsoever they had laid up beforehand was spent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining, but the misery contrary to what they expected still increased upon them; and this not only on that year, while they had nothing for themselves left [at the end of it,] but what seed they had sown perished also, by reason of the ground not yielding its fruits on the second year.† This distress they were in made them also out of necessity to eat many things

* Here we have an eminent example of the language of Josephus in his writing to Gentiles, different from that when he wrote to Jews; in his writing to whom he still derives all such judgments from the anger of God; but because he knew many of the Gentiles thought they might naturally come in certain periods, he complies with them in the following sentence. See the note on the War, B. i. ch. xxxiii. sect. 2.

† This famine for two years that affected Judea and Syria, the 13th and 14th years of Herod, which are the 23d and 24th years before the Christian era, seems to have been more terrible during this time than was that in the days of Jacob, Gen. xli. xlii. And what makes the comparison the more remarkable is

that did not use to be eaten; nor was the king himself free from this distress any more than other men, as being deprived of that tribute he used to have from the fruits of the ground, and having already expended what money he had in his liberality to those whose cities he had built; nor had he any people that were worthy of his assistance, since this miserable state of things had procured him the hatred of his subjects: for it is a constant rule, that misfortunes are still laid to the account of those that govern.

2. In these circumstances, he considered with himself how to procure some seasonable help: but this was a hard thing to be done, while their neighbours had no food to sell them, and their money also was gone, had it been possible to purchase a little food at a great price. However, he thought it his best way, by all means, not to leave off his endeavours to assist his people; so he cut off the rich furniture that was in his palace, both of silver and gold, insomuch that he did not spare the finest vessels he had, or those that were made with the most elaborate skill of the artificers, but sent the money to Petronius, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Cæsar: and as not a few had already fled to him under their necessities, and as he was particularly a friend to Herod, and desirous to have his subjects preserved, he gave leave to them, in the first place, to export corn, and assisted them every way, both in purchasing and exporting the same; so that he was the principal and not the only person who afforded them what help they had. And Herod, taking care the people should understand that this help came from himself, did thereby not only receive from him the ill opinion of those that formerly hated him, but gave them the greatest demonstration possible of his good will to them, and care of them: for, in the first place, as for those who were able to provide their own food, he distributed to them their proportion of corn in the exactest manner; but for those many that were not able, either by reason of their old age or any other infirmity, to provide food for themselves, he made this provision for them that the bakers should make their bread ready for them. He also took care that they might not be hurt by the dangers of winter, since they were in great want of clothing also, by reason of the utter destruction and consumption of their sheep and goats, till they had no wool to make use of, nor any thing else to cover themselves withal. And when he had procured these things for his own subjects, he went farther, in order to provide necessaries for their neighbours, and gave seed to the Syrians, which thing turned greatly to his own advantage also; this charitable assistance being afforded most seasonably to their fruitful soil, so that every one had now a plentiful provision of food. Upon the whole, when the harvest of the land was approaching, he sent no fewer than fifty thousand men whom he had sustained into the country; by which means he both repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom with great generosity and diligence, and lightened the afflictions of his neighbours, who were under the same calamities; for there was nobody who had been in want that was left destitute of a suitable assistance by him: nay, farther, there were neither any people, nor any cities, nor any private men, who were to make provision for the multitudes, and on that account were in want of support, and had recourse to him, but received what they stood in need of, insomuch that it appeared upon a computation that the number of cori of wheat, of ten attick medimni apiece, that were given to foreigners, amounted to ten thousand; and the number that was given in his own kingdom was about fourscore thousand. Now it happened that this care of his, and this seasonable benefaction, had such influence on the Jews, and was so cried up among other nations, as to wipe off that old hatred which his violation of some of their customs, during his reign, had procured him among all the nation; and that this liberality of his as-

this, that now as well as then, the relief they had was from Egypt also; then from Joseph the governor of Egypt, under Pharaoh king of Egypt, and now from Petronius the prefect of Egypt, under Augustus the Roman emperor. See almost the like case, Antiq. B. xx. ch. ii. sect. 6. It is also well worth our observation here, that these two years were a Sabbatic year, and a year of jubilee, for which Providence, during the theocracy, used to provide a triple crop beforehand, but became now, when the Jews had forfeited that blessing, the greatest years of famine to them ever since the days of Ahab, 1 Kings, xvii. xviii.

sistance, in this their greatest necessity, was full satisfaction for all that he had done of that nature, as it also procured him great fame among foreigners; and it looked as if these calamities, that afflicted his land to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raise his glory, and to be to his great advantage; for the greatness of his liberality in these distresses, which he now demonstrated beyond all expectation, did so change the disposition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such a one as they had found him to be by experience, but such a one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities proved him now to be.

3. About this time it was that he sent five hundred chosen men out of the guards of his body as auxiliaries to Cæsar, whom Ælius Gallus* led to the Red Sea, and who were of great service to him there. When, therefore, his affairs were thus improved, and were again in a flourishing condition, he built himself a palace in the upper city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble seats and beds; and these were so large that they could contain very many companies of men. These apartments were also of distinct magnitudes, and had particular names given them; for one apartment was called Cæsar's, another Agrippa's. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased. The occasion of this his marriage was as follows:—there was one *Simon*, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of one Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there; this man had a daughter who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time; and when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in her commendation, it happened that Herod was much affected with what was said of her; and when he saw the damsel, he was smitten with her beauty, yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her, as believing what was the truth, that by so doing he should be stigmatised for violence and tyranny; so he thought it best to take the damsel to wife. And while Simon was of a dignity too inferior to be allied to him, but still too considerable to be despised, he governed his inclinations after the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of the family, and making them more honourable; so he immediately deprived Jesus the son of Phabet of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and so joined in affinity with him [by marrying of his daughter.]

4. When this wedding was over, he built another citadel in that place where he had conquered the Jews when he was driven out of his government, and Antigonus enjoyed it. This citadel is distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. It was strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a farther height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a straight ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and for beauty. About the bottom there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts and also on account of the water which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vast expenses; for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices, not inferior to any city in largeness, and having the hill above it in the nature of a castle.

5. And now, when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes he had not the least suspicion that any troubles could arise in his kingdom, because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, for he was implacable in the infliction of his punishments, as by the provident care he had showed towards them, after the most magnanimous manner, when they were

* This Ælius Gallus seems to be no other than that Ælius Largus whom Dio speaks of as conducting an expedition that was about this time made into Arabia Felix, according to Petavius, who is here cited by Spanheim. See a full account of this expedition in Prideaux, at the years 21 and 23.

under their distresses. But still he took care to have external security for his government, as a fortress against his subjects; for the orations he made to the cities were very fine, and full of kindness: and he cultivated a seasonable good understanding with their governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them, inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent disposition, so as his kingdom might be the better secured to him; and this till all his affairs were every way more and more augmented. But then, this magnificent temper of his, and that submissive behaviour and liberality which he exercised towards Cæsar and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to trangress the customs of his nation, and to set aside many of their laws; and by building cities after an extravagant manner, and erecting temples;* not in Judea indeed, for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden for us to pay any honour to images, or representations of animals, after the manner of the Greeks, but still he did thus in the country [properly] out of our bounds, and in the cities thereof. The apology which he made to the Jews for these things was this: that all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of others, in order to please Cæsar and the Romans, as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye as he had the honour of those Romans, while yet he had himself entirely in view all the while, and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity; whence it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and spent such vast sums of money upon them.

6. Now upon his observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about getting a plan for a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great diligence all over it; and this of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces, and large edifices for containing the people; and, what was the greatest and most laborious work of all, he adorned it with a haven, that was always free from the waves of the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyræum [at Athens,] and had towards the city a double station for the ships. It was of excellent workmanship; and this was the more remarkable for its being built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was to be brought to perfection by materials from other places, and at very great expenses. This city is situate in Phœnicia, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them; which, rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station; but the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself. So Herod endeavoured to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out such a compass towards the land as might be sufficient for a haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety; and this he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathoms deep; and as some were lesser, so were others bigger than those dimen-

* One may here take notice, that how tyrannical and extravagant soever Herod were in himself, and in his Grecian cities, as to those plays, and shows, and temples for idolatry, mentioned above, ch. viii. sect. 1, and here also, yet durst even he introduce very few of them into the cities of the Jews, who, as Josephus here notes, would not even then have borne them, so zealous were they still for many of the laws of Moses, even under so tyrannical a government as this was of Herod the Great; which tyrannical government puts me naturally in mind of Dean Prideaux's honest reflection upon the like ambition, and such tyrannical power in Pompey and Cæsar: "One of these," says he, at the year 60, "could not bear an equal, nor the other a superior; and through this ambitious humour, and thirst after more power in these two men, the whole Roman empire being divided into two opposite factions, there was produced hereby the most destructive war that ever afflicted it; and the like folly too much reigns in all other places. Could about thirty men be persuaded to live at home in peace, without enterprising upon the rights of each other, for the vain glory of conquest, and the enlargement of power, the whole world might live quiet; but their ambition, their follies, and their humour, leading them constantly to encroach upon and quarrel with each other, they involve all that are under them in the mischiefs thereof; and many thousands are they which yearly perish by it; so that it may almost raise a doubt, whether the benefit which the world receives from government be sufficient to make amends for the calamities which it suffers from the follies, mistakes, and maladministrations of those that manage it."

sions. This mole which he built by the sea side was two hundred feet wide: the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was called Procymatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers, the largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the son-in-law of Cæsar, who died young. There were also a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt. There was also before them a quay [or landing-place,] which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind to that exercise; but the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter, on which side was the stillest of the winds of all in this place. And the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you enter the port, supported a round turret, which was made very strong, in order to resist the greatest waves; while on the right hand, as you enter, stood two vast stones, and those each of them larger than the turret which was over against them; these stood upright, and were joined together. Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the politest stone, with a certain elevation, whereupon was erected a temple that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for that haven, and had in it two statues, the one of Rome, the other of Cæsar; as the city itself was called Cesarea: which was also itself built of fine materials, and was one of a fine structure; nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had no less of architecture bestowed on them than had the building above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at even distances to the haven and to the sea, but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the rest together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with ease; and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city, and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theatre of stone; and on the south quarter, behind the port, an amphitheatre also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. So this city was thus finished in twelve years:* during which time the king did not fail both to go on with the work, and to pay the charges that were necessary.

CHAP. X.

How Herod sent his Sons to Rome; how also he was accused by Zenodorus and the Gadarens, but was cleared of what they accused him of, and withal gained to himself the good will of Cæsar. Concerning the Pharisees, the Essenes, and Manahem.

§ 1. When Herod was engaged in such matters, and when he had already re-edified Sebaste [Samaria,] he resolved to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to enjoy the company of Cæsar; who, when they came thither, lodged at the house of Pollio,† who was very fond of Herod's friendship: and they had leave to lodge in Cæsar's own palace; for he received these sons of Herod with all humanity, and gave Herod leave to give his kingdom to which of his sons he pleased; and besides all this, he bestowed on him Trachon, and Batanea, and Auranitis, which he gave him on the occasion following:—One Zenodorus‡ had hired what was called the house of Lysanias, who, as he was not sa-

* Cesarea being here said to be rebuilt and adorned in twelve years, and soon afterwards, in ten years, Antiq. B. xvi. ch. v. sect. 1, there must be a mistake in one of the places as to the true number, but in which of them it is hard positively to determine.

† This Pollio, with whom Herod's sons lived at Rome, was not Pollio the Pharisee, already mentioned by Josephus, ch. i. sect. 1, and again presently after this, ch. x. sect. 4, but Ausinius Pollio the Roman, as Spanheim here observes.

‡ The character of this Zenodorus is so like that of a famous robber of the same name in Strabo, and that about this very country, and about this very time also, that I think Dr. Hudson hardly needed to have put a *perhaps* to his determination that they were the same.

tisfied with its revenues, became a partner with the robbers that inhabited the Trachonites, and so procured himself a larger income; for the inhabitants of those places lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes while Zenodorus did not restrain them, but partook of the prey they acquired Now, as the neighbouring people were hereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president [of Syria,] and entreated him to write to Cæsar about this injustice of Zenodorus. When these matters were laid before Cæsar, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod; that so by his care the neighbouring countries might be no longer disturbed with these doings of the Trachonites; for it was not an easy thing to restrain them, since this way of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living; because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession, but only some receptacles and dens in the earth: and there they and their cattle lived in common together. However, they had made contrivances to get pools of water, and laid up corn in granaries for themselves, and were able to make great resistance, by issuing out on the sudden against any that attacked them; for the entrances of their caves were narrow, in which but one could come in at a time, and the places within incredibly large, and made very wide; but the ground over their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain, while the rocks are altogether hard and difficult to be entered upon, unless any one gets into the plain road by the guidance of another; for these roads are not straight, but have several revolutions. But when these men are hindered from their wicked preying upon their neighbours, their custom is to prey upon one another, insomuch that no sort of injustice comes amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant from Cæsar, and was come into this country, he procured skilful guides, and put a stop to their wicked robberies, and procured peace and quietness to the neighbouring people.

2. Hereupon Zenodorus was grieved, in the first place, because his principality was taken away from him, and still more so, because he envied Herod, who had gotten it; so he went up to Rome to accuse him, but returned back again without success. Now Agrippa was [about this time] sent to succeed Cæsar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian sea; upon whom Herod lighted when he was wintering about Mitylene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned into Judea again. However, some of the Gadarens came to Agrippa, and accused Herod, whom he sent back bound to the king, without giving them the hearing. But still the Arabians, who of old bare ill will to Herod's government, were nettled, and at that time attempted to raise a sedition in his dominions, and, as they thought, upon a more justifiable occasion; for Zenodorus, despairing already of success as to his own affairs, prevented [his enemies] by selling to those Arabians a part of his principality, called Auranitis, for the value of fifty talents, but as this was included in the donations of Cæsar, they contested the point with Herod, as unjustly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon him, and sometimes by attempting force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were troublesome to him, out of a constant hope that they should reduce the people to raise a sedition: in which designs those that are in the most miserable circumstances of life are still the most earnest: and although Herod had been a great while apprized of these attempts, yet did not he indulge any severity to them, but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things, as not willing to give any handle for tumults.

3. Now when Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Cæsar came into Syria; at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Gadara clamoured against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical. These reproaches they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement of Zenodorus, who took his oath that he would never leave Herod till he had procured that they should be severed from Herod's kingdom and joined to Cæsar's province. The

Gadarens were induced hereby, and made no small cry against him; and that the more boldly, because those that had been delivered up by Agrippa were not punished by Herod; who let them go, and did them no harm; for indeed he was the principal man in the world who appeared almost inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting the offences that were committed elsewhere. And while they accused Herod of injuries and plunderings, and subversions of temples, he stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defence. However, Cæsar gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this disturbance by the multitude; and indeed these things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no farther; for as the Gadarens saw the inclination of Cæsar and of his assessors, and expected, as they had reason to do, that they should be delivered up to the king, some of them, out of a dread of the torments they might undergo, cut their own throats in the night time, and some of them threw themselves down precipices, and others of them cast themselves into the river, and destroyed themselves of their own accord: which accidents seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and crimes they had been guilty of; whereupon Cæsar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod from the crimes he was accused of. Another happy accident there was, which was a farther great advantage to Herod at this time; for Zenodorus's belly burst, and a great quantity of blood issued from him in his sickness, and he thereby departed this life at Antioch in Syria; so Cæsar bestowed his country, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulutha, and Paneas, and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do every thing with his approbation, and, in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire; first Cæsar, and then Agrippa, who was his principal favourite; Cæsar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa: and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod, beside Cæsar. And when he had acquired such freedom, he begged of Cæsar a tetrarchy* for his brother Pheroras, while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in case he came to any harm himself, his brother might be in safety, and that his sons might not have dominion over him. So when he had conducted Cæsar to the sea, and was returned home, he built him a most beautiful temple, of the whitest stone, in Zenodorus's country, near the place called Panium. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth; and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and full of still water; over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the caverns arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still farther, by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Cæsar.

4. At which time Herod released to his subjects the third part of their taxes, under pretence indeed of relieving them, after the dearth they had had; but the main reason was, to recover their good will, which he now wanted; for they were uneasy at him, because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices, of the dissolution of their religion, and of the disuse of their own customs: and the people every where talked against him, like those that were still more provoked and disturbed at his procedure. Against which discontents he greatly guarded himself, and took away the opportunities they might have to disturb him, and enjoined them to be always at work; nor did he permit the citizens either to meet together, or to walk, or eat together, but watched every thing they did; and when any were caught, they were severely punished: and many there were who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania, both openly and secretly, and were there put to

* A *tetrarchy* properly and originally denoted the fourth part of an entire kingdom or country, and a *tetrarch* one that was ruler of such a fourth part, which always implies somewhat less extent of dominion and power than belong to a kingdom and to a king.

death; and there were spies set every where, both in the city and in the roads, who watched those that met togteher: nay, it is reported, that he did not himself neglect this part of caution, but that he would oftentimes himself take the habit of a private man, and mix among the multitude, in the night time, and make trial what opinion they had of his government: and as for those that could no way be reduced to acquiesce under his scheme of government, he prosecuted them all manner of ways; but for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good will, and continue certainly so to do in his management of the government; and indeed a great part of them, either to please him or out of fear of him, yielded to what he required of them; but for such as were of a more open and generous disposition, and had indignation at the force he used to them, he by one means or other made away with them. He endeavoured also to persuade Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, and the greatest part of their scholars, to take the oath; but these would neither submit so to do, nor were they punished together with the rest, out of the reverence he bore to Pollio. The Essenes also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this imposition. These men live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call *Pythagoreans*, concerning whom I shall discourse more fully elsewhere. However, it is but fit to set down here the reasons wherefore Herod had these Essenes in such honour, and thought higher of them than their mortal nature required; nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history, as it will show the opinion men had of these Essenes.

5. Now there was one of these Essenes, whose name was Manahem, who had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life after an excellent manner, but had the foreknowledge of future events given him by God also. This man once saw Herod when he was a child, and going to school, and saluted him as king of the Jews; but he thinking that either he did not know him, or that he was in jest put him in mind that he was but a private man; but Manahem smiled to himself, and clapped him on his backside with his hand, and said, "However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily; for God finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows that Manahem hath given thee, as being a signal of the change of thy fortune. And truly this will be the best reasoning for thee, that thou love justice [towards men,] and piety towards God, and clemency towards thy citizens; yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such a one; for thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting reputation, but will forget piety and righteousness; and these crimes will not be concealed from God, at the conclusion of thy life, when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, and punish thee for them." Now at that time Herod did not at all attend to what Manahem said, as having no hopes of such advancement; but a little afterward, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him how long he should reign? Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign; wherefore upon that silence of his, he asked him farther whether he should reign ten years, or not? he replied, "Yea, twenty, nay, thirty years," but did not assign the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was satisfied with these replies, and gave Manahem his hand and dismissed him; and from that time he continued to honour all the Essenes. We have thought it proper to relate these facts to our readers, how strange soever they be, and to declare what hath happened among us, because many of these Essenes have by their excellent virtue, been thought worthy of this knowledge of divine revelations.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod rebuilt the Temple, and raised it higher, and made it more magnificent than it was before; as also concerning that Tower which he called Antonia.

§ 1. And now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very great work, that is, to build of himself the temple of God,* and to make it larger in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection, and that this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him; but as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him in so vast a design, he thought to prepare them first by making a speech to them, and then to set about the work itself; so he called them together, and spake thus to them: "I think I need not speak to you, my countrymen, about such other works as I have done since I came to the kingdom, although I may say they have been performed in such a manner as to bring more security to you than glory to myself; for I have neither been negligent in the most difficult times about what tended to ease your necessities, nor have the buildings I have made been so proper to preserve me as yourselves from injuries; and I imagine that, with God's assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of happiness which they never had before; and for the particular edifices belonging to your own country and to your own cities, as also to those cities that we have lately acquired, which we have erected, and greatly adorned, and thereby augmented the dignity of your nation, it seems to me a needless task to enumerate them to you, since you well know them yourselves; but as to that undertaking which I have a mind to set about at present, and which will be a work of the greatest piety and excellence that can possibly be undertaken by us, I will now declare it to you. Our fathers, indeed, when they were returned from Babylon, built this temple to God Almighty; yet does it want sixty cubits of its largeness in altitude: for so much did that first temple which Solomon built exceed this temple: nor let any one condemn our fathers for their negligence or want of piety therein, for it was not their fault that the temple was no higher; for they were Cyrus and Darius the son of Hystaspes, who determined the measure for its rebuilding; and it hath been by reason of the subjection of those fathers of ours to them and to their posterity, and after them to the Macedonians, that they had not the opportunity to follow the original model of this pious edifice, nor could raise it to its ancient altitude; but since I am now by God's will your governor, and I have had peace a long time, and have gained great riches and large revenues, and what is the principal thing of all, I am in amity with and well regarded by the Romans, who, if I may so say, are the rulers of the whole world, I will do my endeavour to correct that imperfection, which hath arisen from the necessity of our affairs, and the slavery we have been under formerly; and to make a thankful return, after the most pious manner, to God, for what blessings I have received from him, by giving me this kingdom, and that by rendering his temple as complete as I am able."

2. And this was the speech which Herod made to them; but still this speech

* We may here observe, that the fancy of the modern Jews, in calling this temple, which was really the *third* of their temples, the *second* temple, followed so long by later Christians, seems to be without any solid foundation. The reason why the Christians here follow the Jews is, because the prophecy of Haggai, ii, 6—9, which they expound of the Messiah's coming to the second of Zorobabel's temple, of which they suppose this of Herod's to be only a continuation, which is meant, I think, of his coming to the *fourth* and *last* temple, or to that future largest and most glorious one described by Ezekiel. Whence I take the former notion, how general soever, to be a great mistake. See Lit. Accomp. of Proph. p. 24

affrighted many of the people, as being unexpected by them, and because it seemed incredible, it did not encourage them, but put a damp upon them: for they were afraid that he would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to bring his intentions to perfection for its rebuilding; and this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the vastness of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished. But while they were in this disposition the king encouraged them and told them, "He would not pull down their temple till all things were gotten ready for building it up entirely again." And as he promised them this beforehand, so he did not break his word with them; but got ready a thousand wagons, that were to bring stones for the building, and chose out ten thousand of the most skilful workmen, and bought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught the arts of stonecutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build: but this not till every thing was well prepared for the work.

3. So Herod took away the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, being in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which [twenty] upon the sinking of their foundations* fell down; and this part it was that we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole structure, as was also the structure of the royal cloister, was on each side much lower; but the middle was much higher, till they were visible to those that dwelt in the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived over against them, and those that approached to them. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height with the temple itself. They were adorned with embroidered vails, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven; and over these, but under the crown work, was spread out a golden vine, with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators, to see what vast materials there were, and with what great skill the workmanship was done. He also encompassed the entire temple with very large cloisters, contriving them to be in a due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him, till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by divine revelation encompassed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanship upwards, and round the top of it. He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley; and at the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them one to another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height, and till both the largeness of the square edifice and its altitude were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inward parts were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immoveable for all future

* Some of our modern students in architecture have made a strange blunder here, when they imagine that Josephus affirms the entire foundations of the temple or holy house sunk down into the rocky mountain on which it stood, no less than twenty cubits, whereas he is clear that they were the foundations of the *additional* twenty cubits only above the hundred (made perhaps weak on purpose, and only for show and grandeur,) that sunk or fell down, as Dr. Hudson rightly understands him. Nor is the thing itself possible in the other sense. Agrippa's preparation for building the inner parts of the temple twenty cubits higher (History of the War, B. v. ch. i. sect. 5) must, in all probability, refer to this matter, since Josephus says here, that this which had fallen down was designed to be raised up again under Nero, under whom Agrippa made that preparation. But what Josephus says presently, that Solomon was the first king of the Jews, appears by the parallel place, Antiq. B. xx. ch. ix. sect. 7, and other places, to be meant only the first of David's posterity, and the first builder of the temple.

times. When this work [for the foundation] was done in this manner, and joined together as part of the hill itself to the very top of it, he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, [the distance of] each angle containing in length a furlong; but within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having on the east quarter a double cloister, of the same length with the wall: in the midst of which was the temple itself. This cloister looked to the gates of the temple; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times: and round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations; all these had been dedicated to the temple by Herod, with the addition of those he had taken from the Arabians.

4. Now on the north side [of the temple] was built a citadel, whose walls were square, and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asamonean race, who were also high priests before Herod, and they called it the Tower; in which were reposited the vestments of the high priest, which the high priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice. These vestments king Herod kept in that place; and after his death they were under the power of the Romans until the time of Tiberius Cæsar; under whose reign Vitellius, the president of Syria, when he once came to Jerusalem, and had been most magnificently received by the multitude, he had a mind to make them some requital for the kindness they had showed him; so, upon their petition to have those holy vestments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberius Cæsar, who granted his request; and this their power over the sacerdotal vestments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa; but after that, Cassius Longinus, who was president of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to reposit those vestments in the tower of Antonia; for that they ought to have them in their power, as they formerly had. However the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Cæsar to intercede with him for them; upon whose coming, king Agrippa, jun. being then at Rome, asked for and obtained the power over them from the emperor; who gave command to Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time they were kept under the seal of the high priest and of the treasurers of the temple; which treasurers, the day before a festival, went up to the Roman captain of the temple guards, and viewed their own seal, and received the vestments; and again, when the festival was over, they brought it to the same place, and showed the captain of the temple guards their seal, which corresponded with his seal, and reposited them there. And that these things were so, the afflictions that happened to us afterward [about them] are sufficient evidence. But for the tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the tower of Antonia.

5. Now in the western quarters of the enclosure of the temple there were four gates; the first led to the king's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the city; and the last led to the other city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent; for the city lay over against the temple in the manner of a theatre, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter; but the fourth front of the temple, which was southward, had indeed itself gates in its middle, as also it had the royal cloisters, with three walks which reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any farther; and this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun; for while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen, if you looked from above into the depth, this farther

vastly high elevation of the cloister stood upon that height, insomuch that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down both those altitudes, he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach to such an immense depth. This cloister had pillars that stood in four rows one over against the other all along, for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which [also was built of stone]; and the thickness of each pillar was such, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their hands again, while its length was twenty-seven feet, with a double spiral at its basis; and the number of all the pillars [in that court] was a hundred and sixty-two. Their chapiters were made with sculptures after the Corinthian order, and caused an amazement [to the spectators,] by reason of the grandeur of the whole. These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of this cloister; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the same manner: the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length was a furlong, and the height fifty feet; but the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and a half of the breadth of the other, and the height was double, for it was much higher than those on each side; but the roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood, representing many sorts of figures: the middle was much higher than the rest; and the wall of the front was adorned with beams, resting upon pillars that were interwoven into it; and that front was all of polished stone, insomuch that its fineness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible, and to such as had seen it was greatly amazing. Thus was the first enclosure. In the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second, to be gone up to by a few steps; this was encompassed by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription, which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. Now this inner enclosure had on its southern and northern quarters three gates [equally] distant from one another; but on the east quarter, towards the sunrising, there was one large gate, through which such as were pure came in, together with their wives; but the temple farther inward in that gate was not allowed to the women; but still more inward was there a third [court of the] temple, whereinto it was not lawful for any but the priests alone to enter. The temple itself was within this; and before that temple was the altar, upon which we offer our sacrifices and burnt offerings to God. Into none of these three did king Herod enter,* for he was forbidden, because he was not a priest. However, he took care of the cloisters and the outer enclosures; and these he built in eight years.

6. But the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months; upon which all the people were full of joy; and presently they returned thanks, in the first place, to God, and in the next place for the alacrity the king had showed. They feasted, and celebrated this rebuilding of the temple: and for the king, he sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, as did the rest every one according to his ability; the number of which sacrifices it is not possible to set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it; for at the same time with this celebration for the work about the temple fell also the day of the king's inauguration, which he kept of an old custom as a festival, and it now coincided with the other; which coincidence of them both made the festival most illustrious.

7. There was also an occult passage built for the king; it led from Antonio to the inner temple, at its eastern gate; over which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a subterraneous ascent to the temple in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings. It is also reported,† that during the time that the temple was build-

* *Into none of these three did king Herod enter*, i. e. 1. Not into the court of the priest; 2. nor into the holy house itself; 3. nor into the separate place belonging to the altar, as the words following imply; for none but priests, or their attendants the Levites, might come into any of them. See Antiq. B. xvi. ch. v. sect. 6, where Herod goes into the temple, and makes a speech in it to the people; but that could only be into the court of Israel, whither the people could come to hear him.

† The tradition which Josephus here mentions, as delivered down from fathers to their children, of

ing, it did not rain in the daytime, but that the showers fell in the nights, so that the work was not hindered. And this our fathers have delivered to us; nor is it incredible, if any one have regard to the other manifestations of God. And thus was performed the work of the rebuilding of the temple.

this particular remarkable circumstance relating to the building of Herod's temple, is a demonstration that such its building was a known thing in Judea in his time. He was born about 46 years after it is related to have been finished, and might himself have seen and spoken with some of the builders themselves, and with a great number of those that had seen it building. The doubt therefore about the truth of this history of the pulling down and rebuilding this temple by Herod, which some weak people have indulged, was not then much greater than it soon may be, whether or no our St. Paul's church in London was burnt down in the fire of London, A. D. 1666, and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren a little afterward

BOOK XVI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWELVE YEARS.

FROM THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS.

CHAP. I.

A Law of Herod's about Thieves. Salome and Pheroras calumniate Alexander and Aristobulus upon their Return from Rome, for whom yet Herod provides Wives.

§ 1. As King Herod was very zealous in the administration of his entire government, and desirous to put a stop to particular acts of injustice which were done by criminals about the city and country, he made a law, no way like our original laws, and which he enacted of himself, to expose house-breakers to be ejected out of his kingdom; which punishment was not only grievous to be borne by the offenders, but contained in it a dissolution of the customs of our forfathers; for this slavery to foreigners, and such as did not live after the manner of the Jews, and this necessity that they were under to do whatsoever such men should command, was an offence against our religious settlement, rather than a punishment to such as were found to have offended, such a punishment being avoided in our original laws; for those laws ordain that the thief shall restore fourfold; and that if he have not so much, he shall be sold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor so that he be under perpetual slavery, for he must have been released after six years. But this law, thus enacted, in order to introduce a severe and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of insolence in Herod, when he did not act as a king but as a tyrant, and thus contemptuously, and without any regard to his subjects, did he venture to introduce such a punishment. Now this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like Herod's other actions, and became a part of his accusation, and an occasion of the hatred he lay under.

2. Now at this time it was that he sailed to Italy, as very desirous to meet with Cæsar, and to see his sons who lived at Rome: and Cæsar was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but delivered him his sons again, that he might take them home with him, as having already completed themselves in the sciences; but as soon as the young men were come from Italy, the multitude were very desirous to see them, and they became conspicuous among them all, as adorned with great blessings of fortune, and having the countenances of persons of royal dignity. So they soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome, the king's sister, and to such as had raised calumnies against Mariamne: for they were suspicious, that when these came to the government, they should be punished for the wickedness they had been guilty of against their mother; so they made this very fear of theirs a motive to raise calumnies against them also. They gave it out that they were not pleased with their father's company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear to converse with their mother's murderer. Now, by carrying these stories, that had indeed a true foundation [in the fact,] but were only built on probabilities as to the present accusation, they were able to do them mischief; and to make Herod take away that kindness from his sons which he had before borne to them; for they did not say these things to him openly, but scattered abroad such words among the rest of th multitude: from which words, when carried to Herod, he was in-

duced [at last] to hate them; and which natural affection itself, even in length of time, was not able to overcome; yet was the king at that time in a condition to prefer the natural affection of a father before all the suspicions and calumnies his sons lay under: so he respected them as he ought to do; and married them to wives, now they were of an age suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for a wife Bernice, Salome's daughter; and to Alexander, Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

CHAP. II.

How Herod twice sailed to Agrippa; and how, upon the Complaint of the Jews in Ionia, against the Greeks, Agrippa confirmed the Laws of the Jews to them.

§ 1. When Herod had dispatched these affairs, and he understood that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again out of Italy into Asia, he made haste to him, and besought him to come to him into his kingdom; and to partake of what he might justly expect from one that had been his guest, and was his friend. This request he greatly pressed; and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judea: whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new built cities, and showed him the edifices he had built; and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends; and that at Sebaste and Cesarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expenses; Alexandrium, and Herodium, and Hyrcania. He also conducted him to the city of Jerusalem; where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered an hecatomb of sacrifices to God; and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be gotten. He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have staid longer, but that the season of the year made him make haste away; for, as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to go to sea later; and yet he was of necessity to return again to Ionia.

2. So Agrippa went away, when Herod had bestowed on him, and on the principal of those that were with him, many presents: but king Herod, when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to get to him again in the spring; when he knew he designed to go to a campaign at the Bosphorus. So when he had sailed by Rhodes and by Cos, he touched at Lesbos, as thinking he should have overtaken Agrippa there; but he was taken short here by a north wind, which hindered his ship from going to the shore: so he continued many days at Chius; and there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts. And when he saw that the portico of the city was fallen down; which, as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was a very large and fine building, so was it not so easy to rebuild that as it was the rest; yet did he furnish a sum not only large enough for that purpose, but what was more than sufficient to finish the building; and ordered them not to overlook that portico, but to rebuild it quickly; that so the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were laid, he sailed to Mitylene, and thence to Byzantium; and when he heard that Agrippa was sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks, he made all the haste possible to overtake him; and came up with him about Sinope, in Pontus. He was seen sailing by the shipmen most unexpectedly, but appeared to their great joy: and many friendly salutations there were between them; insomuch that Agrippa thought he had received the greatest marks of the king's kindness and humanity towards him possible; since the king had come so long a voyage, and at a very proper season for his assistance; and had left the government of his own dominions, and thought it more worth his while to come to him. Accordingly Herod was all in all to Agrippa in the management of the war,

and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving him counsel as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for him when he relaxed himself, and a joint partaker with him in all things; in troubles because of his kindness, and in prosperity because of the respect Agrippa had for him. Now as soon as those affairs of Pontus were finished, for whose sake Agrippa was sent thither, they did not think fit to return by sea, but passed through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia: they then travelled thence over Great Phrygia, and came to Ephesus; and then they sailed from Ephesus to Samos. And indeed the king bestowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to, according as they stood in need of them: for as for those that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them; but he supplied the former himself out of his own expenses: he also became an intercessor with Agrippa for all such as sought after his favour; and he brought things so about that the petitioners failed in none of their suits to him; Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of great generosity; and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioners, provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of the king was of great weight also, and still excited Agrippa, who was himself ready to do good; for he made a reconciliation between the people of Ilium, at whom he was angry, and paid what money the people of Chius owed Cæsar's procurators, and discharged them of their tributes; and helped all others according as their several necessities required.

3. But now, when Agrippa and Herod were in Ionia, a great multitude of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, came to them, and, laying hold of the opportunity and the liberty now given them, laid before them the injuries which they suffered; while they were not permitted to use their own laws, but were compelled to prosecute their lawsuits, by the ill usage of the judges, upon their holy days; and were deprived of the money they used to lay up at Jerusalem; and were forced into the army, and upon such other offices as obliged them to spend their sacred money: from such burdens they always used to be freed by the Romans, who had still permitted them to live according to their own laws. When this clamour was made, the king desired of Agrippa that he would hear their cause, and assigned Nicolaus, one of his friends, to plead for those their privileges. Accordingly, when Agrippa had called the principal of the Romans, and such of the kings and rulers as were there, to be his assessors, Nicolaus stood up, and pleaded for the Jews, as follows: "It is of necessity incumbent on such as are in distress to have recourse to those that have it in their power to free them from those injuries they lie under; and for those that now are complaints, they approach you with great assurance; for as they have formerly often obtained your favour, so far as they have even wished to have it, they now only entreat that you who have been the donors, will take care that those favours you have already granted them may not be taken away from them. We have received these favours from you, who alone have power to grant them; but have them taken from us by such as are no greater than ourselves, and by such as we know are as much subjects as we are: and certainly, if we have been vouchsafed great favours, it is to our commendation, who have obtained them, as having been found deserving of such great favours; and if those favours be but small ones, it would be barbarous for the donors not to confirm them to us: and for those that are the hinderance of the Jews, and use them reproachfully, it is evident that they affront both the receivers, while they will not allow those to be worthy men to whom their excellent rulers themselves have borne their testimony; and the donors, while they desire those favours already granted may be abrogated. Now, if any one should ask these Gentiles themselves, which of the two things they would choose to part with, their lives, or the customs of their forefathers; their solemnities, their sacrifices, their festivals, which they celebrated in honour of those they suppose to be gods? I know very well that they would choose to suffer any thing whatsoever rather than a dissolution of any of the customs of their forefathers; for a great many of them have

rather chosen to go to war on that account, as very solicitous not to transgress in those matters: and indeed we take an estimate of that happiness which all mankind do now enjoy by your means from this very thing; that we are allowed every one to worship as our own institutions require, and yet to live [in peace:] and although they would not be thus treated themselves, yet do they endeavour to compel others to comply with them; as if it were not as great an instance of impiety profanely to dissolve the religious solemnities of any others, as to be negligent in the observation of their own toward their gods. And let us now consider the one of these practices: Is there any people, or city, or community of men, to whom your government and the Roman power does not appear to be the greatest blessing? Is there any one that can desire to make void the favours they have granted? No one is certainly so mad; for there are no men but such as have been partakers of their favours, both public and private; and indeed those that take away what you have granted can have no assurance, but every one of their own grants made them by you may be taken from them also; which grants of yours can yet never be sufficiently valued; for if they consider the old government under kings, together with your present government, besides the great number of benefits which this government hath bestowed on them, in order to their happiness, this is instead of all the rest, that they appear to be no longer in a state of slavery, but of freedom. Now the privileges we desire, even when we are in the best circumstances, are not such as deserve to be envied; for we are indeed in a prosperous state by your means, but this is only in common with others; and it is no more than this which we desire, to preserve our religion without any prohibition; which as it appears not in itself a privilege to be envied us, so it is for the advantage of those that grant it to us: for if the divinity delights in being honoured, it must delight in those that permit them to be honoured: and there are none of our customs which are inhuman; but all tending to piety, and devoted to the preservation of justice: nor do we conceal those injunctions of ours, by which we govern our lives; they being memorials of piety, and of a friendly conversation among men And the seventh day* we set apart from labour; it is dedicated to the learning of our customs and laws: we thinking it proper to reflect on them, as well as on any [good] thing else, in order to our avoiding of sin. If any one therefore examine into our observances, he will find they are good in themselves, and that they are ancient also, though some think otherwise; insomuch that those who have received them cannot easily be brought to depart from them, out of that honour they pay to the length of time they have religiously enjoyed them and observed them. Now our adversaries take these our privileges away in the way of injustice: they violently seize upon that money of ours which is offered to God, and called sacred money; and this openly, after a sacrilegious manner: and they impose tributes upon us; and bring us before tribunals on holy days: and then require other like debts of us: not because the contracts require it, and for their own advantage: but because they would put an affront on our religion, of which they are conscious as well as we; and have indulged themselves in an unjust, and, to them, involuntary hatred. For your government over all is one tending to the establishing of benevolence, and abolishing of ill will among such as are disposed to it. This is therefore what we implore from thee, most excellent Agrippa, that we may not be ill treated; that we may not be abused: that we may not be hindered from making use of our own customs; nor be despoiled of our goods; nor be forced by these men to do what we ourselves force nobody to do; for these privileges of ours are not only according to justice, but have formerly been granted us by you and we are able to read to you many decrees of the senate, and the tables that contain them; which are still extant in the Capitol, concerning these things, which it is evident were granted after you had experience of our fidelity towards you,

* We may here observe the ancient practice of the Jews, of dedicating the Sabbath day not to idleness, but to the learning their sacred rites and religious customs, and to the meditation on the law of Moses The like to which we meet with elsewhere in Josephus also against Appion, B. i. sect. 22.

which ought to be valued, though no such fidelity had been; for you have hitherto preserved what people were in possession of, not to us only, but almost to all men and have added greater advantages than they could have hoped for, and thereby your government is become a great advantage to them. And if any one were able to enumerate the prosperity you have conferred on every nation, which they possess by your means, he could never put an end to his discourse; but that we may demonstrate that we are not unworthy of all those advantages we have obtained, it will be sufficient for us to say nothing of other things, but to speak freely of this king who now governs us, and is now one of thy assessors: and indeed in what instance of good will, as to your house, hath he been deficient? What mark of fidelity to it hath he omitted? What token of honour hath he not devised? What occasion for his assistance of you hath he not regarded at the very first? What hindereth, therefore, but that your kindnesses may be as numerous as his as great benefits to you have been? It may also, perhaps, be fit not here to pass over in silence the valour of his father Antipater, who, when Cæsar made an expedition into Egypt, assisted him with two thousand armed men, and proved inferior to none, either in the battles on land, nor in the management of the navy: and what need I say any thing of the great weight those soldiers were at that juncture? or how many, and how great presents they were vouchsafed by Cæsar! And truly I ought before now to have mentioned the epistles which Cæsar wrote to the senate; and how Antipater had honours, and the freedom of the city of Rome bestowed upon him; for these are demonstrations both that we have received these favours by our own deserts, and do on that account petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we have reason to hope for them, though they had not been given us before, both out of regard to our king's disposition towards you, and your disposition towards him. And farther, we have been informed by those Jews that were there, with what kindness thou camest into our country, and how thou offeredst the most perfect sacrifices to God, and honouredst him with remarkable vows, and how thou gavest the people a feast, and accepted of their own hospitable presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these kind entertainments, made both by our nation and our city, to a man who is the ruler and manager of so much of the public affairs, as indications of that friendship which thou hast returned to the Jewish nation, and which hath been procured them by the family of Herod. So we put thee in mind of these things in the presence of the king, now sitting by thee, and make our request for no more but this that what you have given us yourselves you will not see taken away by others from us."

4. When Nicolaus had made this speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made, as in a court of justice, but an intercession to prevent violence to be offered to the Jews any longer; nor did the Greeks make any defence of themselves, or deny what it was supposed they had done. Their pretence was no more than this, that while the Jews inhabited in their country they were entirely unjust to them [in not joining in their worship;] but they demonstrated their generosity in this, that though they worshiped according to their own institutions, they did nothing that ought to grieve them. So when Agrippa perceived that they had been oppressed by violence, he made this answer: "That on account of Herod's good will and friendship, he was ready to grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested any thing farther, he should not scruple to grant it them, provided they were no way to the detriment of the Roman government; but that, while their request was no more than this, what privileges they had already given them might not be abrogated; he confirmed this to them that they might continue in the observation of their own customs, without any one's offering them the least injury." And when he had said thus, he dissolved the assembly: upon which Herod stood up and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he showed to them. Agrippa also took this in a

very obliging manner, and saluted him again, and embraced him in his arms; after which he went away from Lesbos, but the king determined to sail from Samos to his own country; and when he had taken his leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage, and landed at Cesarea in a few days time, as having favourable winds; from whence he went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there out of the country also. So he came to them, and gave them a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia, how by this means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of the entire good fortune he had met with, and how he administered the government, and had not neglected any thing which was for their advantage; and as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. Accordingly, they were so pleased with his favour and speech to them, that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the king all manner of happiness.

CHAP. III.

How great Disturbances arose in Herod's Family on his preferring Antipater, his eldest Son before the Rest, till Alexander took that Injury very heinously.

§ 1. But now the affairs in Herod's family were in more and more disorder, and became more severe upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young men [Alexander and Aristobulus,] which descended as it were by inheritance [from their mother Mariamne:] and as she fully had succeeded against their mother, so she proceeded to that degree of madness and insolence, as to endeavour that none of her posterity might be left alive, who might have it in their power to revenge her death. The young men had also somewhat of a bold and uneasy disposition towards their father, occasioned by the remembrance of what their mother had unjustly suffered, and by their own affectation of dominion. The old grudge was also renewed; and they cast reproaches on Salome and Pheroras, who requited the young men with malicious designs, and actually laid treacherous snares for them. Now, as for this hatred, it was equal on both sides, but the manner of exerting that hatred was different: for as for the young men, they were rash reproaching and affronting the others openly, and were unexperienced enough to think it the most generous to declare their minds in that undaunted manner; but the others did not take that method, but made use of calumnies after a subtile and a spiteful manner, still provoking the young men, and imagining that their boldness might in time turn to the offering violence to their father; for inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, nor thought she suffered justly, these supposed that it might at length exceed all bounds, and induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father, though it were by dispatching him with their own hands. At length it came to this, that the whole city was full of these discourses; and, as is usual in such contests, the unskilfulness of the young men was pitied; but the contrivance of Salome was too hard for them, and what imputations she laid upon them came to be believed, by means of their own conduct, for they who were so deeply affected with the death of their mother, that while they said both she and themselves were in a miserable case they vehemently complained of her pitiable end, which indeed was truly such and said that they were themselves in a pitiable case also, because they were forced to live with those that had been her murderers, and to be partakers with them.

2. These disorders increased greatly, and the king's absence abroad had afforded a fit opportunity for that increase; but as soon as Herod was returned, and had made the forementioned speech to the multitude, Pheroras and Salome

let fall words immediately as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly threatened that they would not spare him any longer, but revenge their mother's death upon him. They also added another circumstance, that their hopes were fixed on Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, that they should be able by his means to come to Cæsar, and accuse their father. Upon hearing such things, Herod was immediately disturbed: and indeed was the more astonished, because the same things were related to him by some others also. He then called to mind his former calamity, and considered that the disorders in his family had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from those that were dearest to him, or from his wife whom he loved so well; and suspecting that his future troubles would soon be heavier and greater than those that were passed, he was in great confusion of mind; for divine Providence had in reality conferred upon him a great many outward advantages, for his happiness, even beyond his hopes, but the troubles he had at home were such as he never expected to have met with, and rendered him unfortunate; nay, both sorts came upon him to such a degree as no one could imagine, and made it a doubtful question, whether, upon the comparison of both, he ought to have exchanged so great a success of outward good things for so great misfortunes at home, or whether he ought not to have chosen to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had, for a compensation, never been possessed of the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

3. As he was thus disturbed and afflicted, in order to depress these young men, he brought to court another of his sons, that was born to him when he was a private man: his name was *Antipater;* yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterwards, when he was quite overcome by him, and let him do every thing as he pleased, but rather with a design of depressing the insolence of the sons of Mariamne, and managing this elevation of his son, that it might be for a warning to them, for this bold behaviour of theirs [he thought] would not be so great, if they were once persuaded that the succession to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone, or must of necessity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their antagonist, and imagined that he made a good provision for discouraging their pride, and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a proper season for expecting these to be of a better disposition: but the event proved otherwise than he intended, for the young men thought he did them a very great injury, and as Antipater was a shrewd man, when he had once obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before hoped for; he had but one single design in his head, and that was to distress his brethren, and not at all to yield to them the preeminence, but to keep close to his father, who was already alienated from them by the calumnies he had heard about them, and ready to be wrought upon in any way his zeal against them should advise him to pursue, that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly all the reports that were spread abroad came from him, while he avoided himself the suspicion as if those discoveries proceeded from him; but he rather chose to make use of those persons for his assistants that were unsuspected, and such as might be believed to speak truth by reason of the good will they bore to the king; and indeed there were already not a few who cultivated friendship with Antipater, in hopes of gaining somewhat by him; and these were the men who most of all persuaded Herod, because they appeared to speak thus out of their good will to him: and while these joint accusations, which from various foundations supported one another's veracity, the young men themselves afforded farther occasions to Antipater also: for they were observed to shed tears often, on account of the injury that was offered them, and had their mother in their mouths; and among their friends they ventured to reproach their father, as not acting justly by them: all which things were with an evil intention reserved in memory by Antipater against a proper opportunity; and when they were told to Herod, with aggravations, increased the disorders so much, that it brought a great tumult into the family; for while the king was very angry at imputations

that were laid upon the sons of Mariamne, and was desirous to humble them, he still increased the honour that he had bestowed on Antipater, and was at last so overcome by his persuasions, that he brought his mother to court also. He also wrote frequently to Cæsar in favour of him, and more earnestly recommended him to his care particularly. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome, after he had finished his ten years government in Asia,* Herod sailed from Judea; and when he met with him he had none with him but Antipater, whom he delivered to Agrippa, that he might take him along with him, together with many presents, that so he might become Cæsar's friend, insomuch that things already looked as if he had all his father's favour, and that the young men were already entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.

CHAP. IV

How, during Antipater's Abode at Rome, Herod brought Alexander and Aristobulus before Cæsar, and accused them. Alexander's Defence of himself before Cæsar, and Reconciliation to his Father.

§ 1. And now what happened during Antipater's absence augmented the honour to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brethren, for he had made a great figure in Rome, because Herod had sent recommendations of him to all his friends there: only he was grieved that he was not at home, nor had proper opportunities of perpetually calumniating his brethren; and his chief fear was, lest his father should alter his mind, and entertain a more favourable opinion of the sons of Mariamne; and as he had this in his mind, he did not desist from his purpose, but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brethren, under pretence indeed of a deep concern for his preservation; but in truth, such as his malicious mind dictated, in order to purchase a greater hope of the succession, which yet was already great in itself: and thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he was already become very ill disposed towards the young men; but still, while he delayed to exercise so violent a disgust against them, and that he might not either be too remiss or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accuse his sons before Cæsar, and not indulge himself in any such crime as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impiety: but as he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to meet with Cæsar at the city Aquilei:† so when he came to the speech of Cæsar, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, wherein he thought himself very miserable, and presented his sons there, and accused them of their mad actions, and of their attempts against him: that "they were enemies to him; and by all the means they were able did their endeavours to show their hatred to their own father, and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom after the most barbarous manner; that he had power from Cæsar to dispose of it, not by necessity, but by choice, to him who shall exercise the greatest piety towards him, while these my sons are not so desirous of ruling, as they are, upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their own life, if so they may but deprive their father of his life, so wild and polluted is their mind by time become out of their hatred to him; that whereas he had a long time borne this his misfortune, he was

* Although Herod met Augustus at Aquilei, yet was this accusation of his sons deferred till they came to Rome, as sect. 3 assures us; and as we are particularly informed in the history of the War, B. I. ch. xxiii. sect. 3; though what he there says belonged distinctly to Alexander the elder brother, I mean his being brought to Rome, is here justly extended to both the brothers, and that not only in our copies, but in that of Zonara's also: nor is there reason to doubt but they were both at this solemn hearing by Augustus, although the defence was made by Alexander alone, who was the elder brother, and one that could speak very well.

† This interval of ten years for the duration of Marcus Agrippa's government in Asia, seems to be true, and agreeable to the Roman history. See Usher's Annals at A. M. 3392.

now compelled to lay it before Cæsar, and to pollute his ears with such language, while he himself wants to know what severity they ever suffered from him? or what hardships he hath ever laid upon them to make them complain of him? and how they can think it just that he should not be lord of that kingdom, which he in a long time and with great dangers had gained, and not allow him to keep it and to dispose of it to him who should deserve it best? And this, with other advantages, he proposes as a reward for the piety of such a one as will hereafter imitate the care he hath taken of it, and that such a one may gain so great a requital as that is: and that it is an impious thing for them to pretend to meddle with it beforehand, for he who hath ever the kingdom in his view, at the same time he reckons upon procuring the death of his father, because otherwise he cannot come at the government; that as for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, and what was agreeable to such as are subject to the royal authority, and the sons of a king; what ornaments they wanted, with servants and delicate fare; and had married them into the most illustrious families, the one [Aristobulus) to his sister's daughter, but Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus: and what was the greatest favour of all, when their crimes were so very bad, and he had authority to punish them, yet had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them before Cæsar their common benefactor, and had not used the severity which, either as a father who had been impiously abused, or as a king who had been assaulted treacherously, he might have done, he made them stand upon the level with him in judgment; that, however, it was necessary that all this should not be passed over without punishment, nor himself live in the greatest fears; nay, that it was not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they had done, although they should escape at this time, since they had done the vilest things, and would certainly suffer the greatest punishments that ever were known among mankind."

2. These were the accusations which Herod laid with great vehemency against his sons before Cæsar. Now the young men, both while he was speaking, and chiefly at his concluding, wept and were in confusion. Now as to themselves, they knew in their own conscience they were innocent; but because they were accused by their father, they were sensible, as the truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since, though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely as the occasion required, and might with force and earnestness refute the accusation, yet it was not now decent so to do. There was therefore a difficulty how they should be able to speak: and tears, and at length a deep groan followed, while they were afraid, that if they said nothing, they should seem to be in this difficulty from a consciousness of guilt, nor had they any defence ready, by reason of their youth, and the disorder they were under; yet was not Cæsar unapprized, when he looked upon them in the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defence did not arise from any consciousness of great enormities, but from their unskilfulness and modesty. They were also commiserated by those that were there in particular, and they moved their father's affections in earnest till he had much ado to conceal them.

3. But when they saw there was a kind of disposition arisen both in him and in Cæsar, and that every one of the rest did either shed tears, or at least did all grieve with them, the one of them, whose name was *Alexander*, called to his father, and attempted to answer his accusation, and said, "O father, the benevolence thou hast showed to us is evident, even in this very judicial procedure: for had thou any pernicious intentions about us, thou hadst not produced us here before the common saviour of all; for it was in thy power, both as a king, and as a father, to punish the guilty; but by thus bringing us to Rome, and making Cæsar himself a witness to what is done, thou intimatest that thou intendest to save us; for no one that hath a design to slay a man will bring him to the temples, and to the altars; yet are our circumstances still worse, for we cannot endure to live ourselves any longer, if it be believed that we have injured such a father; nay,

perhaps it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die without such guilt; and if our open defence may be taken to be true, we shall be happy, both in pacifying thee, and in escaping the danger we are in; but if this calumny so prevails, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day; which why should we see, if this suspicion be fixed upon us? Now it is easy to say of young men that they desire to reign; and to say farther, that this evil proceeds from the case of our unhappy mother. This is abundantly sufficient to produce our present misfortune out of the former; but consider well, whether such an accusation does not suit all such young men, and may not be said of them all promiscuously? for nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and their mother be dead; but the father may have a suspicion upon all his sons, as intending some treachery to him: but a suspicion is not sufficient to prove such an impious practice. Now let any man say, whether we have actually and insolently attempted any such thing, whereby actions otherwise incredible used to be made credible? Can any body prove that poison hath been prepared? or prove a conspiracy of our equals, or the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? Though indeed there are none of those things but have sometimes been pretended by way of calumny, when they were never done: for a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing; and that which thou callest a reward of piety, often becomes among very wicked men, such a foundation of hope, as makes them leave no sort of mischief untried: nor does any one lay any wicked practices to our charge, but as to calumnies by hearsay, how can he put an end to them, who will not hear what we have to say? Have we talked with too great freedom? Yes; but not against thee, for that would be unjust, but against those that never conceal anything that is spoken to them. Hath either of us lamented our mother? Yes; but not because she is dead, but because she was evil spoken of by those that had no reason so to do. Are we desirous of that dominion which we know our father is possessed of? For what reason can we do so? If we already have royal honours, as we have, should not we labour in vain? And if we have them not, yet are not we in hopes of them? Or supposing that we had killed thee, could we expect to obtain thy kingdom? while neither the earth would let us tread upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, after such an action as that: nay, the religion of all your subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, would have prohibited parricides from assuming the government, and from entering into that most holy temple which was built by thee.* But suppose we had made light of other dangers, can any murderer go off unpunished while Cæsar is alive? We are thy sons, and not so impious or so thoughtless as that comes to, though perhaps more unfortunate than is convenient for thee. But in case thou neither findest any causes of complaint, nor any treacherous designs, what sufficient evidence hast thou to make such a wickedness of ours credible? Our mother is dead indeed, but when what befell her might be an instruction to us to caution, and not an incitement to wickedness. We are willing to make a larger apology for ourselves, but actions never done do not admit of discourse: nay, we will make this agreement with thee, and that before Cæsar, the lord of all, who is now a mediator between us, if thou, O father, canst bring thyself, by the evidence of truth, to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us, let us live, though even then we shall live in an unhappy way; for to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing: but if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou on

* Since some prejudiced men have indulged a wild suspicion, as we have supposed already, Antiq. B. xv. ch. xi. sect. 7, that Josephus's history of Herod's rebuilding the temple, is no better than a fable, it may not be amiss to take notice of this occasional clause in the speech of Alexander before his father Herod, in his and his brother's vindication, which mentions the temple as known by every body to have been built by Herod. See John, ii. 20. See also another speech of Herod's own to the young men that pulled down his golden eagle from the front of the temple, where he takes notice, "How the building of the temple cost him a vast sum; and that the Asamoneans, in those 125 years they held the government, were not able to perform so great a work, to the honour of God, as this was." Antiq. B. xvii. ch. vi. sect. 3

in thy pious life, we will give this reason for our own conduct, our life is not so desirable to us as to desire to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us."

4. When Alexander had thus spoken, Cæsar, who did not before believe so gross a calumny, was still more moved by it, and looked intently upon Herod, and perceived he was a little confounded, the persons there present were under an anxiety about the young men, and the fame that was spread abroad made the king hated, for the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commiseration which the flower of youth, and beauty of body, which were in the young men, pleaded for assistance, and the more so on this account, that Alexander had made their defence with dexterity and prudence; nay, they did not themselves any longer continue in their former countenances, which had been bedewed with tears, and cast downwards to the ground, but now there arose in them hope of the best: and the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence wherewith to convict them. Indeed he wanted some apology for making the accusation: but Cæsar, after some delay, said, that "although the young men were thoroughly innocent of that for which they were calumniated, yet had they been so far to blame, that they had not demeaned themselves towards their father so as to prevent that suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them." He also exhorted Herod to lay all such suspicions aside, and to be reconciled to his sons, for that it was not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and that this repentance on both sides might still heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve that their good will to one another, whereby those on both sides, excusing the rashness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of perfection towards each other than they had before. After Cæsar had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men. When therefore they were disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up, and embraced them, as they were in tears, and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether freeman or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw.

5. Then did they return thanks to Cæsar, and went away together; and with them went Antipater, with an hypocritical pretence that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And in the last days they were with Cæsar, Herod made him a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting shows and largesses to the people of Rome: and Cæsar made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honoured him with other gifts and incomes; and as to his own kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or to distribute it in parts to every one, that the dignity might thereby come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately, Cæsar said, "He would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons."

6. After this Herod returned to Judea again: but during his absence, no small part of his dominions about Trachon had revolted, whom yet the commanders he left there had vanquished, and compelled to a submission again. Now, as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to [the island] Eleusa, which hath now changed its name for Sebaste, he met with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly, as rejoicing that he was reconciled to his sons, and that the accusation against Alexander, who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became kings to make. From thence Herod came to Judea and to the temple, where he made a speech to the people concerning what had been done in this his journey: "He also discoursed to them about Cæsar's kindness to him, and about as many of the particulars he had done, as he thought it for his advantage other people should be acquainted with. At last he turned his speech

to the admonition of his sons; and exhorted those that lived at court, and the multitude, to concord: and informed them, that his sons were to reign after him; Antipater first, and then Alexander, and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne: but he desired, that at present they should all have regard to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all, since he was not yet hindered by old age, but was in that period of life when he must be the most skilful in governing; and that he was not deficient in other arts of management that might enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children also. He further told the rulers under him, and the soldiery, that in case they would look upon him alone, their life would be led in a peaceable manner, and they would make one another happy." And when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly. Which speech was acceptable to the greatest part of the audience, but not so to them all, for the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovations among them.

CHAP. V.

How Herod celebrated the Games that were to return every Fifth Year, upon the Building of Cesarea; and how he built and adorned many other Places after a magnificent Manner; and did many other actions gloriously.

§ 1. About this time it was that Cesarea Sebaste, which he had built, was finished. The entire building being accomplished in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell into the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second olympiad: there was accordingly a great festival, and most sumptuous preparations made presently, in order to its dedication; for he had appointed a contention in music, and games to be performed naked: he had also gotten ready a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose; horse races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome, and in other places. He consecrated his combat to Cæsar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent all sorts of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent: nay, Julia, Cæsar's wife, sent a great part of her most valuable furniture [from Rome,] insomuch that he had no want of any thing: the sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now when a great multitude was come to that city, to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors whom other people sent on account of the benefits they had received [from Herod,] he entertained them all in the public inns, and at public tables, and with perpetual feasts; this solemnity having in the daytime the diversions of the fights, and in the night time such merry meetings as cost vast sums of money, and publicly demonstrated the generosity of his soul; for in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exhibit what exceeded whatsoever had been done before of the same kind. And it is related, that Cæsar and Agrippa often said, that "the dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul, for that he deserved to have both all the kingdom of Syria, and that of Egypt also."

2. After this solemnity and these festivals were over, Herod erected another city in the plain called Capharsaba, where he chose out a fit place, both for plenty of water, and goodness of soil, and proper for the production of what was there planted, where a river encompassed the city itself, and a grove of the best trees for magnitude was round about it: this he named Antipatris, from his father Antipater. He also built upon another spot of ground above Jericho, of the same name with his mother, a place of great security, and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cypros. He also dedicated the finest monuments to his brother Phasaelus, on account of the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itself not less than the tower of Pharos, which he

named Phasaelus, which was at once a part of the strong defences of the city, and a memorial for him that was deceased, because it bare his name. He also built a city of the same name in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward, whereby he rendered the neighbouring country more fruitful, by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced; and this also he called *Phasaelis*.

3. But as for his other benefits, it is impossible to reckon them up, those which he bestowed on cities, both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he came to in his voyages; for he seems to have conferred, and that after a most plentiful manner, what would minister to many necessities, and the building of public works, and gave them the money that was necessary to such works as wanted it to support them upon the failure of their other revenues: but what was the greatest and most illustrious of all his works, he erected Apollo's temple at Rhodes, at his own expenses, and gave them a great number of talents of silver for the repair of their fleet. He also built the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of Nicopolis,* at Actium: and for the Antiochians, the inhabitants of the principal city of Syria, where a broad street cuts through the place lengthways, he built cloisters along it on both sides, and laid the open road with polished stone, and was of very great advantage to the inhabitants. And as to the olympic games, which were in a very low condition, by reason of the failure of their revenues, he recovered their reputation, and appointed revenues for their maintenance, and made that solemn meeting more venerable, as to the sacrifices and other ornaments; and by reason of this vast liberality, he was generally declared in their inscriptions to be one of the perpetual managers of those games.

Now some there are who stand amazed at the diversity of Herod's nature and purposes; for when we have respect to his magnificence, and the benefits which he bestowed on all mankind, there is no possibility for even those that had the least respect for him, to deny, or not openly to confess that he had a nature vastly beneficent; but when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his nearest relations, and takes notice of his severe and unrelenting disposition there, he will be forced to allow, that it was brutish, and a stranger to all humanity; insomuch that these men suppose his nature to be different, and sometimes at contradiction with itself; but I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sorts of actions was one and the same; for being a man ambitious of honour, and quite overcome by that passion, he was induced to be magnificent wherever there appeared any hopes of a future memorial, or of reputation at present; and as his expenses were beyond his abilities, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects; for the persons on whom he expended his money were so many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it: and because he was conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them, he thought it not an easy thing to amend his offences, for that was inconvenient for his revenue; he therefore strove on the other side to make their ill will an occasion of his gains. As to his own court therefore, if any one was not very obsequious to him in his language, and would not confess himself to be his slave, or but seemed to think of any innovation in his government, he was not able to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were enemies; and this wickedness he undertook out of a desire that he might be himself alone honoured. Now for this my assertion about that passion of his, we have the greatest evidence, by what he did to honour Cæsar and Agrippa, and his other friends; for with what honours he paid his respects to them who were his superiors, the same did he desire to be paid to himself: and what he thought the most excellent present he could make another, he discovered an inclination to have the like presented to himself. But now the Jewish nation is by their law a stranger

* Dr. Hudson here gives us the words of Suetonius concerning this Nicopolis, when Augustus rebuilt it. "And that the memory of the victory at Actium might be celebrated the more afterward, he built Nicopolis at Actium, and appointed public shows to be there exhibited every fifth year." In August, sect. 18

to all such things, and accustomed to prefer righteousness to glory; for which reason that nation was not agreeable to him, because it was out of their power to flatter the king's ambition with statues, or temples, or any other such performances. And this seems to me to have been at once the occasion of Herod's crimes as to his own courtiers and counsellors, and of his benefactions as to foreigners and those that had no relation to him.

CHAP. VI.

An Embassage of the Jews in Cyrene and Asia to Cæsar, concerning the Complaints they had to make against the Greeks: with Copies of the Epistles which Cæsar and Agrippa wrote to the Cities for them.

§ 1. Now the cities ill treated the Jews in Asia, and all those also of the same nation which lived in Libya, which joins to Cyrene, while the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks affronted them at this time, and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on other particular occasions. When therefore they were thus afflicted, and found no end of their barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Cæsar on those accounts; who gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonials of the ancient favourable disposition the Roman emperors had towards us.

2. "Cæsar Augustus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since the nation of the Jews hath been found grateful to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high priest, under my father* Cæsar the emperor, it seemed good to me and my counsellors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the laws of their fathers, as they made use of them under Hyrcanus the high priest of Almighty God; and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem: and that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the Sabbath day, nor on the day of the preparation † to it, after the ninth hour: but if any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue, or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order, that the testimonial which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise towards all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, together with the present decree, be proposed in that most eminent place which hath been consecrated to me by the community of Asia at Ancyra. And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæsar.

3. "Cæsar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting: Let those Jews, how many soever they be, who have been used according to their ancient custom, to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same freely." These were the decrees of Cæsar.

4. Agrippa also did himself write after the manner following, on behalf of the Jews: "Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: I will that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried

* Augustus here calls Julius Cæsar his *father*, though by birth he was only his *uncle*, on account of his adoption by him. See the same, Antiq. B. xiv. ch. xiv. sect. 4.

† This is the authentic evidence, that the Jews, in the days of Augustus, began to prepare for the celebration of the Sabbath at the ninth hour on Friday, as the tradition of the elders did, it seems, then require of them.

to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus the pretor, that no one compel the Jews to come before a judge on the Sabbath day."

5. "Marcus Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting: The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius, the then pretor of Lybia, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely, as hath been their custom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and, under pretence of taxes which were not due, are hindered from sending them, which I command to be restored without any diminution or disturbance given to them: and if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I farther enjoin, that the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place."

6. "Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul to the magistrates of the Sardinians, sendeth greeting: Cæsar hath written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many soever they be, from assembling together according to the custom of their forefathers, nor from sending their money to Jerusalem: I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both Cæsar and I would have you act accordingly."

7. Nor did Julius Antonius the proconsul write otherwise: "To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, on the ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia demonstrated to me, that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first fruits which every one of them freely offers to the Deity on account of piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem without disturbance. They also petitioned me, that I would confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa, by my own sanction. I would therefore have you take notice, that, according to the will of Augustus and Agrippa, I permit them to use and do according to the customs of their forefathers without disturbance."

8. I have been obliged to set down these decrees, because the present history of our own acts will go generally among the Greeks; and I have hereby demonstrated to them, that we have formerly been in great esteem, and have not been prohibited by those governors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers; nay, that we have been supported by them, while we followed our own religion, and the worship we paid to God; and I frequently make mention of these decrees, in order to reconcile other people to us, and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear to us. As for our customs,* there is no nation which always makes use of the same, and in every city almost we meet with them different from one another; but natural justice is most agreeable to the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and barbarians, to which our laws have the greatest regard, and thereby render us, if we abide in them after a pure manner, benevolent and friendly to all men: on which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, and to inform them that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions a sufficient cause of alienation, but [join with us in] the pursuit of virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and of itself alone is sufficient for the preservation of human life. I now return to the thread of my history.

* The remaining part of this chapter is a remarkable one, as justly distinguishing natural justice, religion, and morality, from positive institutions in all countries, and evidently preferring the former before the latter: as did the true prophets of God always under the Old Testament, and Christ and his apostles always under the New; whence our Josephus seems to have been at this time nearer Christianity than were the Scribes and Pharisees of his age, who, as we know from the New Testament, were entirely of a different opinion and practice.

CHAP. VII.

How upon Herod's going down into David's Sepulchre, the Sedition in his Family greatly increased.

§ 1. As for Herod, he had spent vast sums about the cities, both without and within his own kingdom; and as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulchre, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much greater number left behind, and indeed enough to suffice all his wants, he had a great while an intention to make the attempt; and at this time he opened that sepulchre by night and went into it, and endeavoured that it should not be at all known in the city, but took only his most faithful friends with him. As for any money, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done, but that furniture of gold, and those precious goods that were laid up there; all which he took away. However, he had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even as far the very bodies of David and Solomon; where two of his guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in; as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out, and built a propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in, and this of white stone, at the mouth of the sepulchre, and that at a great expense also. And even Nicolaus* his historiographer makes mention of this monument built by Herod, though he does not mention his going down into the sepulchre, as knowing that action to be of ill repute; and many other things he treats of in the same manner in his book; for he wrote in Herod's lifetime, and under his reign, and so as to please him, and as a servant to him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was desirous to put handsome colours on the death of Mariamne, and her sons, which were barbarous actions in the king, he tells falsehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne, and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. Indeed a man, as I said, may have a great deal to say by way of excuse for Nicolaus; for he did not so properly write this as a history for others, as somewhat that might be subservient to the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly allied to the Asamonean kings, and on that account having an honourable place, which is the priesthood, we think it indecent to say any thing that is false about them, and accordingly we have described their actions after an unblemished and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Herod's posterity, who still reign, yet do we pay a greater regard to truth than to them, and this though it sometimes happens that we incur their displeasure by so doing.

2. And indeed Herod's troubles in his family seemed to be augmented, by reason of this attempt he made upon David's sepulchre, whether divine vengeance increased the calamities he lay under, in order to render them incurable, or whether fortune made an assault upon him, in those cases, wherein the seasonableness of the cause made it strongly believed that the calamities came upon him for his impiety; for the tumult was like a civil war in his palace, and their hatred towards one another was like that where each one strove to exceed one another in calumnies. However, Antipater used stratagems perpetually against his brethren, and that very cunningly: while abroad he loaded them with accusations.

* It is here worth our observation, how careful Josephus was as to the discovery of truth in Herod's history, since he would not follow Nicolaus of Damascus himself, so great an historian, where there was great reason to suspect that he flattered Herod; which impartiality in history Josephus here solemnly professes, and of which impartiality he has given more demonstration than almost any other historian whomsoever. But as to Herod's taking great wealth out of David's sepulchre, though I cannot prove it yet do I strongly suspect it from this very history.

but still took upon him frequently to apologize for them, that this apparent benevolence to them might make him be believed, and forward his attempts against them, by which means he, after various manners, circumvented his father, who believed that all he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolemy, who was a great director of the affairs of his kingdom, to Antipater, and consulted with his mother about the public affairs also. And indeed these were all in all, and did what they pleased, and made the king angry against any other persons, as they thought it might be to their own advantage; but still the sons of Mariamne were in a worse and worse condition perpetually, and while they were thrust out, and set in a more dishonourable rank, who yet by birth were the most noble, they could not bear the dishonour. And for the women, Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Archelaus, hated Salome, both because of her love to her husband, and because Glaphyra seemed to behave herself somewhat insolently towards Salome's daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, which equality of hers to herself Glaphyra took very impatiently.

3. Now besides this second contention that had fallen among them, neither did the king's brother Pheroras keep himself out of trouble, but had a particular foundation for suspicion and hatred, for he was overcome by the charms of his wife to such a degree of madness, that he despised the king's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, and wholly bent his mind to the other, who had been but a servant. Herod also was grieved by the dishonour that was done him, because he had bestowed many favours upon him, and had advanced him to that height of power that he was almost a partner with him in the kingdom, and saw that he had not made him a due return for his favours, and esteemed himself unhappy on that account. So upon Pheroras's unworthy refusal, he gave the damsel to Phasaelus's son; but after some time, when he thought the heat of his brother's affections was over, he blamed him for his former conduct, and desired him to take his second daughter, whose name was Cypros. Ptolemy also advised him to leave off affronting his brother, and to forsake her whom he had loved, for that it was a base thing to be so enamoured of a servant as to deprive himself of the king's good will to him, and become an occasion of his trouble, and make himself hated by him. Pheroras knew that this advice would be for his own advantage, particularly because he had been accused before, and forgiven: so he put his wife away, although he already had a son by her, and engaged to the king, that he would take his second daughter, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage; and sware he would have no farther conversation with her whom he had put away; but when the thirty days were over, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed any thing he had promised, but continued still with his former wife. This occasioned Herod to grieve openly, and made him angry, while the king dropped one word or other against Pheroras perpetually; and many made the king's anger an opportunity for raising calumnies against him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or hour, but occasions of one fresh quarrel or another arose among his relations, and those that were dearest to him; for Salome was of a harsh temper, and ill natured to Mariamne's sons, nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men, to bear a good will to her husband, but persuaded her to tell her, if he said any thing to her in private; and when any misunderstandings happened, as is common, she raised a great many suspicions out of it: by which means she learned all their concerns, and made the damsel ill natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother, she often said, that the young men used to mention Mariamne when they were by themselves; and that they had hated their father, and were continually threatening, that if they had once got the kingdom, they would make Herod's sons by his other wives country schoolmasters, for that the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning, fitted them for such an employment. And as for the women, whenever they saw them adorned

with their mother's clothes, they threatened that, instead of their present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were presently carried by Salome to the king, who was troubled to hear them, and endeavoured to make up matters: but these suspicions afflicted him, and becoming more and more uneasy, he believed every body against every body. However, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing the defence they made for themselves, he was easier for a while, though a little afterwards much worse accidents came upon him.

4. For Pheroras came to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, as we have already told you, and said, that he had heard from Salome, that Herod was enamoured of Glaphyra, and that his passion for her was incurable. When Alexander heard that, he was all on fire, from his youth and jealousy; and he interpreted the instances of Herod's obliging behaviour to her, which were very frequent, for the worse, which came from those suspicions he had on account of that word which fell from Pheroras; nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but informed him what words Pheroras had said. Upon which Herod was in a greater disorder than ever; and not bearing such a false calumny, which was to his shame, was much disturbed at it; and often did he lament the wickedness of his domestics, and how good he had been to them, and how ill requitals they had made him. So he sent for Pheroras, and reproached him, and said, "Thou vilest of all men! art thou come to that unmeasurable and extravagant degree of ingratitude, as not only to suppose such things of me, but to speak of them? I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are: it is not thy only aim to reproach me, when thou usest such words to my son, but thereby to persuade him to plot against me, and get me destroyed by poison. And who is there, if he had not a good genius at his elbow, as hath my son, but would not bear such a suspicion of his father, but would revenge himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only dropped a word for him to think of, and not rather hast put a sword into his hand to slay his father? And what dost thou mean, when thou really hatest both him and his brother, to pretend kindness to them, only in order to raise a reproach against me, and talk of such things as no one but such an impious wretch as thou art could either devise in their mind, or declare in their words. Be gone, thou art such a plague to thy benefactor and thy brother; and may that evil conscience of thine go along with thee; while I still overcome my relations by kindness, and am so far from avenging myself of them, as they deserve, that I bestow greater benefits upon them than they are worthy of."

5. Thus did the king speak. Whereupon Pheroras, who was caught in the very act of his villany, said, that "it was Salome who was the framer of this plot, and that the words came from her." But as soon as she heard that, for she was at hand, she cried out, like one that would be believed, that no such thing ever came out of her mouth: that they all earnestly endeavoured to make the king hate her, and to make her away, because of the good will she bore to Herod, and because she was always foreseeing the dangers that were coming upon him, and that at present there were more plots against him than usual; for while she was the only person who persuaded her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she were hated by him. As she said this, and often tore her hair, and often beat her breast, her countenance made her denial to be believed, but the perverseness of her manners declared at the same time her dissimulation in these proceedings: but Pheroras was caught between them, and had nothing plausible to offer in his own defence, while he confessed that he had said what was charged upon him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome: so the confusion among them was increased, and their quarrelsome words one to another. At last the king, out of his hatred to his brother and sister, sent them both away; and when he had con-

mended the moderation of his son, and that he had himself told him of the report, he went in the evening to refresh himself. After such a contest as this had fallen out among them, Salome's reputation suffered greatly, since she was supposed to have first raised the calumny; and the king's wives were grieved at her, as knowing she was a very ill natured woman, and would sometimes be a friend, and sometimes an enemy at different seasons: so they perpetually said one thing or another against her, and somewhat that now fell out made them the bolder in speaking against her.

6. There was one Obodas, king of Arabia, an inactive and slothful man in his nature; but Sylleus managed most of his affairs for him. He was a shrewd man, although he were but young, and was handsome withal. This Sylleus, upon some occasion coming to Herod, and supping with him, saw Salome, and set his heart upon her; and understanding that she was a widow, he discoursed with her. Now because Salome was at this time less in favour with her brother, she looked upon Sylleus with some passion, and was very earnest to be married to him; and on the days following there appeared many, and those very great indications of their agreement together. Now the women carried this news to the king, and laughed at the indecency of it; whereupon Herod inquired about it farther of Pheroras, and desired him to observe them at supper, how their behaviour was one toward another; who told him, that by the signals which came from their heads and their eyes, they both were evidently in love. After this, Sylleus the Arabian, being suspected, went away, but came again two or three months afterwards, as it were on that very design, and spake to Herod about it, and desired that Salome might be given him to wife; for that his affinity might not be disadvantageous to his affairs, by a union with Arabia, the government of which country was already in effect under his power, and more evidently would be his hereafter. Accordingly, when Herod discoursed with his sister about it, and asked her whether she were disposed to this match? she immediately agreed to it. But when Sylleus was desired to come over to the Jewish religion, and then he should marry her, and that it was impossible to do it on any other terms, he would not bear that proposal, and went his way: for he said, that if he should do so, he should be stoned by the Arabs. Then did Pheroras reproach Salome for her incontinency, as did the women much more; and said that Sylleus had debauched her. As for that damsel, which the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, but he had not taken her, as I have before related, because he was enamoured of his former wife, Salome desired of Herod she might be given to her son by Costobarus; which match he was very willing to, but was dissuaded from it by Pheroras, who pleaded, that this young man would not be kind to her, since his father had been slain by him, and that it was more just that his son, who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy, should have her: so he begged his pardon, and persuaded him to do so. Accordingly the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposed of to this young man, the son of Pheroras, the king giving for her portion a hundred talents.

CHAP. VIII.

How Herod took up Alexander, and bound him; whom yet Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, reconciled to his Father Herod again.

§ 1. But still the affairs of Herod's family were no better, but perpetually more troublesome. Now this accident happened, which arose from no decent occasion, but proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There were certain eunuchs which the king had, and on account of their beauty was very fond of them; and the care of bringing him drink was intrusted to one of them; of bringing him his supper to another; and of putting him to bed to the third; who

also managed the principal affairs of the government; and there was one told the king that these eunuchs were corrupted by Alexander, the king's son, with great sums of money: and when they were asked whether Alexander had criminal conversation with them? they confessed it, but they said they knew of no farther mischief of his against his father; but when they were more severely tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, and the tormentors out of compliance with Antipater, stretched the rack to the very utmost, they said that Alexander bare great ill will and innate hatred to his father; and that he told them, that Herod despaired to live much longer; and that in order to cover his great age, he coloured his hair black, and endeavoured to conceal what would discover how old he was; but that if he would apply himself to him, when he should attain the kingdom, which, in spite of his father, could come to no one else, he should quickly have the first place in that kingdom under him; for that he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birthright, but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it; because a great many of the rulers, and a great many of his friends, were of his side; and those no ill men neither, ready both to do and to suffer whatsoever should come on that account.

2. When Herod heard this confession, he was all over anger and fear: some parts seeming to him reproachful, and some made him suspicious of dangers that attended him; insomuch that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some more heavy plot was laid against him than he should be then able to escape from; whereupon he did not now make an open search, but sent about spies to watch such as he suspected; for he was now overrun with suspicion and hatred against all about him; and indulging abundance of those suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continued to suspect those that were guiltless; nor did he set any bounds to himself, but supposing that those who staid with him had the most power to hurt him, they were to him very frightful; and for those that did not use to come to him, it seemed enough to name them [to make them suspected,] and he thought himself safer when they were destroyed: and at last his domestics were come to that pass, that being no way secure of escaping themselves, they fell to accusing one another, and imagining that he who first accused another was most likely to save himself; yet, when any had overthrown others, they were hated, and they were thought to suffer justly, who unjustly accused others, and they only thereby prevented their own accusation; nay, they now executed their own private enmities by this means, and when they were caught, they were punished in the same way. Thus these men contrived to make use of this opportunity as an instrument and a snare against their enemies; yet when they tried it, were themselves caught also in the same snare which they laid for others: and the king soon repented of what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain; and yet what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance, in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the same punishments upon their accusers.

3. And in this state of disorder were the affairs of the palace; and he had already told many of his friends directly that they ought not to appear before him, nor come into the palace: and the reason of this injunction was, that [when they were there] he had less freedom of acting, or a greater restraint on himself on their account: for at this time it was that he expelled Andromachus and Gemellus; men who had of old been his friends, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom; and been of advantage to his family, by their ambassages and counsels; and had been tutors to his sons; and had in a manner the first degree of freedom with him. He expelled Andromachus because his son Demetrius was a companion to Alexander; and Gemellus, because he knew that he wished him well; which arose from his having been with him in his youth, when he was at school, and absent at Rome. These he expelled out of his palace, and was willing enough to have done worse by them; but that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with

depriving them of their dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

4. Now it was Antipater, who was the cause of all this; who when he knew what a mad and licentious way of acting his father was in, and had been a great while one of his counsellors, he hurried him on, and then thought he should bring him on to do somewhat to purpose, when every one that could oppose him was taken away. When therefore Andromachus and his friends were driven away, and had no discourse nor freedom with the king any longer, the king, in the first place, examined by torture all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander, whether they knew of any of his attempts against him; but these died without having any thing to say to that matter; which made the king more zealous [after discoveries,] when he could not find out what evil proceedings he suspected them of. As for Antipater, he was very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their constancy and fidelity [to Alexander,] and thereupon provoked Herod to discover, by the torture of great numbers, what attempts were still concealed. Now there was a certain person among the many that were tortured, who said, that he knew that the young man had often said, that when he was commended as a tall man in his body, and a skilful marksman, and that in his other commendable exercises he exceeded all men, these qualifications given him by nature, though good in themselves, were not advantageous to him, because his father was grieved at them, and envied him for them; and that when he walked along with his father, he endeavoured to depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall; and that when he shot at any thing as he was hunting, when his father was by, he missed his mark on purpose, for he knew how ambitious his father was of being superior in such exercises. So when the man was tormented about this saying, and had ease given his body after it, he added, that he had his brother Aristobulus for his assistance; and contrived to lie in wait for their father, as they were hunting, and kill him: and when they had done so, to fly to Rome, and desire to have the kingdom given them. There were also letters of the young man found, written to his brother; wherein he complained that his father did not act justly in giving Antipater a country, whose [yearly] revenues amounted to two hundred talents. Upon these confessions, Herod presently thought he had somewhat to depend on, in his own opinion, as to his suspicion about his sons: so he took up Alexander and bound him; yet did he still continue to be uneasy; and was not quite satisfied of the truth of what he had heard; and when he came to recollect himself, he found that they had only made juvenile complaints and contentions; and that it was an incredible thing, that when his son should have slain him he should openly go to Rome [to beg the kingdom;] so he was desirous to have some surer mark of his son's wickedness; and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison too rashly: so he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death; without getting any of the things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble, one of the younger sort, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and desired that he might be quickly invited thither by Cæsar; and that he could discover a plot against him; that Mithridates, the king of Parthia, was joined in friendship with his father against the Romans; and that he had a poisonous potion ready prepared at Askelon.

5. To these accusations Herod gave credit; and enjoyed hereby, in his miserable case, some sort of consolation in excuse of his rashness, as flattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition: but as for the poisonous potion which he laboured to find, he could find none. As for Alexander, he was very desirous to aggravate the vast misfortunes he was under; so he pretended not to deny the accusations, but punished the rashness of his father with a greater crime of his own and perhaps he was willing to make his father ashamed of his easy belief of sic-

calumnies: he aimed especially, if he could gain belief to his story, to plague him, and his whole kingdom; for he wrote four letters and sent them to him, that "he did not need to torture any more persons, for he had plotted against him; and that he had for his partners, Pheroras and the most faithful of his friends; and that Salome came into him by night, and that she lay with him whether he would or no; and that all men were come to be of one mind, to make away with him as soon as they could, and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him." Among these were accused Ptolemy and Sapinius, who were the most faithful friends to the king. And what more can be said, but that those who before were the most intimate friends were become wild beasts to one another, as if a certain madness had fallen upon them; while there was no room for defence or refutation, in order to the discovery of the truth, but all were at random doomed to destruction; so that some lamented those that were in prison; some those that were put to death; and others lamented that they were in expectation of the same miseries: and a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed, and quite the reverse to that happy state it was formerly in. Herod's own life also was entirely disturbed; and because he could trust nobody, he was sorely punished by the expectation of farther misery; for he often fancied in his imagination, that his son had fallen upon him, or stood by him with a sword in his hand; and thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and resolved it over and over, no otherwise than if he were under a distraction. And this was the sad condition Herod was now in.

6. But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, and being in great distress about his daughter, and the young man [her husband,] and grieving with Herod, as with a man that was his friend, on account of so great a disturbance as he was under, he came [to Jerusalem] on purpose to compose their differences: and when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unseasonable to reprove him, or to pretend that he had done any thing rashly; for that he should thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point with him, and by still more and more apologizing for himself to be the more irritated; he went therefore another way to work, in order to correct the former misfortunes, and appeared angry at the young man; and said that Herod had been so very mild a man that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander, nor could in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of any thing, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared to be of this temper, and otherwise than Herod expected or imagined, and, for the main, took Herod's part, and was angry on his account, the king abated of his harshness, and took occasion from his appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father, and was on both sides to be pitied; for when some persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he was thrown into a passion; but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow after an affectionate manner. Accordingly he desired that he would not dissolve his son's marriage, and became not so angry as before at his offences. So when Archelaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he transferred the calumnies upon his friends; and said, it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one unacquainted with malice, was corrupted; and he supposed that there was more reason to suspect the brother than the son. Upon which Herod was very much displeased at Pheroras; who indeed now had no one that could make a reconciliation between him and his brother. So when he saw that Archelaus had the greatest power with Herod, he betook himself to him in the habit of a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of an undone man. Upon this, Archelaus did not overlook the intercession he made to him, nor yet did he undertake to change the king's disposition towards him immediately; and he said, that it was better for him to come himself to the king, and confess himself the occasion of all: that this would make the king's anger not to be so extravagant to-

wards him; and that then he would be present to assist him. When he had persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them; and the calumnies raised against the young man were, beyond all expectation, wiped off. And Archelaus, as soon as he had made the reconciliation, went then away to Cappadocia, having proved at this juncture of time the most acceptable person to Herod in the world; on which account he gave him the richest presents, as tokens of his respects to him; and being on other occasions magnanimous, he esteemed him one of his dearest friends. He also made an agreement with him that he would go to Rome, because he had written to Cæsar about these affairs; so they went together as far as Antioch, and there Herod made a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus, the president of Syria, who had been greatly at variance and so returned back to Judea.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Revolt of the Trachonites: how Sylleus accused Herod before Cæsar: and how Herod, when Cæsar was angry at him, resolved to send Nicolaus to Rome.

§ 1. When Herod had been at Rome, and was come back again, a war arose between him and the Arabians, on the occasion following: the inhabitants of Trachonitis, after Cæsar had taken the country away from Zenodorus, and added it to Herod, had not now power to rob; but were forced to plough the land, and to live quietly, which was a thing they did not like; and when they did take that pains, the ground did not produce much fruit for them. However, at the first the king would not permit them to rob, and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbours, which procured Herod a great reputation for his care: but when he was sailing to Rome, it was at that time when he went to accuse his son Alexander, and to commit Antipater to Cæsar's protection; the Trachonites spread a report as if he were dead; and revolted from his dominion; and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbours: at which time the king's commanders subdued them during his absence; but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by those that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia, Sylleus entertaining them, after he had missed of marrying Salome, and gave them a place of strength, in which they dwelt. So they overran not only Judea, but all Celesyria also, and carried off the prey, while Sylleus afforded them places of protection and quietness during their wicked practices. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had greatly suffered by them; and since he could not reach the robbers themselves, because of the secure retreat they had in that country, and which the Arabians' government afforded them; and yet being very uneasy at the injuries they had done him, he went over all Trachonitis, and slew their relations; whereupon these robbers were more angry than before; it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all possible means; so they continued to tear and rend every thing under Herod's dominion with impunity: then did he discourse about these robberies to Saturninus and Volumnius; and required that they should be punished: upon which occasion they still the more confirmed themselves in their robberies, and became more numerous; and made very great disturbances; laying waste the countries and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and killing those men whom they caught, till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war; for the robbers were now become about a thousand. At which Herod was sore displeased, and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas, by Sylleus which was sixty talents; and since the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him; but Sylleus, who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by

himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money; about which there was a hearing before Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then the presidents of Syria.* At last, he by their means agreed that within thirty days' time, Herod should be paid his money; and that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects reciprocally. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the other's subjects found in his kingdom, either as doing any injustice, or on any other account; but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

2. When the day appointed for the payment of the money was past, without Sylleus's performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be delivered up; and, by the permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, executed the judgment himself upon those that were refractory. He took an army that he had, and led it into Arabia, and in three days' time marched seven mansions; and when he came to the garrison wherein the robbers were, he made an assault upon them, and took them all; and demolished the place, which was called *Raepta*, but did no harm to any others; but as the Arabians came to their assistance, under Naceb their captain, there ensued a battle, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Naceb, the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his soldiers fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when he had brought these to punishment, he placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account to the captains that were about Phenicia, and demonstrated that he had done nothing but what he ought to do, in punishing the refractory Arabians; which, upon an exact inquiry, they found to be no more than what was true.

3. However, messengers were hasted away to Sylleus to Rome, and informed him what had been done, and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Sylleus had already insinuated himself into the knowledge of Cæsar, and was then about the palace; and as soon as he heard of these things, he changed his habit into black, and went in and told Cæsar, that "Arabia was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, upon Herod's laying it waste with his army; and he said, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had been destroyed, and that their captain, Nacebus, his familiar friend and kinsman, was slain; and that the riches that were at Raepta were carried off; and that Obodas was despised, whose infirm state of body rendered him unfit for war: on which account neither he nor the Arabian army were present." When Sylleus said so, and added invidiously, that "he would not himself have come out of the country, unless he had believed that Cæsar would have provided that they should all have peace one with another, and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod's advantage." Cæsar was provoked when this was said; and asked no more than this one question, both of Herod's friends that were there, and of his own friends, who were come from Syria, "Whether Herod had led an army thither?" and when they were forced to confess so much, Cæsar, without staying to hear for what reason he did it, and how it was done, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this: that "whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now use him as his subject." Sylleus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians; who were so elevated with it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them nor paid the money that was due: they retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Cæsar's anger at him. Those of Trachonitis also made use of this opportunity, and rose up against the

* These joint presidents of Syria, Saturninus and Volumnius, were not perhaps of equal authority: but the latter like a procurator under the former; as the very learned Noris and Pagi, and with them Dr Hudson, determine.

Idumean garrison, and followed the same way of robbing with the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were more rigid in their unjust proceedings, not only in order to get by it, but by way of revenge also.

4. Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that confidence of his being quite gone with which Cæsar's favour used to inspire him; for Cæsar would not admit so much as an embassage from him, to make an apology for him: and when they came again, he sent them away without success. So he was cast into sadness and fear; and Sylleus's circumstances grieved him exceedingly, who was now believed by Cæsar, and was present at Rome, nay, sometimes aspiring higher. Now it came to pass that Obodas was dead: and Eneas, whose name was afterward changed to Aretas,* took the government, for Sylleus endeavoured by calumnies to get him turned out of his principality, that he might himself take it with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Cæsar, who indeed was angry, that Aretas had not sent to him first before he took the kingdom; yet did Eneas send an epistle and presents to Cæsar, and a golden crown of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Sylleus as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obodas by poison: and that while he was alive, he had governed him as he pleased; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain the dominion for himself; yet did not Cæsar give heed to these accusations but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents: but in the meantime the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because, bad as they were, nobody had power to govern them; for of the two kings the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil doers; and as for Herod, Cæsar was immediately angry at him, for having avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him, he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome again, to see whether his friends had prevailed to mitigate Cæsar, and to address themselves to Cæsar himself. and the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolaus of Damascus.

CHAP. X.

How Eurycles falsely accused Herod's Sons; and how their Father bound them, and wrote to Cæsar about them. Of Sylleus, and how he was accused by Nicolaus.

§ 1. The disorders about Herod's family and children about this time grew much worse; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen beforehand, that fortune threatened the greatest and most unsupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Its progress and augmentation at this time arose on the occasion following: one Eurycles, a Lacedemonian (a person of note there, but a man of a perverse mind, and so cunning in his ways of voluptuousness and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet seem to indulge neither of them,) came in his travels to Herod, and made him presents, but so that he received more presents from him. He also took such proper seasons for insinuating himself into his friendship, that he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He had his lodging in Antipater's house; but he had not only access, but free conversation with Alexander, as pretending to him that he was in great favour with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; whence he pretended much respect to Glaphyra, and in an occult manner cultivated a friendship with them all, but always attending to what

* This Aretas was now become so established a name for the kings of Arabia [at Petra and Damascus,] that when the crown came to this Eneas he changed his name to *Aretas*, as Havercamp here rightly observes. See Antiq. B. xiii. ch. xv. sect. 2.

was said and done, that he might be furnished with calumnies to please them all. In short, he behaved himself so to every body in his conversation, as to appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his being any where was for that person's advantage. So he won upon Alexander, who was but young, and persuaded him that he might open his grievances to him with assurance, and with nobody else. So he declared his grief to him, how his father was alienated from him. He related to him also the affairs of his mother, and of Antipater; that he had driven them from their proper dignity, and had the power over every thing himself; that no part of this was tolerable, since his father was already come to hate them; and, he added, that he would neither admit them to his table, nor to his conversation. Such were the complaints, as was but natural, of Alexander about the things that troubled him: and these discourses Eurycles carried to Antipater; and told him, he did not inform him of this on his own account, but that being overcome by his kindness, the great importance of the thing obliged him to do it: and he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for that what he had said was spoken with vehemency, and that, in consequence of what he said, he would certainly kill him with his own hand. Whereupon Antipater, thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him presents upon all occasions, and at length persuaded him to inform Herod of what he had heard. So when he related to the king Alexander's ill temper, as discovered by the words he had heard him speak, he was easily believed by him, and he thereby brought the king to that pass, turning him about by his words, and irritating him, till he increased his hatred to him, and made him implacable, which he showed at that very time, for he immediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty talents; who, when he had gotten them, went to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander before him, and told him that he had been many ways of advantage to him, in making a reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away before his pernicious practices were found out: but when Eurycles was returned to Lacedemon, he did not leave off doing mischief; and so, for his many acts of injustice, he was banished from his own country.

2. But as for the king of the Jews, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been content with the hearing their calamities when others told him of them, but he was now come to that pass as to hate them himself, and to urge men to speak against them, though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said, and put questions, and gave ear to every one that would but speak, if they could but say any thing against them, till at length he heard that Euratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander; which thing to Herod was the most agreeable and sweetest news imaginable.

3. But still a greater misfortune came upon the young men; while the calumnies against them were continually increased, and, as a man may say, one would think it was every one's endeavour to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which might appear to be for the king's preservation. There were two guards of Herod's body, who were in great esteem for their strength and tallness, Jucundus and Tyrannus; these men had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased at them; these now used to ride along with Alexander, and for their skill in their exercises were in great esteem with him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed on them. Now the king, having an immediate suspicion of these men, had them tortured: who endured the torture courageously for a long time, but at last confessed, that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod, when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts, that it might be said he fell from his horse, and was run through with his own spear, for that he had one such a misfortune formerly. They also showed where there was money hidden in the stable under ground; and these convicted the king's chief hunter, that he had given the young men the royal hunting spears, and weapons to Alexander's dependents at Alexander's command.

4. After these the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium was caught and tortured: for he was accused to have promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king's which was laid up in that fortress; yet did not he acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son came in, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing, which so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these: "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you; but do your endeavours, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous designs of his sons against him. But Alexander said, that Diophantus, the scribe, had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices, and as he was afterwards convicted of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

5. So the king produced those that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to have them accuse the young men; which accusers many of the people stoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to do so, but restrained the multitude, by the means of Ptolemy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that nobody might come at them, and all that they did or said was watched; and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals: and one of them, who was Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his aunt and his mother-in-law, to lament with him for his calamities, and to nate him who had suffered things to come to that pass; when he said to her, "Art not thou in danger of destruction also, while the report goes that thou hadst disclosed beforehand all our affairs to Sylleus, when thou wast in hopes of being married to him?" But she immediately carried those words to her mother. Upon this he was out of patience; and gave command to bind him; and enjoined them both, now they were kept separate, one from the other, to write down the ill things they had done against their father, and bring the writings to him. So when this was enjoined them, they wrote this, that they had laid no treacherous designs nor made any preparations against their father: but that they had intended to fly away; and that by the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

6. About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia, from Archelaus, whose name was *Melas:* he was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod, being desirous to show Archelaus's ill will to him, called for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning his flight, whither and how they had resolved to retire? Alexander replied, "To Archelaus, who had promised to send them away to Rome; but that they had no wicked nor mischievous designs against their father; and that nothing of that nature which their adversaries had charged upon them was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyrannus and Jucundus more strictly; but that they had been suddenly slain by the means of Antipater, who put his own friends among the multitude [for that purpose."]

7. When this was said, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melas should be carried to Glaphyra, Archelaus's daughter; and that she should be asked, whether she did not know somewhat of Alexander's treacherous designs against Herod? Now as soon as they were come to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she beat her head, and, in a great consternation, gave a deep and moving groan. The young man also fell into tears. This was so miserable a spectacle to those present, that, for a great while, they were not able to say or to do any thing; but at length Ptolemy, who was ordered to bring Alexander, bid him say, whether his wife were conscious of his actions? He replied, "How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do? Upon which she cried

out, that "she knew of no wicked designs of his; but that yet, if her accusing herself falsely would tend to his preservation, she would confess it all." Alexander replied, "There is no such wickedness as those (who ought the least of all so to do) suspect which either I have imagined, or thou knowest of, but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome." Which she also confessed. Upon which Herod, supposing that Archelaus's ill will to him was fully proved, sent a letter by Olympus and Volumnius, and bid them, as they sailed by, to touch at Eleusa of Cilitia, and gave Archelaus the letter. And that when they had expostulated with him, that he had a hand in his son's treacherous design against him, they should from thence sail to Rome; and that, in case they found Nicolaus had gained any ground, and that Cæsar was no longer displeased at him, he should give him his letters, and the proofs which he had ready to show against the young men. As to Archelaus, he made this defence for himself, that "he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father's advantage so to do, lest some too severe procedure should be gone upon in that anger and disorder they were in on occasion of the present suspicions; but that still he had not promised to send them to Cæsar; and that he had not promised any thing else to the young men that could show any ill will to him."

8. When these ambassadors were come to Rome, they had a fit opportunity of delivering their letters to Cæsar, because they found him reconciled to Herod; for the circumstances of Nicolaus's ambassage had been as follows: As soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first of all set about what he was come for only, but he thought fit also to accuse Sylleus. Now the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another; and some of them left Sylleus's party, and, joining themselves to Nicolaus, informed him of all the wicked things that had been done; and produced to him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Obodas's friends by Sylleus: for when these men left Sylleus, they had carried off with them those letters whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus saw such an opportunity afforded him, he made use of it, in order to gain his own point afterward, and endeavoured immediately to make a reconciliation between Cæsar and Herod; for he was fully satisfied that if he should desire to make a defence for Herod directly, he should not be allowed that liberty; but that if he desire to accuse Sylleus, there would an occasion present itself of speaking on Herod's behalf. So when the cause was ready for a hearing, and the day was appointed, Nicolaus, while Aretas's ambassadors were present, accused Sylleus, and said, that "he imputed to him the destruction of the king [Obodas,] and of many others of the Arabians: that he had borrowed money for no good design; and he proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not only with the Arabian, but Roman women also." And he added, that "above all the rest he had alienated Cæsar from Herod; and all that he had said about the actions of Herod were falsities." When Nicolaus was come to this topic, Cæsar stopped him from going on; and desired him only to speak to this affair of Herod's; and to show that "he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country." To which Nicolaus made this answer; "I shall principally demonstrate, that either nothing at all or but a very little of those imputations are true, of which thou hast been informed; for had they been true, thou mightest justly have been still more angry at Herod." At this strange assertion Cæsar was very attentive: and Nicolaus said, that "there was a debt due to Herod of five hundred talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time appointed be elapsed, it should be lawful to make a seizure out of any part of his country. As for the pretended army, he said it was no army, but a party sent out to require the just payment of the money: that this was not sent immediately, nor so soon as the bond allowed, but that Sylleus had frequently come before Saturninus and Volumnius, the president of Syria,

and that at last he had sworn at Berytus,* by thy fortune, that he would certainly pay the money within thirty days, and deliver up the fugitives that were under his dominion. And that when Sylleus had performed nothing of this, Herod came again before the presidents, and upon their permission to make a seizure for his money, he with difficulty went out of his country with a party of soldiers for that purpose. And this is all the war which these men so tragically describe; and this is the affair of the expedition into Arabia. And how can this be called a war? when thy presidents permitted it; the covenants allowed it; and it was not executed till thy name, O Cæsar, as well as that of the other gods, had been profaned. And now I must speak in order about the captives. There were robbers that dwelt in Trachonitis: at first their number was no more than forty, but they became more afterwards, and they escaped the punishment Herod would have inflicted on them, by making Arabia their refuge. Sylleus received them, and supported them with food, that they might be mischievous to all mankind; and gave them a country to inhabit and himself received the gains they made by robbery: yet did he promise that he would deliver up these men, and that by the same oaths, and by the same time that he sware and fixed for payment of his debt; nor can he by any means show that any other persons have at this time been taken out of Arabia besides these; and indeed not all these neither, but only so many as could not conceal themselves. And thus does the calumny of the captives, which hath been so odiously represented, appear to be no better than a fiction and a lie made on purpose to provoke thy indignation: for I venture to affirm, that when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two of Herod's party fell, he then only defended himself, and there fell Nacebus their general, and in all about twenty-five others, and no more; when Sylleus, by multiplying every single soldier to a hundred, he reckons the slain to have been two thousand five hundred.

9. This provoked Cæsar more than ever: so he turned to Sylleus full of rage, and asked him how many of the Arabians were slain? Hereupon he hesitated, and said he had been imposed upon. The covenants also were read about the money he had borrowed, and the letters of the presidents of Syria, and the complaints of the several cities, so many as had been injured by the robbers. The conclusion was this: that Sylleus was condemned to die, and that Cæsar was reconciled to Herod, and owned his repentance for what severe things he had written to him occasioned by calumny; insomuch that he told Sylleus that he had compelled him, by his lying account of things, to be guilty of ingratitude against a man that was his friend. At the last all came to this: Sylleus was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be punished [with death:] but still Cæsar was offended with Aretas, that he had taken upon himself the government, without his consent first obtained, for he had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod; but that the letters he had sent hindered him from so doing, for Olympus and Volumnius, perceiving that Cæsar was now become favourable to Herod, thought fit immediately to deliver him the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him concerning his sons. When Cæsar had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another government to him, now he was old, and in an ill state with relation to his sons, so he admitted Aretas's ambassadors; and after he had just reproved him for his rashness, in not tarrying till he received the kingdom from him, he accepted of his presents, and confirmed him in his government.

* This oath, *by the fortune of Cæsar*, was put to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, by the Roman governor, to try whether he were a Christian, as they were then esteemed who refused to swear that oath. Martyr. Polycarp, sect. 9

CHAP. XI.

How Herod, by Permission from Cæsar, accused his Sons before an Assembly of Judges at Berytus: and what Tero suffered for using a boundless and military Liberty of Speech. Concerning also the Death of the young Men, and their Burial at Alexandrium.

§ 1. So Cæsar was now reconciled to Herod, and wrote thus to him, that "he was grieved for him on account of his sons; and that in case they had been guilty of any profane and insolent crimes against him, it would behove him to punish them as parricides, for which he gave him power accordingly; but if they had only contrived to fly away, he would have him give them an admonition, and not proceed to extremity with them. He also advised him to get an assembly together, and to appoint some place near Berytus,* which is a city belonging to the Romans, and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought to be illustrious for their friendship to him, and the dignities they were in, and determine what should be done by their approbation." These were the directions that Cæsar gave him. Accordingly Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was immediately very glad of Cæsar's reconciliation to him, and very glad also that he had a complete authority given him over his sons. And it strangely came about, that whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed showed himself severe; yet had he not been very rash, nor hasty in procuring the destruction of his sons; he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to exercise his hatred against them after an unheard-of manner; he therefore sent and called as many as he thought fit to this assembly, excepting Archelaus; for as for him, he either hated him, so that he would not invite him, or he thought he would be an obstacle to his designs.

2. When the presidents, and the rest that belonged to the cities, were come to Berytus, he kept his sons in a certain village belonging to Sidon, called *Platana*, but near to this city, that if they were called he might produce them: for he did not think fit to bring them before the assembly; and when there were one hundred and fifty assessors present, Herod came by himself alone and accused his sons, and that in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and not made but out of necessity, and upon the misfortunes he was under; indeed in such a way as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons; for he was very vehement and disordered when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of, and gave the greatest signs of passion and barbarity; nor would he suffer the assessors to consider of the weight of the evidence, but asserted them to be true by his own authority, after a manner most indecent in a father against his sons; and read himself what they themselves had written, wherein there was no confession of any plots or contrivances against him; but only how they had contrived to fly away, and containing withal certain reproaches against him, on account of the ill will he bare them; and when he came to those reproaches, he cried out most of all, and exaggerated what they said as if they had confessed the design against him, and took his oath that he had rather lose his life than hear such reproachful words. At last he said, that "he had sufficient authority, both by nature and by Cæsar's grant to him [to do what he thought fit.] He also added an allegation of a law of their country, which enjoined this: that

* What Josephus relates Augustus to have here said, that Berytus was a city belonging to the Romans, is confirmed by Spanheim's notes here. "It was," says he, "a colony placed there by Augustus." Whence Ulpian, De cens. bel. L. T. xv. *The colony of Berytus was rendered famous by the benefits of Cæsar.* And thence it is, that among the coins of Augustus, we meet with some having this inscription: *The happy colony of Augustus at Berytus.*

if parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accused, the standers by were obliged to cast stones at him, and thereby to slay him; which though he were ready to do in his own country and kingdom, yet did he wait for their determination, that yet they came thither not so much as judges, to condemn them for such manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished by his son's means; but as persons that had an opportunity of showing their detestation of such practices, and declaring how unworthy a thing it must be in any, even the most remote, to pass over such treacherous designs [without punishment."]

3. When the king had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defence for themselves, the assessors perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation; so they confirmed his authority. And in the first place, Saturninus, a person that had been consul, and of great dignity, pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation and trouble; and said, that "he condemned Herod's sons, but did not think they should be put to death. He had sons of his own; and to put one's son to death is a greater misfortune than any other that could befall him by their means." After him Saturninus's sons, for he had three sons that followed him, and were his legates, pronounced the same sentence with their father. On the contrary, Volumnius's sentence was, to inflict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father; and the greatest part of the rest said the same, insomuch that the conclusion seemed to be, that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately after this Herod came away from thence, and took his sons to Tyre, where Nicolaus met him in his voyage from Rome; of whom he inquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berytus, what his sentiments were about his sons, and what his friends at Rome thought of that matter? His answer was, "That what they had determined to do to thee was impious, and that thou oughtest to keep them in prison; and if thou thinkest any thing farther necessary, thou mayest indeed so punish them, that thou mayest not appear to indulge thy anger more than to govern thyself by judgment; but if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayest absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable. And this is the opinion of the greatest part of thy friends at Rome also." Whereupon Herod was silent, and in great thoughtfulness, and bid Nicolaus sail along with him.

4. Now as they came to Cæsarea, every body was there talking of Herod's sons, and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people in great expectation of what would become of them; for a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great trouble about their sufferings; nor was it without danger to say any rash thing about this matter, nor even to hear another saying it; but men's pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, which rendered the excess of their sorrow very irksome, but very silent; yet was there an old soldier of Herod's whose name was *Tero*, who had a son of the same age with Alexander, and his friend, who was so very free, as openly to speak out what others silently thought about that matter; and was forced to cry out often among the multitude, and said, in the most unguarded manner, "That truth was perished, and justice taken away from men, while lies and ill-will prevailed, and brought such a mist before public affairs, that the offenders were not able to see the greatest mischiefs that can befall men." And as he was so bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of danger, by speaking so freely; but the reasonableness of what he said moved men to regard him as having behaved himself with great manhood, and this at a proper time also, for which reason every one heard what he said with pleasure; and although they first took care of their own safety, by keeping silent themselves, yet did they kindly receive the great freedom he took; for the expectation they were in of so great an affliction put a force upon them to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased.

5 This man had thrust himself into the king's presence with the greatest

freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do, where he said this: "Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under so great a concern as I am under, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take, which may be for thy advantage, if thou mind to get any profit by it, before my own safety. Whither is thy understanding gone, and left thy soul empty? Whither is that extraordinary sagacity of thine gone, whereby thou hast performed so many and such glorious actions? Whence comes this solitude, and desertion of thy friends and relations? Of which I cannot but determine, that they are neither thy friends nor relations, while they overlook such horrid wickedness in thy once happy kingdom. Dost not thou perceive what is doing? Wilt thou slay these two young men, born of thy queen, who are accomplished with every virtue in the highest degree, and leave thyself destitute in thy old age, but exposed to one son, who hath very ill managed the hopes thou hast given him, and to relations whose death thou hast so often resolved on thyself? Dost not thou take notice that the very silence of the multitude at once sees the crime, and abhors the fact? The whole army and the officers have commiseration on the poor unhappy youths, and hatred to those that are the actors in this matter." These words the king heard, and for some time with good temper. But what can one say? When Tero plainly touched upon the bad behaviour and perfidiousness of his domestics, he was moved at it; but Tero went on farther, and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech, nor was he so well disciplined as to accommodate himself to the time: so Herod was greatly disturbed, and seeming to be rather reproached by this speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage; while he learned hereby, that both the soldiers abhorred the thing he was about, and the officers had indignation at it, he gave order that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

6. When this was over, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, took the opportunity and came and told the king that Tero would often have persuaded him, when he trimmed him with a razor, to cut his throat; for that by this means he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had said this, the king gave order that Tero and his son, and the barber, should be tortured, which was done accordingly; but while Tero bore up himself, his son, seeing his father already in a sad case, and had no hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the consequence of his terrible sufferings, said, that "if the king would free him and his father from those torments, for what he should say, he would tell the truth." And when the king had given his word to do so, he said, that "there was an agreement made that Tero should lay violent hands on the king, because it was easy for him to come when he was alone; and that if when he had done the thing, he should suffer death for it, as was not unlikely, it would be an act of generosity done in favour of Alexander." This was what Tero's son said, and thereby freed his father from the distress he was in; but uncertain it is whether he had been thus forced to speak what was true, or whether it were a contrivance of his in order to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries.

7. As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about the slaughter of his sons there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it; but he had banished away whatsoever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning better about this matter, so he already made haste to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He also brought out three hundred of the officers that were under an accusation, as also Tero and his son, and the barber that accused them, before an assembly, and brought an accusation against them all; whom the multitude stoned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them. Alexander also, and Aristobulus, were brought to Sebaste, by their father's command, and there strangled; but their dead bodies were in the night time carried to Alexandrium, where their uncle, by the mother's side, and the greatest part of their ancestors had been deposited

8. *And now perhaps it may not seem unreasonable to some, that such an inveterate hatred might increase so much [on both sides,] as to proceed farther and overcome nature; but it may justly deserve consideration, whether it be to be laid to the charge of the young men that they gave such an occasion to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did, and by going on long in the same way, put things past remedy, and brought him to use them so unmercifully; or whether it be to be laid to the father's charge that he was so heardhearted, and so very tender in the desire of government, and of other things that would tend to his glory, that he would take no one into a partnership with him, that so whatsoever he would have done himself might continue immovable: or indeed, whether fortune have not greater power than all prudent reasonings. Whence we are persuaded that human actions are thereby determined beforehand by an inevitable necessity; and we call her *Fate*, because there is nothing which is not done by her; wherefore I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion with that other, which attributes somewhat to ourselves, and renders men not unaccountable for the different conducts of their lives, which notion is no other than the philosophical determination of our ancient law. Accordingly, of the two other causes of this sad event, any body may lay the blame on the young men, who acted by youthful vanity, and pride of their royal birth, that they should bear to hear the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not equitable judges of the actions of his life, but ill natured in suspecting, and intemperate in speaking of it; and on both accounts easily caught by those that observed them, and revealed them to gain favour: yet cannot their father be thought worthy of excuse, as to that horrid impiety which he was guilty of about them, while he ventured, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and without any proofs that they had made preparations for such an attempt, to kill his own sons, who were of very comely bodies, and the great darlings of other men; and no way deficient in their conduct, whether it were in hunting, or in warlike exercises, or in speaking upon occasional topics of discourse; for in all these they were skilful, and especially Alexander, who was the eldest; for certainly it had been sufficient, even though he had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to let them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, while he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him, whose help would prevent his suffering any thing by a sudden onset or by open force; but for him to kill them on the sudden, in order to gratify a passion that governed him, was a demonstration of insufferable impiety. He also was guilty of so great a crime in his elder age; nor will the delays that he made, and the length of time in which the thing was done plead at all for his excuse; for when a man is on a sudden amazed, and in commotion of mind, and then commits a wicked action, although this be a heavy crime, yet it is a thing that frequently happens; but to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings off, to undertake it at last, and accomplish it, was the action of a murderous mind, and such as was not easily moved from that which is evil. And this temper he showed in what he did afterward, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left; wherein, though the justice of the punishment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter also. But of those persons we shall have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

* The reader is here to note, that this eighth section is entirely wanting in the old Latin version, as Spanheim truly observes; nor is there any other reason for it, I suppose, than the great difficulty of an exact translation.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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